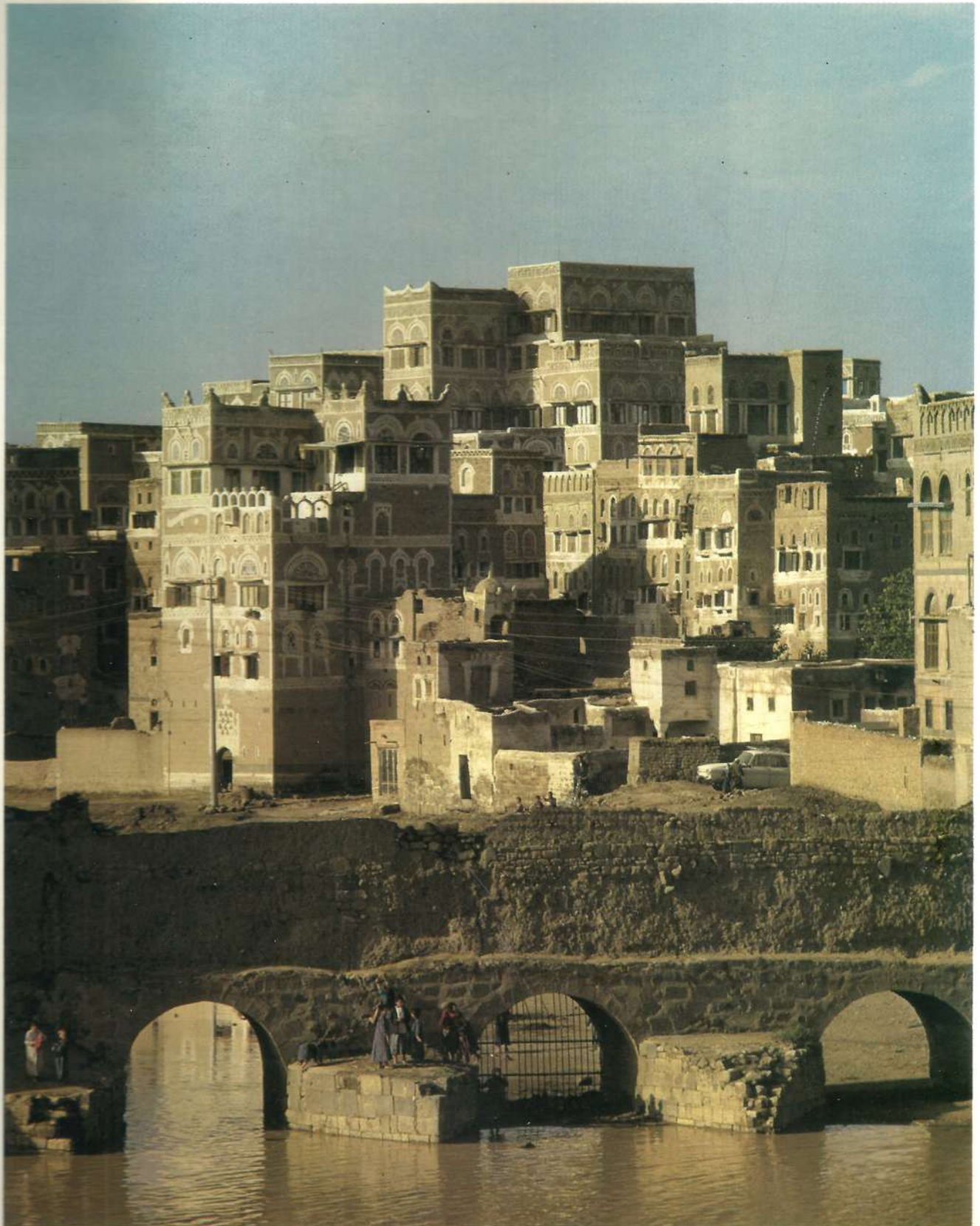


ṢANĀʾ

AN ARABIAN ISLAMIC CITY



Edited by
R B Serieant and Ronald Lewcock

This impressive and lavishly illustrated volume is the result of many years of research and careful planning. Led by Professor R. B. Serjeant and Dr Ronald Lewcock, a team of internationally acknowledged experts and academics here deals with specialised aspects of the city. This work is one of major scholastic importance in which the society—along with the complex religious, legal and mercantile setting—long history, crafts, arts, and religious and vernacular architecture of this traditional Islamic city of north Yemen are exhaustively described and analysed. A large number of both colour and black and white illustrations are used to show the function and form of the architecture and the living crafts, supported by many plans and line drawings, with maps to show the evolution of the city.

In its dramatic highland setting, Ṣan'ā' had until recently avoided many of the problems and changes faced by the cities of Arabia. Such traditional cities of Islam evolved and function in a unique and fascinating manner, but their insular traditions and society are now being rapidly eroded in the face of modern economic and technological pressures. In a few years cities such as Ṣan'ā' will have altered out of all recognition to their long and splendid histories. However, this major work preserves the city of Ṣan'ā' for posterity.

This book will be the standard work of reference on the subject.

R. B. Serjeant

After reading Oriental Languages at Edinburgh and Cambridge, R. B. Serjeant was appointed to a research post in South Arabian Dialects at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and went to Aden in 1940. He served there in the Aden Protectorate Government Guards but later joined the BBC and became editor of the *Arabic Listener*. Returning to London University he was appointed Colonial Research Fellow and worked in Ḥaḍramawt in the Eastern Aden Protectorate, subsequently spending long periods in both Protectorates. In 1964 he made his first journey in Royalist Yemen, visiting the Imām at al-Qārah. In 1969 he first visited the Yemen Arab Republic where he has carried out field research during some half dozen visits. He has also travelled in the Arab states, East and West Africa, and visited Iran, India, Pakistan and Malaysia. He returned to Cambridge in 1964 where he is Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic. His publications include *Islamic textiles: a history*, *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, *The Saiyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, *South Arabian Hunt*, and he is co-editor with Dr Robin Bidwell of *Arabian Studies*. In 1974 the Royal Society for Asian Affairs presented him with the T. E. Lawrence Memorial Medal.

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ŞAN'Â'

ṢANĀ'

AN ARABIAN ISLAMIC CITY

Edited by
R B Serjeant and Ronald Lewcock



World of Islam Festival Trust

This edition is limited to 2,000 copies of which this is copy number

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If, by inadvertence, the editors have omitted the names of persons who help should have been acknowledged, they plead for forgiveness, for they drew on so many. Individual contributors have recorded their special acknowledgements in their own chapters.

صَنَعَاءَ إِذَا كُنْتَ مَشْغُوفًا بِمَكْنِيهَا فَأَعْدُدْ لَهَا مِنْ حُرُوفِ الْحَاءِ مَا رُسِمَا
حَبُّ وَحِبُّ وَحَمَامٌ مَعَ حَطَبٍ حَظِيرَةٌ وَجِمَارٌ حِرْقَةٌ وَجِمَامَا

If to dwell in Ṣan‘ā’ be your passion
Reckon what these letters *ḥ* do fashion—
Corn, a beloved, bath-house with fuel, (*ḥabb, ḥammām, ḥaṣab*)
Garden, ass, protection and profession. (*ḥaḥīrah, ḥimār, ḥirfah, ḥimā*)

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī (ob. 1068/1657-8)

لَا بُدَّ مِنْ صَنَعَاءَ لَوْ طَالَ السَّفَرُ وَإِنْ نَحَى كُلُّ عَوْدٍ وَالْعَقْدُ

Ṣan‘ā’ be it must, however long the journey,
Though the hardy camel droop, leg-worn on the way.

Traditional, cited by al-Ḥamdānī and others

صَنَعَاءُ ذَاتُ الدُّورِ وَالْأَطَامِ وَالْقِدَمُ الْأَقْدَمُ ذِي الْقُسْدَامِ
وَالْعِزُّ عَنْ ذِي السُّطُورِ الْفَتَامِ أَسْتُ يَعْلَمُ لِأَنَّنْ نُوْحَ سَامِ
يَعْلَمُ رَبُّ مَلِكٍ عَالِمِ إِذْ رَادَهَا سَامٌ بِمَا تَرَاهَا
وَرَادَهَا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَلْفَى عَامِ مَا بَيْنَ سَفْحَى نُقْمِ النَّقَامِ
وَبَيْنَ عَيْبَانَ الْمَعِينِ السَّامِ فَاسْأَلْهَا فِي سَالِفِ الْأَيَّامِ

أَرْضُهَا بِهَا غُمْدَانُ وَالْقَالِسُ
بَنَاهُمَا ذُو النَّجْدَةِ الرَّئِيسُ
تُبَّعُ مُلْكُكَ وَبَنَتْ بِلْقِيسُ

Ṣan‘ā’ of the mansions and towers tall,
High in antiquity, from time afore,
Proud in resisting covetous assault,
Founded through Noah’s son Shem’s prescience,
Prescience of a lord, a king most wise—
For Shem ’t was who with sureness sought it out,
Sought it more than two thousand years ago
Set ’tween the hills of Nuqum al-Naqqām
And lofty ‘Aybān where [men] dig for springs.
In bygone former days he founded it.

A land wherein are found Ghumdān and al-Qalīs.
The man of valour built them, the Chief, al-Ra’īs,
Tubba’ who held sway there; where also built Bilqīs.

Aḥmad ‘Īsā al-Radā’ī, late 3rd/9th century (?)

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Note

This volume is very much a joint production and many chapters are the work of more than one author; but one or more authors may also have made contributions to chapters mainly written by others though no specific attribution to them has been made in the List of Contents. The Editors themselves have revised the chapters, some lightly, some in depth. Broadly speaking the first name appearing after the title of any chapter to which several persons have contributed is that of the major contributor; other names follow in order according to the contribution each has made to it. This is, however, an approximation for it is impossible to be precise and in more than one case the order of names is simply that of the order in which the work of the individual contributors appears in the chapter concerned. (Eds.)

Introduction

Traditional Ṣan'ā' is the theme of this volume—that is Ṣan'ā' city of the Islamic era up to the officer revolution of September 26th 1962—and its richly antique culture which continues to survive despite much political change since that date. To avoid controversy it is not attempted to study the currents of political ideas to which the rising generations in the towns were exposed from the 1930s onwards—early nationalist writers like al-Kawākibī, Western liberalism, even the Atlantic Pact now hardly remembered—which filtered into the Yemen through the Arabic press via Aden, the powerful effect of Nasserite socialism and 'Urūbah, communism, the Ba'th, or even such home-grown political theories as that of Qaḥṭān-Adnān rivalry.¹ Neither does this book deal with the Islamic reaction as exemplified in al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. Important as its part was and is in the politics of the latter decades, the flux of ideas has not altered the essential spirit of Ṣan'ā' and its standing as the forum of a traditional yet liberal aspect of Islam.

As an intellectual and literary centre Ṣan'ā' was unhappily affected by the 1962-67 War—a frequent visitor, the late Fu'ād Sayyid, Keeper of Mss. in the Cairo Dār al-Kutub is said to have mourned the disappearance during this time of the salons at the houses of the learned where discussion ranged far and wide over religion, philosophy, literature, history, current affairs, and business was transacted to the accompaniment of the *madā'ah*-pipe circulating from person to person, and chewing of tender *qār*-sprigs. Some salons of this kind have returned, but, as in other Islamic countries, traditional learning has lost its former pre-eminence in Zaydī society while modern education has still far to go to achieve a level comparable with it. Not only has the status of the cultural élite of Ṣan'ā' changed, but the very composition of its population has been appreciably altered by a large influx of Shāfi'is from the Lower Yemen come to settle there, the immigration of country tribesmen and the arrival even of Akhdām from the Tihāmah as street-cleaners for the capital. Nowadays too a not inconsiderable floating element of foreigners from East and West has affected the life of the city.

Like the Yemen in general since 1962, Ṣan'ā' has undergone certain physical changes, some far from entirely beneficial to it. On the other hand fine roads have been, or are still, building. These could hardly have been attempted earlier for lack of financial and technical resources although some tolerably good unsurfaced vehicle tracks were introduced on important routes by the Ottoman Turks and then by the Ḥamīd al-Dīn Imāms. With external aid roads are now pushed ahead and a sensible plan has been made for the inevitable development of Ṣan'ā' and its greatly

increased population—aiming to preserve the old while getting on with building the new.

Widespread damage was caused the heritage in the north by bombing during the 1962-67 Egyptian presence—historic little towns were destroyed and can never be replaced. But Ṣan'ā', during the early days of the Republic suffered more from the planning that decreed the deliberate demolition of the walls and gates linking Bustān al-Sulṭān with the Bīr al-'Azab suburb, and of two mosques there. A street was driven between the two districts, flanked by ugly ill-constructed edifices mostly in concrete. Part of al-Khuzaymah Cemetery must also have been built over but already, before World War I, the Turks appear to have encroached upon it. A school, completely modern in construction, just inside the southern wall, sticks out in the old city like a sore thumb. The destruction of Bāb al-Shu'ūb and Bāb al-Salām between 1962-67, and the later, quite unnecessary, clearing away of the old Turkish adobe garrison tower at Bāb al-Balaqah, on the grounds that these gates impeded motor traffic, have lost the city some salient features of its outline. Alterations imperatively necessary could have been more discretely effected and better planning would have allowed Bāb al-Balaqah to remain. Worse than anything was the bull-doing of the historic Khanādiq, the two fortified walls carried on arches across the Sā'ilah flood-course, so that a motor road could be run down it—this during President al-Ghashmī's short term of office. This seems to us totally inessential. Historians must also deplore the demolition of old Jewish houses in Qā' al-Yahūd, re-named Qā' al-'Ulufi, notably Ḥabshūsh's house with its many interesting architectural details.

By contrast the first Ottoman occupation left a legacy of pleasing pieces of architecture such as the Bakīriyyah Mosque—while buildings of the second Ottoman occupation executed in local stone, like the military barracks *extra muros*, harmonise well with traditional Ṣan'ā' building.

A law promulgated about 1974 requires new building to conform to traditional styles. Though in many cases this means simply that a traditional skin is grafted on to a building modern in conception, with not very satisfactory results, the control tower at al-Raḥabah International Airport constructed in light and darker grey stone is truly a fine blend of old and new.

Restoration carried out with good intent but with no taste or regard for its historic features has been a cause of irreparable and deplorable damage to parts of the historic Jāmi' Mosque, one of the earliest foundations in Islam. A proposal was actually made at one time to demolish its fine minarets and replace them with

¹ Discussed in R. B. Serjeant, 'The Yemeni poet al-Zubayrī and his polemic against the Zaydī Imāms', *Arabian Studies*, London-Cambridge, 1978, V, 87-136.

minarets of standard design, in concrete. The supposed removal from the Jāmi' of the wooden frieze carved with Kūfic inscriptions considered by the Ismā'īlis (Fāṭimī Ṭayyibīs) to be in a distinctively Fāṭimī form of Arabic script has obviously placed them in jeopardy.

Yet another factor menaces the continuing existence of old Şan'ā'—and it must here be remarked sadly that it is mostly foreigners and but few Yemenis themselves who are anxious to preserve this superb piece of Arab heritage, for Şan'ānis, if proud of their city, are rarely conscious of what is happening to it. At the Islamic City Colloquium held at Cambridge in 1976² where the urgency of city conservation was stressed, the unhappy case of Morocco's lovely cities was brought to the attention of the participants. The French, during the Protectorate, attended well to preserving these cities while setting up modern European type suburbs outside their medieval walls. Today, as wealthier families move out from their great mansions to the more convenient suburbs better adapted to changed social conditions, simple country folk, flooding into the towns, move into the mansions vacated which get divided up between a number of tenants. The country people, being too poor and ignorant to maintain this property, it rapidly deteriorates so, it is feared, that the old cities will slide into slums.

Some at least of old Şan'ā's families are already moving away to the suburbs where, like so many other Middle Eastern cities, building land fetches fantastic prices. Perhaps what has happened in Morocco is already under way in Şan'ā'?

Only a few years ago the conveyance of water to Şan'ā' by *ghayl*-channels was discontinued: other Yemeni towns have also abandoned this system though it may survive in some places. The water-table of Şan'ā' and its environs has been rapidly falling but piped water has already been introduced from outside. It is envisaged that a water-borne sewage system will be added. In a country such as the Yemen, which has water resources but probably little of them to spare, it appears to us gross extravagance to dissipate them in this way. It can only be guessed that if underground water is diverted from elsewhere to Şan'ā' in quantity, then some other district will go short. Water shortages in fact are of common occurrence in Yemeni history. The old city is likely to be adversely affected by the introduction of water-borne sewage which will not be a system easy to adapt to it. If it becomes general the old economy of disposal of night-soil to the public baths and thence the return of the ash to the fields will be disrupted—this may appear a minor consideration to Yemenis during the current revolution in the country's economy. The traditional dry system properly managed is neither offensive or unhealthy as those who have lived in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt can attest. Refuse disposal today is inefficient and has made many places in Şan'ā' unsightly.

Yet—when all is said and deplored—old Şan'ā' still remains much as it was in the days of Imāms Yaḥyā and Aḥmad, a city of distinctively Yemeni beauty with many a charming vista or quaint corner, mosque gardens, pepper trees, tamarisk—more recently the eucalyptus. From its minarets projecting into the sky the muezzins seem to reply the one to the other even into the small hours before daybreak—now alas in the distorted tones of the loudspeaker, not the direct sweetness of the human voice—in the early morning they rouse a chorus of barking by scavenging dogs. Nowadays there follows the sound of running feet and the grunting of the troops on their dawn jogging exercises around the city. The Qaṣr, a patchwork of fortification from Ḥimyar' to Ottoman times, overlooks Şan'ā's houses, baths, hostleries and warehouses, markets, the *sabils* erected by men of piety or

perhaps by sinners atoning for their misdeeds, the wells with their long ramps now fallen into disuse, the Sā'ilah sometimes filling with disastrous floods. Saba', Ḥimyar, Abyssinians, the Persian Abnā', Ibāḍīs, Caliphial governors, Qarmaṭīs, Şulayḥīs, Ayyūbids, Rasūlids, Mamlūks, Ottomans, Egyptians, and how many more have held sway here—and most have left their traces. The Zaydī Imāms who arrived a thousand years ago have naturally left their special impress on Şan'ā'. In these very streets one would have happened on Imām Yaḥyā on foot, escorted only by a single soldier, or issuing forth ceremoniously in his carriage which now moulders away at the National Museum. Up a side-street lies the neglected tomb of Imām Aḥmad—it is said the tribesmen would like to have dug it up to make sure that his terrible eyes were closed for ever! There is Imām al-Badr's mansion, al-Bashā'ir, scene of the attack of the night of September 26th, now prosaically become the traffic office.

* * *

In assembling this volume much fundamental pioneer research in the field has been involved, be it in Şan'ā' and the Yemen or through consultation of Mss. and printed sources in Arabic add to which works in European languages, Hebrew and Turkish. Yet our researches are nowhere near exhaustive of the written sources. Numerous individuals have been consulted on the content and language of our studies. Some chapters have been nearly re-written at least once as new data were discovered, most embody the work of several hands and all have gone through revisions. A certain overlap of course inevitably there is when subjects are treated from several angles. Gaps there are also, of which the editors are only too conscious, due in part to circumstances, in part arising from the inaccessibility of what we needed to study.

It had been intended to include a chapter on Yemeni Şan'āni literature and literary circles, but at least this is covered by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī in his own books³ on Yemeni literature. It is surprising indeed that until little over a decade ago, the rich Yemeni literature (taking literature in its full sense as including the Arabic 'sciences') was all but unknown in sister Arab countries. Şan'ā's repute in 'Abbāsid times as a centre of learning is surely established by al-Ḥarīrī who commences his celebrated 'Assemblies' with the *Maqāmah* of Şan'ā'—even if there be nothing Şan'āni about it but the title! Recent years have seen a spate of modern verse and anthologies. Music, frowned upon in Imām Yaḥyā's day, has not been touched upon, but we do have Professor Muḥammad 'Abduh Ghānim's important study of sung Şan'āni verse.⁴

Throughout the book the religious ingredient is everywhere evident, but it cannot be claimed that it has more than touched upon the intellectual life of Islam, its preoccupation with and proliferation of writings upon the law, doctrine, controversies, schisms and the like. Popular religion and credences figure only incidentally. No separate chapter has been devoted to the social structure of Şan'ā' which however is dealt with in several places. The time factor, if no other, did not permit of listing Şan'ā' families, in which Quarter of the city they are or were located, and the compilation of a survey of their history and origins—this is a project eminently desirable. Little is said of irrigation,⁵ agriculture and traditional medicine, though Martha Mundy made out an initial list of medicines found on sale in Şan'ā' Sūq, the majority of which may be found in the 7th/13th century *al-Mu'tamad fi 'l-adwiyah al-mufradah* of Yūsuf b. 'Umar the Rasūlid.

Our fieldwork in Şan'ā' is incomplete in one major respect—

² Selected papers edited by R. B. Serjeant have been published by UNESCO as *The Islamic city*, Paris, 1980.

³ *Fann al-Yaman*, Beirut, n.d. (1965); *Qisṣat al-adab fi 'l-Yaman*, Beirut, 1385/1965; *Min al-adab al-Yamani*, Beirut, 1394/1974. See also *Ilyādhah min... Şan'ā'*, Beirut, 1392/1972. See also 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Maqlīḥ, *al-Shi'r al-mu'āşir fi*

'l-Yaman, and *Shi'r al-'ammiyyah fi 'l-Yaman*, both Beirut, 1978.

⁴ *Shi'r al-ghinā' al-Şan'āni*, Beirut, 1974.

⁵ See however, E. Rossi, 'Note sull'irrigazione et le stagioni nel Yemen', *Oriente Moderno*, Roma, 1953, XXXIII, 360.

the refusal of the military on security grounds—to allow us to make a survey of the Qaṣr, though it is fair to add that Lewcock was permitted a brief superficial visit to it. The military have probably not realised that satellite photographs could reveal most of its secrets, but if such photographs exist they might provide some archaeological data—this is an avenue unexplored by us. We did not survey the city walls—which are being eaten into by building in many places, or crumbling, not so slowly, into ruin from neglect to maintain them. Detailed planning of the *ghayls* is a desideratum but Costa found it impossible to trace them into the area of extension of the city southwards. Serjeant was shown a part of the *ghayl* course near Dār al-Shukr in December 1978 when trenches were being excavated for some public utility near Maydan al-Sharārah/al-Taḥrīr.

Archaeological investigations of the city, were it possible to make them, should prove fruitful and could of course lead to re-adjustment of opinions expressed here. However, despite the importance for Arabian, Islamic and Christian history of excavating al-Qalīs (popularly al-Qullays), Abrahah's church, a high wall has recently been erected around Ghurqat al-Qalīs, the site traditionally assigned to it, and this precludes investigation for the present. It would be more than interesting were it possible to excavate the known site of Ghumdān Palace.

In many ways the opportunities for undertaking serious research in the Yemen, Ṣan'ā' in particular, which began after the end of the 1962-67 War, have been no more significant than in the field of architectural studies. Although only a limited time has passed since then, and architectural research is seriously handicapped by the lack of any archaeological study within or near the city, and by the absence of classification of most of the documentation, the immense wealth of surviving buildings in Ṣan'ā' has made it possible to establish the main outline of building development for at least the last 300 years, and, in the case of mosques, for well over a thousand years. It has proved possible, subsequently, to link this in its essentials with detailed accounts of the physical character of the city in the 3rd/10th century, and with what little can be gleaned of pre-Islamic Ṣan'ā', so that the essential continuity of architectural design can be asserted with some confidence for a period dated back to the beginning of Islam, and, on the evidence of the tower-palace of Ghumdān and a few other fragments, four centuries earlier.

K. A. C. Creswell, in his introduction to the edition of his classic *Early Muslim architecture*, rewritten as late as 1958, could say that 'Arabia, at the rise of Islam does not appear to have possessed anything worthy of the name of architecture.' The statement is surprising, in view of the wealth and quality of Arabian traditional architecture now being revealed, and which is almost timeless in the antiquity of its lineage. This architecture had almost certainly been discussed, or at least mentioned, by earlier researchers and travellers. But it is true that the kernel areas of ancient Arabian culture were not easily accessible for research until recently, and that even now, the scope of research which can be undertaken there is limited, especially in the archaeological sphere.

The pride of the Yemeni in his traditional architecture is still evident, in spite of recent aculturation. With good building materials readily to hand, especially stone, plasters and translucent gypsum, a settled way of life, and little alternative means of expression of his success in life apart from building, the houses, mosques, minarets and *samsarāhs* tended to grow in size and acquire decoration and rich finishes where today such expression is diverted to the acquisition of motor cars and relatively impermanent household gadgets. The stimulus given by the pride in owning fine buildings to the quality of design and construction in

architecture must have been a millennia-old phenomenon in the Yemen, and explains the distinction attained by its architecture—which has led to it now being widely admired in the world outside.

With the demolition of buildings and walls since Hugh Scott's visit to Ṣan'ā' in 1937-38 and the covering of what were then open spaces and countryside, his photographs published in his book *In the High Yemen* and those unpublished, now in the British Museum of Natural History, South Kensington, are already of historic importance—as of course are the photographs of earlier travellers. For instance Scott's book shows irrigation wells operated by animal power that has completely given way to motor pumps.

* * *

Where documentary evidence is concerned we must record one major omission in that, because of its virtual inaccessibility, we were unable to make a direct study of the *Miswaddah* of Sinān Pāshā, preserved in the Chancellery of the Jāmi' Mosque. The authorities had not, as yet, permitted it to be photographed for reference and study at leisure. During our all too brief stays in Ṣan'ā', with so many fundamental data to establish, it was out of the question to try to read it there and copy out passages by hand. An edition of the *Miswaddah* with provisional identification of places, families, etcetera, is an indispensable preliminary to anything near a comprehensive history of Ṣan'ā'.

Arabic documents abound, many in private hands—those few that came our way we have used. Arabic documents in Hebrew character are to be found with Jewish emigrants from Ṣan'ā'—if these seem to be cited in a ratio disproportionate to their number it is primarily because they have been more accessible. Through the good offices of Professors S. D. F. Goitein and Y. Ratzaby (himself originally hailing from Wādī Sa'wān) we obtained a photograph of the records of the former Jewish Religious Court at Ṣan'ā' which are now in Jerusalem.

It is deeply to be regretted that part of the massive trove of Islamic documents of the early centuries that was discovered in the Jāmi' Mosque only a few years ago, has been allowed to be lost, stolen or dispersed—what remains is reported to be in the process of calendaring but the loss to the Islamic heritage of any of it is of a degree that can only be imagined—certainly a serious loss.

Legal writings, including *fatāwā*, may be described as having been drawn upon to the extent they were readily available to us. Archival sources have hardly been tapped—to cover the Ottoman archives alone, though undoubtedly rewarding, would be a lengthy task.

History⁶ is only treated in outline, as a background setting particularly where it relates to Ṣan'ā'. The presentation of the little known last four centuries of Zaydī rule, Imām by Imām, if not ideal does at least provide some historical framework. Relatively few basic historical texts have been printed—a sensible practical scheme would be to reproduce a series of facsimile texts of Mss. provided with a list of chapters—rather than wait for the appearance of definitive editions. Where Mss. of Arabic chronicles have been consulted Yemeni scholars have been referred to over the many difficulties of language and comprehension that confront non-Yemenis.

Where pre-Islamic Ṣan'ā' is concerned Professor A. F. L. Beeston has coped with the sparse inscriptional evidence and indicated certain problems, but more inscriptions⁷ must surely be discovered alluding to Ṣan'ā', and every year new inscriptions throw more and more light on early Yemeni and Arabian Islamic history.

At present historical information for the first three or four

6 Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman fi 'l-'aṣr al-Islāmī/Sources de l'histoire du Yemen à l'époque musulmane*, Cairo, 1974, is valuable but already needs supplementation.

7 See *Studies in the history of Arabia*, I, Sources for the history of Arabia, Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia, Riyadh, 1397/1977, in general, and *Studies in the history of Arabia: al-Jazīrat al-'Arabīyyah qabl al-Islām/Pre-Islamic Arabia*, Riyadh, 1979.

centuries of Ṣan'āni and even Yemeni history as a whole, tends to be rather thin. Though, for example, Christianity had still some importance during this era, about the end of which it seems to disappear, much of this is to be deduced from casual references in al-Rāzī's *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*. Al-Rāzī is an immensely valuable source for half-remembered political events, semi-forgotten religious controversies—interpreted in the light of later Islamic attitudes, popular religion and local traditions with references to persons and episodes unknown to other Arab writers—but so much of what he relates is quite obscure.

Medieval Yemeni history has perhaps attracted more attention than any other period, but Zaydī history is not well known. Given the known standpoint of the Zaydī school their historians often display a high level of objectivity, though this statement should be qualified to some extent when they come to treat of the Ismā'īlīs (Fāṭimī-Ṭayyibīs), heretical in their eyes. Fāṭimī Yemeni history is still mainly in Ms. form and only some of it available for consultation. It is to be hoped that many more chronicles of the type of the anonymous *Ṣafaḥāt majhūlah*, rich in social history, edited by Qādī Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī and published by the Centre for Yemeni Studies, will come to light.

In point of reliability European travellers diverge considerably, but we owe much to the best of them, Niebuhr and Manzoni. Poorer as we should be without Ibn al-Mujāwir's accounts of the Yemen, they, no less than some of the European travellers of a later era, are not always quite trustworthy.

The early history of Ṣan'ā' confronts us with many obscurities and in chapter 10 some problems of the city's growth and development are indicated. In consequence our proposals are not infrequently tentative, subject to adjustment in the light of fresh archaeological or documentary evidence. In view of the limitations the editors have been obliged to place upon themselves to produce this volume they have even talked from time to time of a supplementary collection of studies.

* * *

For the editors it was a memorable experience to partake in a parallel activity—the conceptions and creation of the 'City of Ṣan'ā' of the Nomad and City Exhibition⁸ at the British Museum of Mankind in 1976, in association with Paolo Costa, Walter Dostal, Martha Mundy, Rex Smith and Robert Wilson—interpreted so splendidly by Margaret Hall of the British Museum and her team. To construct a physical illusion with the authentic spicy smells, the sound of the call to prayer and the singer with his lute, is something the written word cannot achieve.

Transliteration

Transliteration is always a problem. Besides Arabic there is quotation of Turkish and Hebrew. Turkish words are given in the modern Romanized script but of course this means that Arabic words in Turkish appear in Turcized form. For Hebrew the editors have been content to accept the transliteration of their Hebraist colleagues. Arabic words from documents in Hebrew or Hebrew script conform with the appropriate Arabic-Roman transliteration.

For the transliteration of classical Arabic the system of *Arabian Studies* has been adopted. The numerous colloquial Arabic words derived from Mss. or printed books, or else taken

down from word of mouth are harmonised with this system insofar as it is possible to do so. Ettore Rossi has given a description of the phonetics of Ṣan'āni Arabic, but neither his system of transcription, nor that of S. D. F. Goitein for the pronunciation of Yemeni Jews, has been followed, and for practical reasons quotations from either have been made to conform to our system. Where the pronunciation of consonants differs from classical Arabic it is assumed that it will be understood that *qāf* is hard velar *g* as in gate, *qād* and *qā'* are most easily described as a palatalized *dhāl*, and *ḡā'* while it often sounds to the writer like the classical Arabic *ḡād* is sometimes actually written as a *dāl*. The most learned use these pronunciations but they may also use standard classical pronunciation. Pronunciation varies too with a man's degree of learning. The short vowels are often uncertain to the Arabs themselves and individuals will pronounce place-names for instance, differently from one-another. The short vowels are often uncertain to the Arabs themselves and individuals will pronounce place-names for instance, differently from one-another.

All place-names have been checked with Yemenis and all colloquial, i.e. non-dictionary words, but a few of the more highly technical terms Professor Dostal has collected it was not possible to check since, being special to a craft, they are unknown to others.

This volume will establish the standard form of many words and names, so it is important that they correctly and simply represent the Arabic as far as possible, avoiding the cryptograms of the 'linguists' and the erratic notation of the place-names of so otherwise excellent an observer as Johann Ludwig Burckhardt—it is difficult to identify the route of the Kibsi pilgrim caravan as he records it with the place-names given in the Arabic sources.

The indices attempt through cross-referencing to remedy unavoidable inconsistencies in spelling of foreign words. Long established names, such as Mecca, are retained in their traditional English spelling.

Language

A wealth of Arabic terms has been provided, even to the extent that they may prove wearisome to the non-Arabist, but they are vital to the true understanding of classical texts and colloquial expression. To convey a range of senses of a single Arabic word these are given, where appropriate as alternatives separated by an oblique stroke. Many Arabic words have no direct English equivalent.

The northerners call the southerners *laghālighah* (sing. *lughlughī*), alleging that they cannot pronounce the letter *qāf*, and I believe the southerners have for, their part, a nickname they give to those with a northern accent, but the only term known to me is the abusive and much resented *muḍammij*, preparer of dung-cake fuel (*kibyah*) which they use. The crafts, or at any rate some of them have a secret or private language, *lughat al-aṣāḍiyah/asāṭīyah*, the language of the master-craftsmen. The builders, according to a Ṣan'āni informant, even employ Hebrew words in it. It has also been described to me as *lughat al-'ammārīn wa-l-mawāqīṣah*, the language of the builders and stone-trimmers. The butchers, (*al-jazzārīn*) also have their secret cant. Examples of cant words are Yaḥya 'l-Shu'ūbī for Imām Yaḥyā, *al-mu'aṭrad* for *al-qāt*, *al-'ūdī* or *al-surwaydī*, for a pretty girl.

⁸ See James Kirkman, *City of Ṣan'ā'*, London, 1976.

Chapter 1

Geographical Sketch

Şan'ā' is situated in the centre of the highland zone, in an elevated plateau, on the eastern edge of the great block of mountain ranges which rise up only 50km or so from the Red Sea. To the east further mountain ranges separate it from the beginning of the deserts which slope continuously down to the Arabian Gulf, hundreds of miles to the north east.

The plain in the centre of which Şan'ā' is built is between 2350m and 2200m above sea level, falling gently towards the north north east. It is some 80km in length, in width varying up to a maximum of 16km. The southern limits of the plain form a watershed between the catchments of the Wādī'l-Khārid, which flows north east, and the Wādī Sihām, which flows west to the Red Sea. To the south, the Şan'ā' valley is separated from that of Dhamār by a massive table mountain, the Jabal Kanin, an offshoot of the western range. The northern boundary of the Şan'ā' basin is a gently sloping range of hills, composed of limestone, which block the broad valley. At 2110m a narrow gorge cut through these hills forms the sole drainage outlet for the huge catchment area of the Şan'ā' plain and its surrounding mountains; through this gorge flows the Khārid, which goes on to water the desert oasis of the Jawf to the north east. Both east and west, the plain is dominated and enclosed by rocky mountain ranges. On the north the low hills are composed of fossiliferous limestone, grey to tan in colour. On the east side, north of al-Rawḍah, the rim of the Şan'ā' basin is deeply indented and frayed, and here reddish-brown sandstones, which underlie the whole plain, outcrop as bold escarpments and reappear briefly on the opposite side near Wādī Ḍahr. South of al-Rawḍah the mountains forming the eastern and western sides of the Şan'ā' plain are massive Tertiary volcanic rock; these include basalt lavas alternating with pyroclastic rocks. Those to the west form fairly straight escarpments, those to the east broken and uneven. Included in these mountains are Jabal Nuqum, Jabal 'Aybān, 3194m, the highest mountain which overlooks Şan'ā', and the twin peaks of al-Nahdayn, 2513m, which are due south. Volcanic activity has continued sporadically to within recent times and is seen in the harsh irregular landscape of the Harrah Hamdān, north west of Şan'ā' International Airport, where lava flows, lasting into historic times, and many volcanic cones give a lunar aspect to the scene and complete the mountain ring. Within the plain, evidence of recent activity can also be seen in a broken tongue of lava which cascades down through the gap followed by the Şan'ā'-Hodeidah road west of the city, then spreads out in lobate form onto the plain near Wādī 'Aşir and at Jabal al-Marḥah, 2534m, south of Şan'ā', a volcano whose lava flow extends to the Ta'izz road. These most recent flows cover the present surface of the plain and their surfaces are rough

and broken, with very little soil cover.

Erosion slowly levelled the land, disintegrating the rocks of the mountains and depositing them in the flat floor of the plain below. In the trough between the parallel mountain ranges east and west of Şan'ā', sedimentary deposits, loess-like silts, partly composed of wind-deposited 'dust' and partly interbedded gravels, have accumulated to measured depths of up to more than 400m in the north Şan'ā' plain. These sedimentary deposits have the property of sucking up and holding any rainfall like a sponge. This accounts for the great fertility of the Şan'ā' plain, and makes it possible to dig wells everywhere and thus create, from the steppe which would be almost bare in the dry season, gardens and oases which bloom throughout the year. The water contained in the deposits is not enough, however, to maintain a permanent cover of brushwood and trees. Only along the bed of the Wādī 'l-Khārid, where there is underground water movement, is there a perennial strip of trees, mainly tamarisk. Such trees also follow some of the tributary wadi valleys. On the western side of the Şan'ā' plain there are several strong springs (e.g. Ḥaddah) which nourish luxuriant oases of fruit trees.

Şan'ā' lies spread at the foot of Jabal Nuqum, 2892m, which may have been a dominant influence on the original choice of the site of the settlement. It is the city's 'weather mount', a collecting point for rainclouds in summer, and therefore probably experiencing a slightly higher local rainfall. (This is suggested, though not proved, by existing rainfall records.)

The surface of the plain is not as flat as it appears from the air. Besides the lobate lava flows, some scarcely weathered, which frequently protrude from the base of the mountains, sheets of gravel and unconsolidated rubble, brought down by mass movement (an imperceptible creeping downhill of loose surface material during many centuries), or by catastrophic mud and rock flows following exceptionally heavy rain, cause variations in surface relief. These surface irregularities are very evident to the south of Şan'ā'.

Over many generations the farmers of Şan'ā' have carefully terraced the surface of the plain for cultivation wherever terrain and soils permit. The ground surface is, however, flat in comparison with much of the Yemen elsewhere, and the earth bunds bounding the fields of the Şan'ā' plain therefore seldom exceed half a metre in height, except on the sides of the wadis which debouch into the plain. Here, as in the case of Wādī 'Aşir, stone terrace walls over two metres high can be seen. The stones and boulders on gravel fans have often been painstakingly cleared to one side, to reveal the fertile loessic soil beneath.

Drainage

The present-day erosive effect of running water on the plain is limited, despite the absence of a complete vegetation cover, as the earth bunds found round all fields regulate and distribute surface run-off following rain. Furthermore, all the wadis feeding the Wādī 'l-Sa'ilah, which itself disappears as a surface feature north of al-Rawḍah, are permanently dry except following heavy rain. Thus the term 'alluvial plain', with its implications of a flowing river, is misleading in the case of plateau around Ṣan'a'.

Aeolian erosion and surface sheet movement, (noticeable after rain), are probably the major factors of landscape sculpture under present climatic conditions, aided by the friable, dry nature of the soil during most of the year, and a very scant plant cover.

Climate

Northern Yemen does not share the desert climate of most of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, due to the effect of its high mountain backbone, culminating in Jabal al-Nabiyy Shu'ayb, 3760m. Ṣan'ā', in the centre of the Yemen, has a temperate climate, with generally very dry and mild weather; yet the temperature difference between daytime and night-time can sometimes reach 30°C. Ṣan'ā' lies at a climatic cross-roads: contrasting air-mass sources affect it. Southerly and westerly airstreams bring increased humidity and the possibility of rain. Greater cloud cover at such times depresses maximum temperatures. In contrast, dry continental air from the interior of Arabia brings, as commonly in the autumn, an abrupt drop in humidity, clear skies, lower minimum temperatures, and a greater daily temperature range, (midday maximum being still high due to clear skies, as in December). Occasional warmer winter spells with rainshowers indicate a protrusion north of southerly maritime air, which finally advances with the sun to bring the minor rains of the spring months.

In the summer, the many peaks and ridges of the great block of highlands over 3000m above sea level, 'catch' some of the rain held in the warm, moist, monsoon winds blowing from the southwest. Thus the areas of maximum summer rainfall in the Yemen are the high, west-facing slopes fronting the Red Sea Rift. This orographic rain diminishes rapidly in the lee of the mountain divide, so that areas farther east, such as the Ṣan'ā' plain, are considerably drier. The total annual rainfall at the edge of the Red Sea Rift, 25km to the west, is 50 percent higher than at

Ṣan'ā', and it is 10 percent higher on the mountains and plateaux immediately surrounding the Ṣan'ā' plain than on the plain itself. Ṣan'ā' lies within the solar tropics, at lat. 15°22' N and long. 44°11' E, and has the 'radiation climate' typical of tropical high mountains. The sun is at its zenith over Ṣan'ā' on May 2nd and August 15th, and radiation from the sun is high throughout the year, only slightly lowered during the cloudy months of the summer rains, July and August. The hottest and coldest months, June and December respectively, are directly related to the intensity of solar radiation, and the tropical strength of the sunlight allows year-round plant growth under irrigation. Nevertheless, the climate of Ṣan'ā' could better be described as 'warm temperate' rather than 'tropical', due to the effects of the high altitude, (2255m at Bāb al-Yaman). The temperature and barometric pressure is low and the nocturnal loss of heat by outward radiation is also low, so that ground frosts at night are frequent during the winter, despite relatively high midday temperatures.

Rainfall

Such meteorological records as exist confirm a consistent rainfall pattern of maxima in March - April - May, and July - August - September. Ṣan'ā' rarely receives rain between November and January, or in June, but no month is inevitably rainless.¹

Occasionally, heavy storms occur in April and May, but the rainfall in July and August is more concentrated, typically falling in thunderstorms, and also more reliable. In August 1933, more than one fifth of the annual rainfall total fell within twenty four hours; other examples of the intensity of the summer rain could be quoted.

Jabal Nuqum has been observed to have an important local effect on summer convectional rain. Cloud caps form and coalesce over the peak, resulting in heavy, thundery afternoon rain, as the clouds move out over the plain.

The total annual rainfall varies between 200mm and 500mm.²

Humidity

The atmosphere of Ṣan'ā' is relatively dry, most constantly during the winter months. Mist is unknown, but a layer of white smoke from the kitchens overhangs the city in early morning, which is particularly pronounced during November.³

1 For example, the following:

Nov. 1940....64.2mm.

Jan. 1943....18.0mm.

Dec. 1943....44.8mm.

2 The recorded monthly and annual totals are given below for a wet, a dry, and an average year: 1963, 1971, and 1967 respectively:

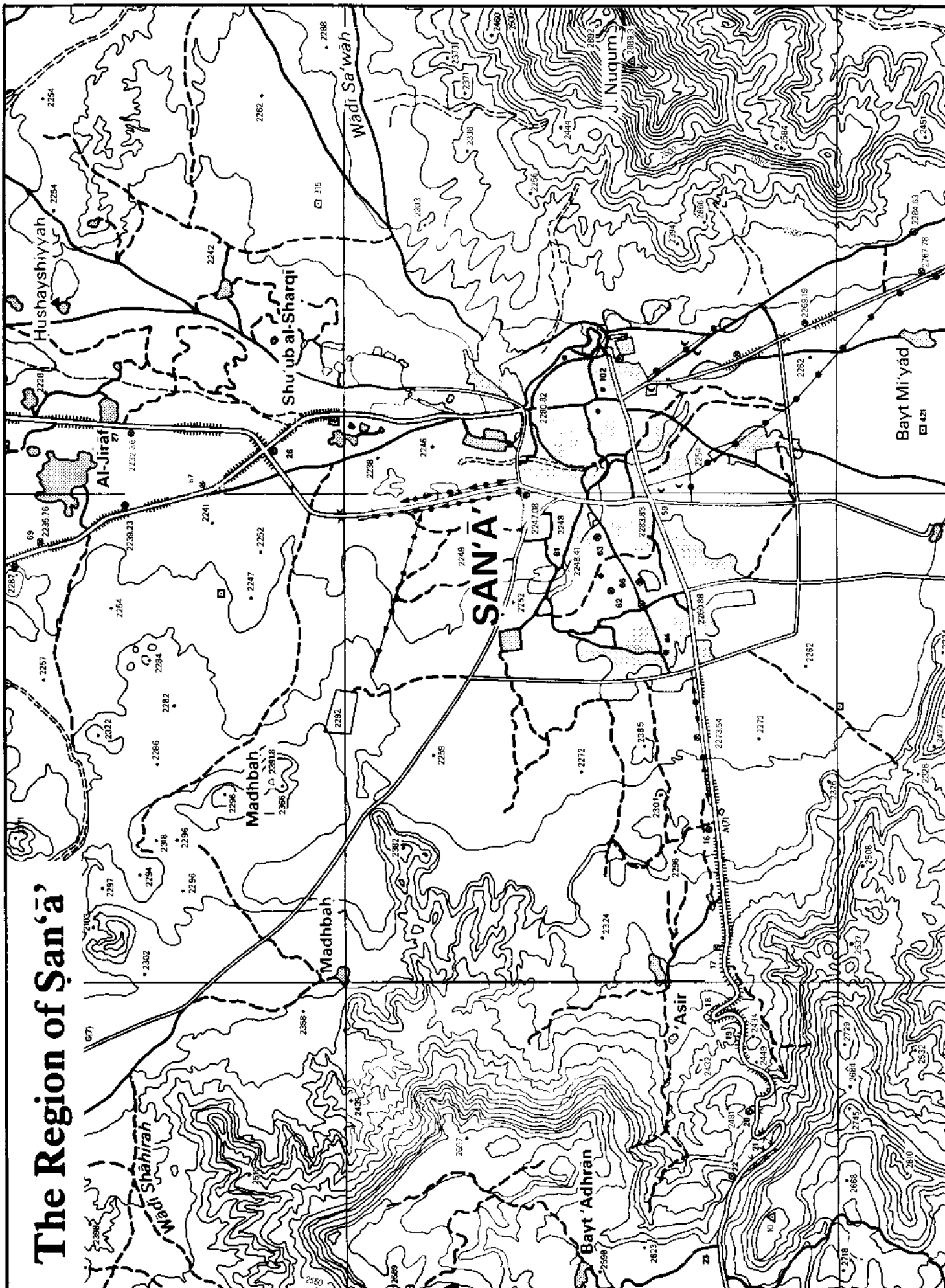
Years	Monthly Rainfall												Year's Total (mm)
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	
1963	26.0	8.4	11.0	196.8	138.4	-	28.2	79.5	-	-	48.1	15.6	531.0
1971	28.7	-	23.8	21.5	49.0	-	17.3	9.0	-	-	10.2	0.7	155.4
1967	-	1.5	23.5	101.7	128.0	-	65.0	69.2	-	-	9.0	-	397.9

3 Relative Humidity Average for first six months of 1944

% Ṣan'a'						% Hodendah					
0700h	1300h	1900h	0700h	1300h	1900h	0700h	1300h	1900h	0700h	1300h	1900h
61.0	31.1	50.3	23.7	69.3	69.2						

The Region of Ṣan'ā'

This topographic map illustrates the region around San'a', Yemen. The city of San'a' is centrally located, with its urban area and surrounding districts like Madhbaḥ and Al-Jirāf clearly marked. The map features contour lines indicating elevation, with peaks reaching up to 2500 meters. Major roads and the Wādī Sa'wāḥ are shown. Other locations include Hushayshiyah, Bayt Mi'yād, and Asir. The map is detailed with numerous place names and elevation points, providing a comprehensive view of the terrain.



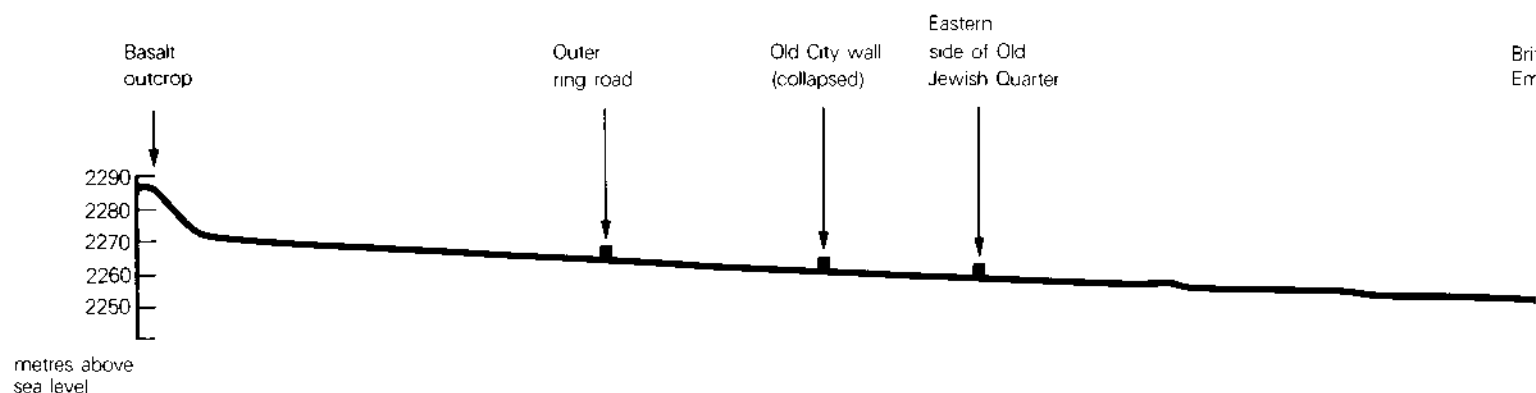


Fig. 1.1 Cross-section of the city of Ṣan'ā' along a line bearing 260° from citadel (approx: W-E)

Pressure and Winds

Local winds show a strong daily rhythm which tends to override regional, seasonal changes. There is generally weak air movement both morning and evening, and stronger winds at midday, related to convection currents over the heated land. 'Dust Devils' (*ūfārah* or *ja'fārah*, pl. *ja'āfirah*) develop with the strong winds; observed up to 600m high, they move slowly and haphazardly across the plain.

By night a breeze frequently blows down into the plain from the surrounding higher, colder peaks.

The configuration of the land causes an interesting contrast in the summer between southerly winds blowing both morning and evening, and strong northerly winds at noon (although a hot, dry *fohn* wind sometimes blows from the south). During winter a south west wind normally dominates.

The combination of high day temperatures,⁴ low humidity⁵ (with the consequent high evaporation), and a moderate and somewhat erratic annual rainfall, result in the available moisture of the Ṣan'ā' plain being only marginally adequate for agriculture.

Historians speak occasionally of rainfall famine years and deaths from starvation, but rain can fall in quantities causing ruin to crops—this being known as *maṭar ghaḍab* (lit. 'rain of wrath'). The historians periodically also mention falls of snow—an event quite out of the ordinary—as in 1087/1676-77—when snow lay on the ground in Ṣan'ā' 'like pounded salt'.⁶

4 Ṣan'ā'—Temperatures (°C) 1963

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Absolute Maximum	24.0	26.0	28.0	29.0	28.2	29.4	31.0	28.6	29.8	25.8	25.5	24.0
Mean	11.4	15.4	18.3	18.6	18.2	20.8	20.8	19.7	19.6	16.0	15.6	12.0
Absolute Minimum	-4.0	Zero	1.0	5.0	3.6	2.3	8.5	9.5	4.4	1.4	3.6	-2.2

To make the December figures more meaningful, the figures for the following month, i.e. January 1964, are given:

Absolute Maximum: 25.4°C. Mean: 14.6°C. Absolute Min: 1.9°C.

All are air temperatures.

Ground temperatures show a larger range, that is significant for agriculture.

Figures compiled from the records of several years reveal the following:

Mean maximum ground temperature in June: 41°C.

Mean maximum ground temperature in December: 34°C.

Mean minimum ground temperature Nov-January: below zero.

5 Barometric air pressure at Ṣan'ā' is low, varying from a monthly mean of 778.1mb in November, the maximum, to 774.5mb in July, the minimum. (The readings were made at 1400 hours.)

6 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Wazīr, *Ṭabaq al-halwā wa-ṣiḥāf al-mann wa-ṭ-ṣalwā*, Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin, ms, 114b (Arberry cat. V, no. 4097, p. 31).

7 Two hours' collecting during September at the edge of the Ṣan'ā' plain yielded fifty-two species: European—willows, junipers, dwarf junipers, sweet basil, potentilla (*p. viscosa*), buttercup (*ranunculus multifidus*), primula

Plant Geography

To naturalists, the south west corner of Arabia including the Yemen is of particular interest, a transition zone in which three biogeographical regions overlap:

Northern or Palaearctic, Oriental and Ethiopian (Tropical African).

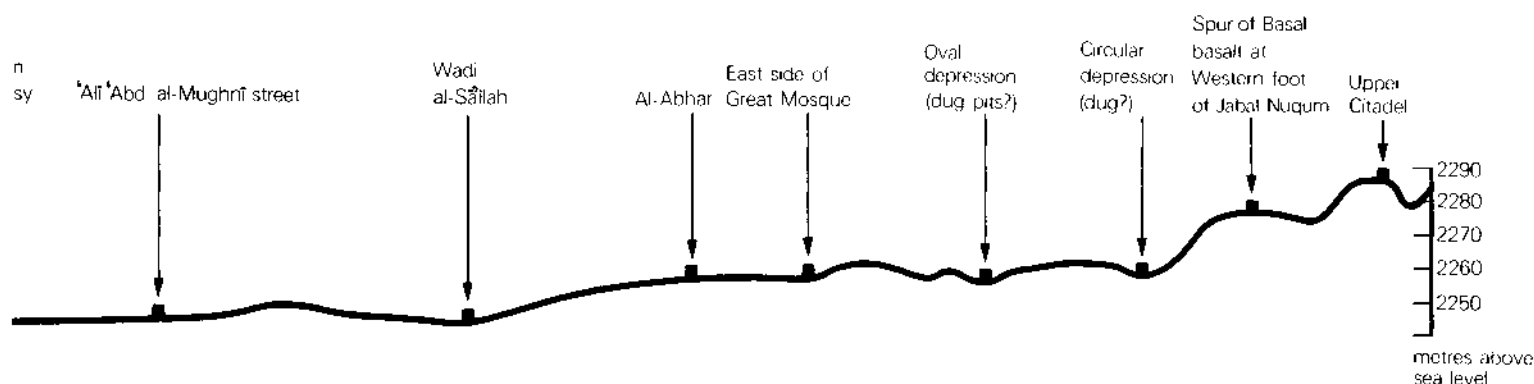
Down on the Tihāmah, and in the valley floors of the wadis descending from the mountains, tropical species of both flora and fauna are typical. On the wet, west-facing foothills of the High Yemen, tropical and temperate species mingle, including some from the Mediterranean. At higher altitudes, plants and animals found elsewhere in Central and Northern Europe, and Asia, have been identified, together with others unique to the Yemen. It is not known whether these temperate species are relics of a cooler, wetter past, or have spread across the barrier of the hot intervening deserts. The Red Sea has been a barrier to the spread of certain species, found either in Ethiopia or the Yemen, but not common to both.

Above 2100m there are fewer plant species to be found than on the moister western mountain slopes. Many of these flourish only during the summer, the first spring rains covering a previously arid landscape with the fresh green of vegetation, which generally persists until the autumn. These include many aromatic and flowering plants.⁷

The summer also forms the growth period for most of the

(*primula verticillata*), field scabious, lavender (*lavandula pubescens*). Alpines—rock pink (*dianthus uniflorus*), gentian (*swertia polynectaria*, a creeping gentian with purple-tinged, white flowers), campanula (*campanula edulis*, a blue-flowered, creeping campanula, with succulent, edible roots), iris (*iris albicans/iris florentina*, a white iris found up to 2400m). Flowers also found in the Ethiopian Highlands—*clematis simensis* (a trailing clematis with small white flowers), *rosa abyssinica* (a wild white rose), *buddleia polystachya* (African buddleia with orange, scented spikes of blossom), *jasminum officinale* (white jasmine which trails over rocks and stone terraces up to 3000m), *antithrix abyssinica* (low, woody bushes with white daisy-like flower heads on rocky ground), *veronia* (grows in clumps of knapweed-like flowers with magenta heads). A flower found on dry stony ground in the Ṣan'ā' plain which is also seen in Egyptian deserts—*centaurea pallescens*. In moist areas many ferns grow, such as two species of maidenhair fern—a horsetail (*equisetum ramosissimum*), a selaginella (*selaginella yemensis*). Flowering plants discovered near Ṣan'ā' (new species)—*lavandula atriplicifolia* (a rare yellow lavender peculiar to the Yemen), *euphorbia variegata* (a euphorbia), *cichorium bontae* (bright blue, dwarf chicory found near water). Biogeographical links with Asia and Africa are obvious in the names of these flowers found on or near the Ṣan'ā' plain—*rumex nepalensis* (found on the edge of streams and irrigation channels), *meriandra bengalensis/stachys palaestinae/arthrosoien somalense* (on the slopes of Nuqum), *panicum teneriffae* (found on bare, rocky basaltic fans in the valley).

See also A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen: Journal d'une excursion botanique faite en 1887*, Paris 1889, for an account of the flora of the Ṣan'ā' region, and botanical researches in the Yemen up to his visit.



crops raised in the Ṣan'ā' plain. In an average summer the whole plain forms a single agricultural area scattered with villages or isolated farms, and extending east and west in the tributary valleys into the mountains. The thorough use of even the smallest rainfall makes it possible to raise substantial crops nearly every year; nevertheless, occasional crop failures are caused by the absence of any rainfall, either in spring, at the end of summer, or even during a period of several years.

The most fertile farms are those where the water reserves are abundant, such as on the slopes of Jabal Ḥaddah, 30km south west of Ṣan'ā', the valley of Dila', 30km to the north west, and the Wādī Ḍahr, 10 km north. There it is possible to find orchards of apples, pears, quinces, peaches, apricots, plums, almonds, lemons, walnuts, figs, and many varieties of grape, as well as the ubiquitous *qāt*. Many flowers can be grown, especially roses. Ṣan'ā' was noted for production of rosewater until the present century.

Euphorbias flourish in the Ṣan'ā' area, and are richly represented by prickly, succulent, cactus-like forms, though the introduced prickly pear (*balas Turkī*) is the only true cactus in the Yemen. At 2700m and above, a low compact pincushion-like species is common—*Euphorbia officinalis*—which has a latex extremely caustic to the skin. Another common species is a *Stapelia* with stems like grotesque fleshy fingers, a few centimetres high.

The fauna include many African and European species, and there are many Arabian sub-species which have obviously evolved along a slightly different path in the relative isolation of the Yemen Highlands: e.g., *Eidolon Sabaeum*, a fruit-eating bat closely related to an African species. Fox and hare are common around Ṣan'ā', but gazelle and leopard are evidently far less numerous than they once were. Porcupines and hyaenas are reported in nearby wadis.

Water Supply

Dug wells have always been the major source of Ṣan'ā''s water, and the accessibility of water a few metres below ground must have been of great importance to the original ancient settlement. The Quaternary valley-fill aquifer, with the water table at depths varying from 5m to 50m, at present the one most exploited, is however, being mined of water: more water is being extracted than can be replaced by natural recharge. A succession of very low rainfall years has aggravated the situation; between 1965 and 1972 a drop in Ṣan'ā' water table by 10cm was measured. A major contributory factor has been the introduction of engine-driven pumps which enable far greater volumes of groundwater to be extracted than was possible by manual or animal power. Wells

thus have to be deepened, sometimes several times a year in the centre of the city where the water table now approaches a depth of 50m. Digging is by hand: dark, dangerous and costly work by *maṣṣārīn*, well cleaners, who send up baskets of spoil hauled up with rope and pulley by men at the well head. The traditional way of raising water is by harnessing to the well ropes animals—donkeys, camels or oxen—which then pull up the water by walking down a sloping earth ramp to give them added power. These raised ramps are a conspicuous feature of Ṣan'ā', and remain even after the installation of diesel-powered hydraulic pumps at many of the wells. Drilling rather than digging wells by hand is increasing. These borehole wells are far deeper and further drain the water reserves in the Quaternary aquifer.

However, the Cretaceous sandstone aquifer which is the main groundwater collector of the area, far below the land surface at depths starting at 80 to 100m, has water levels which seem stable. It constitutes the most reliable long-term source of water for Ṣan'ā'.

Sources of water which are of considerable importance locally are the perennial springs found at Ḥaddah, 'Asir, Bayt Baws, and Wādī Ḍahr. A 'perched' (isolated, local), aquifer has formed in the basalts of the Tertiary Trap Series, resulting in springs at surprisingly high altitudes: approximately 2425m at Ḥaddah, and 2495m at Bayt Baws. The largest spring in the area, in upper Wādī Ḍahr, emerges from basalt, where the fractured, blocky nature of the rock gives a good water yield. The irrigated orchards and fields of these four villages are an important source of produce supply to Ṣan'ā'.

Dug cisterns are another important source of water, created all over the Ṣan'ā' plain. These are pits excavated in the surface of the plain, lined with large blocks of stone, and faced with *qaḍāḍ*, or native cement. They are usually fed by surface drainage during the spring and summer rains, but some are filled from a well dug nearby, or from a spring, as in the case of the large cistern above Ḥaddah village. Yet other cisterns have been made by damming a small valley and incorporating the rock of the valley sides. They vary in shape, usually being oval or rectangular, and in size, from 6-40m across and 4-8m deep, with or without steps leading down to the water, giving access to animals and men alike. Some are even subterranean; all are interesting relics of the past, difficult to date, but many undoubtedly pre-Islamic in origin, patched up repeatedly and used up to the present day.

Supplementing the water obtained from wells and cisterns, man-made underground aqueducts, called in the Yemen *ghayl* or *kazīmah/kadīmah*, similar to the Omani *qanāt* and Persian *kārīz*, have brought water considerable distances to the city centre. The best-preserved is al-Ghayl al-Aswad, which, until 1973, contained a flowing stream, now completely dry. The *ghayls* are discussed in detail of pp.19-31.

Fig. 1.2 SECTION ACROSS ŞAN'A' CITY N-S*

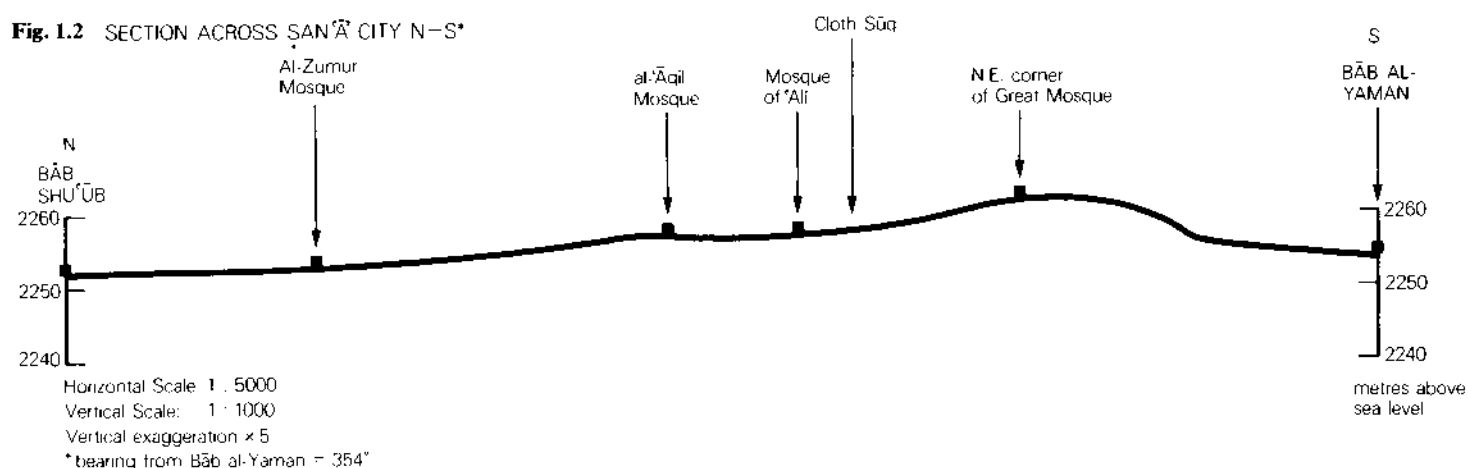
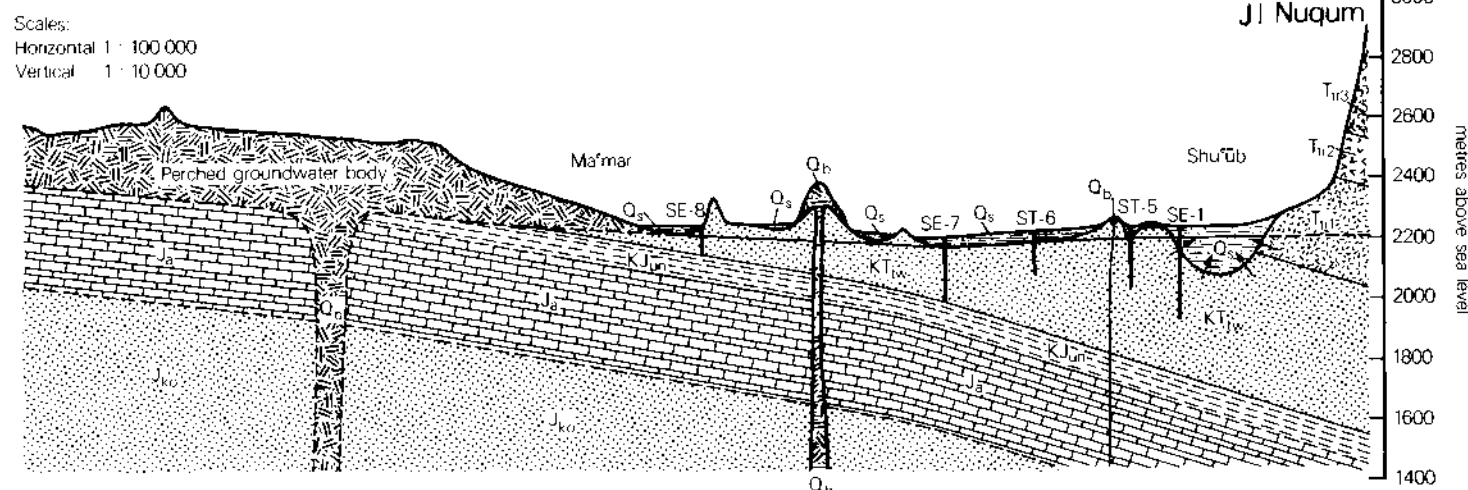


Fig. 1.3 HYDROGEOLOGICAL CROSS SECTION ACROSS THE ŞAN'A' BASIN



Effect of Water Resources on Agriculture

An estimated 50 per cent of the total land surface within the Şan'a' plain catchment area is arable land. The annual rainfall together with water storage is normally sufficient for two crops, sown before the spring and the summer rains respectively, with the skilful aid of dry-farming techniques. By far the largest acreage of crops is rain-fed.⁸

Out of a total of about 1,000 wells found serving agriculture in the plain in 1975, 30 per cent were found abandoned, and 10-15 per cent were dry. 40-45 per cent of all wells had vertical-shaft, engine-driven pumps installed—a very high figure. At the remaining wells, traditional methods of lifting the water were still used, and the irrigated plots were correspondingly smaller.

Under irrigation, crops can be grown all the year round in Şan'a'; although there is likely to be consequent impoverishment of the soil this has still to be investigated. At present, farmers spread incinerated refuse on their fields during the winter months, but as this contains much plastic, tin, and other non-biodegradable matter, it may do some damage to the soil.

The following list indicates the wide variety of crops which

tolerate the Şan'a' climate, and their relative importance in using the available irrigated land.

Main crops	% area of total irrigated land
Barley	28
Sorghum	27
Wheat	10
Maize	10
Lentils	5
Fenugreek	3
Alfalfa	6
Beans	2
Vegetables	2
Grapes	2
Qār	5
	100

Since the great majority of people in the Yemen, and in the Şan'a' district, depends on agriculture for a livelihood, water resources have a prominent position in discussions of Şan'a's development.

8 As the following estimated figures (1972) for the Şan'a' plain indicate:
 areas irrigated from wells..... 750 hectares
 springs..... 300 hectares
 left fallow..... 1,050 hectares
 dry farmed..... 22,000 hectares

Chapter 2

The *Ghayls* of Ṣan'ā'

Ṣan'ā' lies in a plain (Ḥaql Ṣan'ā') at the foot of and to the west of a high mountain chain formed by Jabal Nuqum, Birāsh and the massif of Jabal al-Lawz. The old city at the foot of Nuqum is built on ground sloping gently towards the west till it reaches the level of the banks of the Sā'ilah, the wadi-bed running northwards and separating it from the Quarter of Bustān al-Sultān, established in the Middle Ages.

The water supply of these two districts of the city was always mainly drawn from wells, dug to an average depth of some 35 m in recent decades. Only over the last few years has their average depth touched 50 m, and below this level the water table seems to dry up altogether. As al-Rāzī¹ puts it, 'In every dwelling was a well or two, and a garden (*bustān*) in which there were various kinds of fragrant herbs (*rayāḥīn*).'² Up to the present day, wells are also used for irrigation to some extent, whereas the traditional way of irrigating non-rain crops is by means of cisterns or rivulets (*ghayls*) which convey to the fields water that is collected by drawing on a complex of wells. These are generally situated at the foot of hills and near high mountains.

A *ghayl*, properly speaking, means simply a running stream—of which there are numbers in south west Arabia flowing on the surface of the ground, but in the more technical colloquial usage of Ṣan'ā' and other Yemenite towns the *ghayl* is an artificial often partly subterranean water-channel like the Iranian *qanāt* or *kārīz* and Omani *falaj*. The *ghayl* is constructed with pits or wells excavated at intervals which can be used to help maintain the channel clear of debris. It conveys water considerable distances from its source to supply the town, and for this reason there is a small corpus of proverbs such as, *Ghayl sarrah wa-jū' faddāh*, 'A stream flowing forth, but hunger brings shame'³ and '*Ghayl Bayt Na'am yisqī li-ghayr ahl-ah*, The stream of Bayt Na'am³ irrigates/waters other than its own people.' This diversion of the use of local waters to supply a remoter place appears to have been a cause of popular resentment to countryfolk who suffered thereby, and it may be that only a powerful ruler could impose on them in

this way, and the excavation of the *ghayl* would moreover involve much expense which it would require ample revenues to meet.

A more technical term in connection with the *ghayl* is the Arabic word *kidāmah/kizāmah*, pit, shaft, the latter form figuring in a Tradition which indicates that the *kizāmah* was known to the Hijaz in pre-Islamic times.⁴ *Kidāmah* is used in the speech of the local people around Ṣan'ā' both at Ghayl al-Barmakī and al-Aswad.

The *ghayl* is also known at Ghayl Bā Wazīr near the Ḥaḍramī coast where however it is called *mi'yān*. The question as to whether this type of underground channel irrigation was introduced into the Arabian Peninsula from Persia, as is often all too readily assumed, remains open. It would of course be a facilely attractive theory to suppose that the *ghayl* system was introduced to Ṣan'ā' by the Persian Abnā' before Islam, and spread to other Yemeni towns where we have found them, but though Arab historians do sometimes associate irrigation works with the Persians there is no other evidence, as yet, forthcoming to prove their assertions.

The channels generally run for a while underground then emerge into the open—apparently they do not run underground to prevent evaporation, but to drain any waters infiltrating through the sub-soil to them. Below the actual catchment area there is generally a large cistern that ensures a steady flow and continuity of the supply. The channel then runs, open to the sky, following the best route, sometimes zigzagging to prolong the length of the water-course and thus find a more gentle gradient—where otherwise the slope of the land would create too great a speed of the flow. The majority of the channels are intended for irrigation alone—only al-Aswad, in active use until 1973, was employed for drinking and religious ablutions.

The Yemen has many channels for drinking and ablutions only—for example the channel conducting the water to the celebrated mosque of al-Janād, supposedly of the Companion of the Prophet, Mu'adh b. Jabal,⁵ near Ta'izz. This channel

1 Ahmad 'Abdullāh al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, ed. Husayn b. 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī and 'Abd al-Jabbār Zakkār, Damascus, 1974, 96.

2 Qaḍī Ismā'il's unpublished proverbs. It is also quoted in E. Rossi, 'Note sull'irrigazione, l'agricoltura e le stagioni nel Yemen', *Oriente Moderno*, Roma, 1953, XXXIII, 357, *jū' faddāh* being explained as—*la fame fa commettere azioni vergognose*. This is a most valuable article on the Yemen in the thirties.

3 Goitein, *Jemenica*, 112, no. 799. Bayt Na'am is a Ḥamdān village at the top of Wādī Ḍahr. Wādī Ḍahr is however a perennial surface stream, not a subterranean water-course, so in this case at least it simply means that people at the source of a spring obtain no advantage from it.

4 Cf. R. B. Serjeant, 'Some irrigation systems in Ḥaḍramawt', *BSOAS*, London, 1964, XXVII, i, 57. Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Saīlām al-Ḥarawī,

K. al-Ajnās, Bombay, 1938, defines *kizāmah* as 'wells/pits (*ābār*) which are excavated, there being a distance between them. Then a bore is made (*yukhraq*) between each two wells with a channel (*qanāt*) which leads the water from the first to that which is next to it, until the water is collected in the last of them.' See Husayn b. Fayḍ Allāh al-Ḥamdānī, *al-Sulayhiyyūn*, Cairo, 1955, 152, for al-Kazā'im, near Zabīd. Ibn al-Dayba', *Qurraṭ al-'ayn*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa', Cairo, 1977, II, 111, under annals for 791/1389, speaks of roofed water channels *makhālī* (sing. *makhlūlah*) (*masqūfah*) of Zabīd, the term still being in current use. For Iran and Oman see Professor A. K. S. Lambton, art. 'Kānāt' in *E.I.*²

5 The thin rough-hewn stone pillar in the midst of the court of the mosque is known as 'Aṣā Mu'adh, i.e. Mu'adh's staff.

commences at the hills, 7km to the north of al-Janad where many catchment wells are to be found. It then runs underground at a depth averaging 3.5m, for a distance of between 200 to 300m without small wells for giving access to cleaning the water-course, and then with small wells for this purpose for another 100m—rather like the North African *foggarah* system. From this point the channel runs in the open for a total length of 15 km. Originally it supplied drinking water to 22 villages, ending at the mosque of al-Janad itself.

Two groups of channels are found in the San'a' area—one on the northern, and the other on the southern side of the city. This latter waters the fields on the southern side of San'a' in the area known anciently and today as al-Sāfiyah, and supplies the town itself—whereas the former brings water to the near-by town of al-Rawḍah to the north.

Only the southern group of channels directly concerns the city of San'a', but we must take into consideration also the northern channels which collect the water in the suburban area of Sha'ub/Shu'ub⁶ to conduct it to this important satellite town of San'a' which is mainly owned, like the Wādī Dahr, by the great families of the capital. It incidentally produces a relevant quantity of the grapes and vegetables sold in the San'a' Market. This southern group of *ghayls* consists of Ghayl Ālāf, al-Ghayl al-Aswad, Ghayl al-Barmakī, and Ghayl al-Bāsh, the last-named located, more precisely, to the south east of San'a'.

There is one indication that San'a' or its environs were served by a *ghayl* before Islam, though the evidence is somewhat slender. Al-Rāzī⁷ cites a statement that the Sāfiyah of San'a' is Daynubādh⁸ and Ghayl 'Alīb/Ulayb. In August 1975, while re-examining part of the old course of Ghayl al-Barmakī we asked Sinḥān tribesmen about this Ghayl 'Alīb, a name which they did not know in this form, but they pointed to a line of trees some distance to the north of al-Barmakī, nearer to Nuqum which they knew as the village of 'Alab.⁹ This village, they said, had *aghyāl* from the time of Ḥimyar, but they had been from remote ages buried over (*maḍfūn*). On a visit, shortly after this, to 'Alab we found, but did not have time to do more than look briefly at them, fairly deep wells which the villagers told us had in one case at least, probably more, two underground channels leading into them from a mainly easterly direction, and cut in rock. These were called by them *majallah* with the curious plural *jilān*. The village had quite extensive walled orchards, or what had been orchards, and there were abundant evidences of a well-devised surface irrigation system which gave the impression of antiquity. Only a careful examination of the ground may confirm that there was actually an ancient *ghayl* feeding San'a' or the fields about it. Al-Rāzī¹⁰ however has some further information to quote. 'The most lawful of the Sawāfi are what 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (the second Caliph) appropriated (*asfā-hu*) of the land of Bādhān (the Persian Abnā' Governor of San'a'), of which are 'Alīb (read 'Alab) and a property (*ḍay'ah*) in al-Manṣhar,¹¹ and the Market of Bādhān.'¹² Elsewhere he states, 'Bādhān had no Muslim son so 'Umar made his property a *sāfiyah*.' Then, again, he¹³ describes the place Maṣra' al-Nūbah/Nawbah as—a place under Ghumḍān towards the road of 'Alīb (read 'Alab).

The first record of the construction of a *ghayl* is that attributed to Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barmakī of the famous Barmecide house and of Persian descent, sent to San'a' as 'Abbāsīd Governor

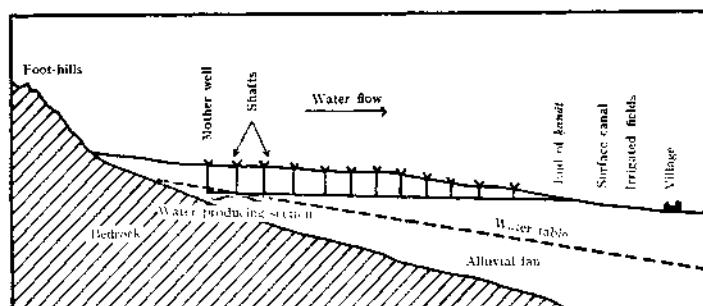


Fig. 2.1 Cross section of a *qanat* from Professor A. K. S. Lambton's article *qanat* (ET²). The *ghayls* of San'a' and other Yemeni towns do not follow the pattern of distribution in the diagram as they run through the town underground before emerging north of it, but the principle seems identical. (Courtesy of Professor Lambton and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*)

in 183/799¹⁴. In San'a' he built Dār al-Barāmīkah, later known as Dār al-Ḍarb—the Mint, in the place known as Sūq al-Tabbānīn, the Straw-sellers' Market. A suitable location for this building would be near the apparently artificial mound upon which stands the present-day Sūq al-'Arj where fodder is sold, and which, at that period, may have been on the edge of the city—its other name, al-Jabbānah, implies an open space outside the walls, though of course today it is well within the centre of the city.

The Banū Shihāb, says al-Hamdānī,¹⁵

have most of Haql San'a', a part of which is the Maydān of 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr. When Ibn Barmak excavated the great river (*nahr* = *ghayl*) the places in which his (mattocks) were to strike and his ditches (? *fasātīj*)¹⁶ perhaps from Latin *fossatum*) lay in the land of 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr. So he asked him to sell the passage-way (*manfidh*) of the Ghayl, but he refused, saying, 'Such as I does not sell a middle part of his land. Yet it does not become me to stand in the way of any path to (public) weal (*sabīl-an min subul al-khayr*), but, conditional on your allotting me a share in your benefaction (*makrumah*), I shall make room for you.' He (Ibn al-Barmakī) replied, 'Say what is necessary.' To which he replied, 'A branch channel (*shagharah*, pl. -āt)¹⁷ which I shall make a water conduit (*mashra'*) for the inhabitants of San'a'.' So from it he cut off for himself the *shagharah*-channel which pours into Siqāyat 'Abbād—which today is the drinking place (*mashrab*) of the people of San'a'. San'a' people used to reckon that Ibn Barmak's benefaction was rendered complete only by 'Abbād since he took charge of most of it for them to drink and for the irrigation of their lands (*ḍiyyā'*).

In the rather confused passage following, al-Hamdānī seems to indicate that the Ghamriyyūn are one of the Arab families of Banū Shihāb in San'a' and have a *ghayl rādī'*¹⁸ which comes out from the middle of San'a' (*makhrajū-hu min wasaṭ San'a'*). Whether this is to be identified with Ghayl al-Barmakī or is a separate water-course is not known.

As a working hypothesis it is suggested that 'Abbād's Maydān lay somewhere about the present-day Bāb al-Yaman. Aḥmad al-Shāmī states that in his youth, while foundations for a house south of the Jāmi' Mosque were being excavated a *ghayl* was discovered—might this be al-Barmakī? It may have run through the area west of the Jāmi' to the long open street between al-Ṭawāshī and al-Filayḥī Quarters and out of the city by the

6 Sha'ub in al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifāh*, but the modern pronunciation is clearly Shu'ub.

7 Op. cit., 133.

8 Vocalisation uncertain.

9 The name 'Alīb should undoubtedly be read as 'Alab, and the reading in the printed text be accounted a simple copyist's error, since 'Alīb appears in none of the sources consulted. Yahya b. al-Husayn al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat al-amāni*, Cairo 1338 H., 182-3, speaks of a fort, Qal'at 'Alab, and, ibid, 246, an Imām builds there a fort of baked brick.

10 Op. cit., 89.

11 Al-Manṣhar is vocalised after a place-name in al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifāh*. Al-Manāshir or al-Manāfis are the arch-covered spaces in the wall over the

Sā'ilah for the passage of floodwater. Rossi, op. cit., 358, *apertura di afflusso del canale*.

12 Ibid, 133.

13 Ibid, 323.

14 Ibid, 106 seq.

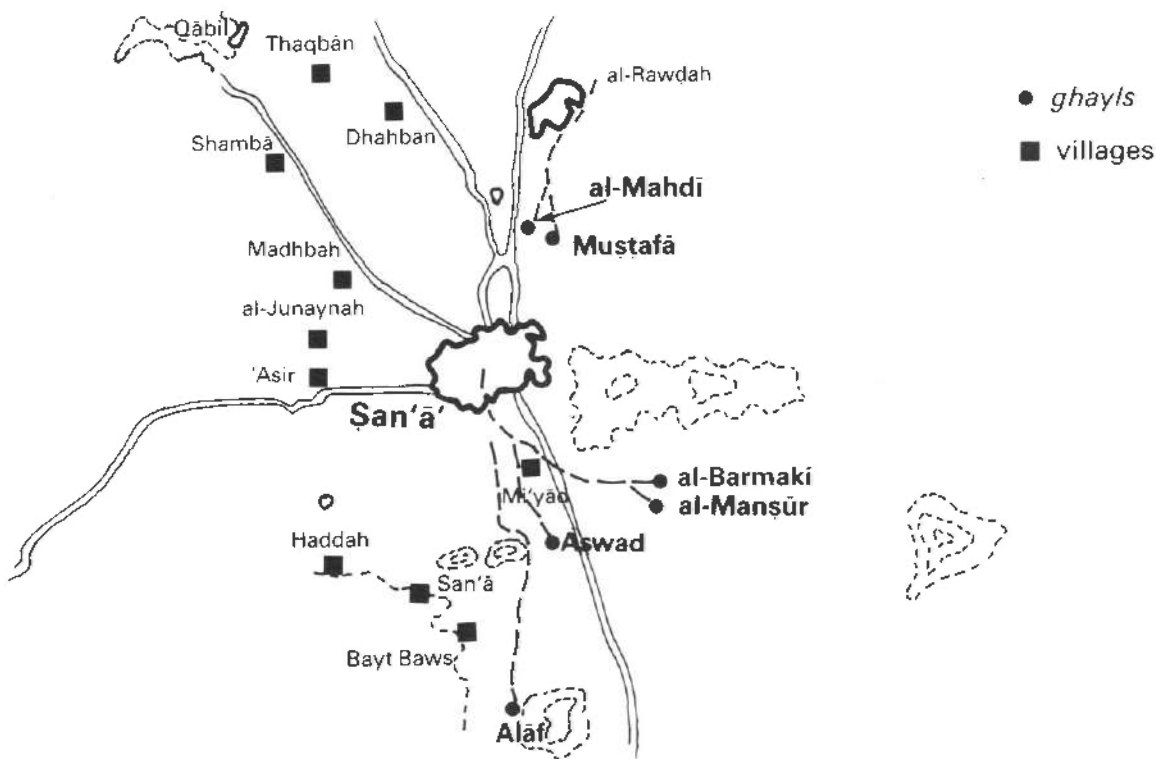
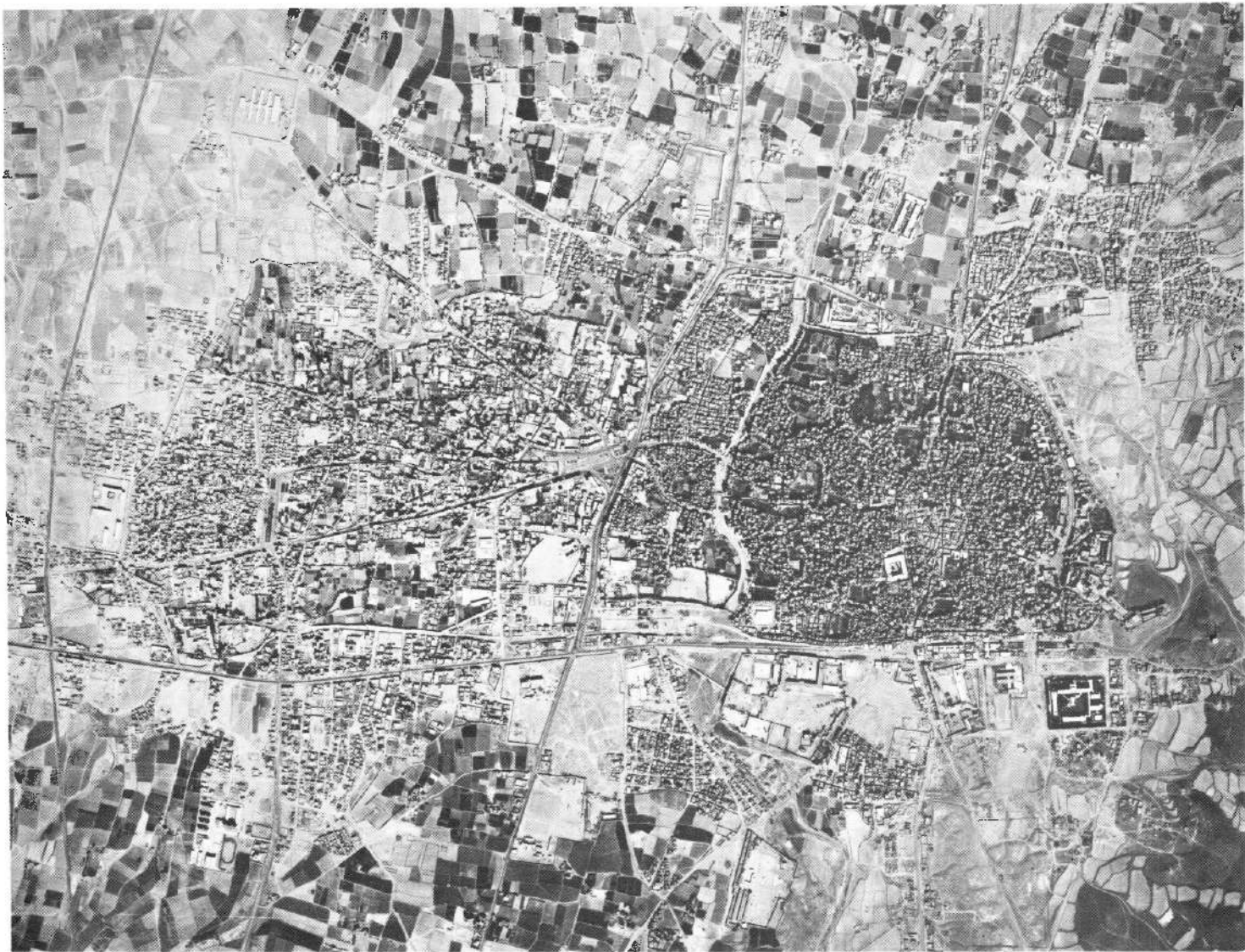
15 Al-Hamdānī, *Iḥṣāl J*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa', 414 seq.; ed. Löfgren, Uppsala, 1965, II, 175.

16 Cf. *fusāt*.

17 A word still in current use, explained as *sāqiyah saḡhirah min al-ghayl al-kabīr*.

18 Akwa' considers *rādī'* a proper name, but one wonders if it is not some technical irrigation term.

The region of Ṣan'ā' Map showing the *ghayls* running into the city with an aerial view (above) of the built up area.



present day Bāb Shu'ūb. This would tally with the information from the Jewish sources. Literary evidence available to us is inconclusive but documents might well provide accurate data, especially the *Miswaddah* of Sinān Pasha when it becomes possible to study it closely.

Al-Rāzī's¹⁹ account runs, 'It is a river (*nahr*) in Šan'ā', the advantage (*manfa'ah*) of which is evident there—they could not do without it for washing their clothes. It was a charitable act (*ṣadaqah*) which he (al-Barmakī) performed for them and through which he made good their drinking places (*sūbul* sing., *sabīl*) right up to Mecca.' He adds, 'Muḥammad b. Khālid . . . was the one who introduced Ghayl Šan'ā' and its drinking places. He collected the people so that he made them bear witness concerning it to him, and he swore by God Exalted that he had spent none of the money of the Authority (*māl al-Sultān*) on it, but only what was lawful (*halāl*).'

Yāqūt²⁰ the geographer, about the first quarter of the 13th century A.D., calls Ghayl al-Barmakī a river (*nahr*) which splits (*yashuqq*) Šan'ā' of the Yemen, about which their poet says,

Alas, O weeping, when the lover be far

From his beloved—to whom makes he his plaint?

To me then will he complain and to the city (*balad*),

His tears flowing like the Ghayl al-Barmakī.

This is unmetrical verse²¹, but nevertheless suitable for singing, which I have quoted as I heard it from the shaykh Abu 'l-Rabī Sulaymān b. 'Abdullāh al-Rayḥānī, my friend, God succour him. Abū 'Alī has cited a verse by Abu 'l-Jayyāsh,

The Ghayl is two sides, between which lodges baseness
of degree,

The side of the clients (*mawālī*), and the side of
houses (*ḥillah*) of the Arabs.²²

An important extension of the Ghayl al-Barmakī, of which Yāqūt had probably not heard when compiling the *Mu'jam*, was made by the Ayyūbid, Tuḡhrakīn,²³ in 601/1204-5, when he made al-Nahr al-Barmakī run to Bustān al-Sultān, the new Quarter to the west of the Sā'ilah. This was to supply the bath (*ḥammām*)²⁴ which he had made there in his garden—hence the name of the Quarter, Bustān al-Sultān—and, of course, to irrigate the garden itself.

Writing about 1260 A.D., the traveller Ibn al-Mujāwir²⁵ notes that, coming to Šan'ā' from the south, the distance from Naqīl Yislah to Ghayl al-Barmakī which enters Šan'ā' from the south would be four *farsakhs*, a *farsakh* being about three miles. Often reporting more like a journalist than a scholar, he states that a Barmakī fleeing from Hārūn al-Rashīd made it, constituting it a *waqf* to the weak (*ḍu'afā'*) of Šan'ā'. By *ḍu'afā'* it seems likely that he means the inhabitants of the city who belonged to the classes which did not bear arms. Al-Barmakī finding water scarce with the Šan'ānīs, bought the land in Qā' 'Abbād b. al-Fakhr—which should be corrected to 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr (with Hamdānī)—and dug a great river (*nahr*) in it. He adds²⁶ that 'the drinking of the inhabitants from Ghayl al-Barmakī, already mentioned, is agreeable to him who drinks it.' In view of what al-Rāzī says, and because today all the people near al-Barmakī aver that it was only used to irrigate the cultivated land of al-Šāfiyah al-Sharqiyyah,

it is unlikely to have been used much for human consumption.

Without further careful field-work one can only speculate that perhaps Ghayl al-Barmakī may have taken the place of Ghayl 'Alab. With the extension of the new city in the south easterly direction it may be now difficult or impossible however to find the ancient route of the latter.

A puzzling entry in the chronicle *Ghāyat al-amānī*²⁷ states that al-Muẓaffar entered Šan'ā', and camped in the Maydān at the Mosque of al-Sayyidah bint Aḥmad al-Šulayhī, built on the bank of the water-channel ('*alā shāṭi' sāqiya*) of Ghayl al-Barmakī in the year 671/1272-3. In default of further evidence at the moment of writing it is suggested that the location of this mosque lay in the open country south of Šan'ā'.

Al-Barmakī was in good repair ('*āmīr*') when, in 803/1400-1, the Imām al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn turned his attention to the springs of al-Ghayl al-Aswad.²⁸ Yet it was to suffer deliberate destruction when the Ṭāhirid Sultān 'Āmir b. Ṭāhir arrived in Muḥarram of the year 870/August 1465 to besiege Šan'ā'.²⁹ 'He had assembled one thousand head of cattle to wipe out (*taghwīr*)³⁰ the remaining wells (he had already destroyed some outside Šan'ā' in the previous year) and the streams (*anḥār*) around Šan'ā'. When he arrived at the foot (*safh*) of Bayt Baws he commanded Ghayl Alāf and Ghayl al-Barmakī to be diverted/caused to disappear (*taghwīr*), it (al-Barmakī) being a blessed (*mubārak*) ghayl, with many bends on the fields/earth (*awṭān*)³¹ of Šan'ā', flowing perennially—and the traces of it were obliterated. He ordered the trees of Haddah to be cut and its streams to be diverted (*taghwīr anḥārī-hā*). He took great pains over this, even passing himself in person by those working under (his) orders, to see what they were doing.'

Up to the present we have not come upon any record of the re-excavation of al-Barmakī in the histories consulted, but the floods of late Muḥarram, 1060/late September, 1650 which destroyed the arches of the south and northern Khanādiq of the Sā'ilah, also buried (*dafana*) the ghayls of the dam/barrage (*sadd*)—which (*ghayls*) had been made to issue forth.³² From a much later notice quoted below it seems that one of these ghayls was al-Barmakī. Possibly al-Barmakī may also have been destroyed again in the floods of Jumādā I, 1083/September, 1672 when floods from the Artil-Bayt Baws area collected at the Khandaq of Šan'ā', but it is not specifically mentioned.³³

The reign of the Imām al-Mahdī 'Abbās, notable in the general history of Šan'ā', also saw a revival of the ghayls which in the interval evidently fell into disrepair or disuse. Zabārah³⁴ tells us that

part of the good intent of this Imām, our Lord the Commander of the Faithful, was the coming into being of these three rivers (*anḥār*), the plentiful ghayls of his period in Ḥaql Šan'ā' on the south ('Adan) direction, and his bringing them forth when they had been buried over (*madfūnah*), as it is said, from the people of Tubba', they being the men of As'ad al-Kāmil, as it says in some of the (Qur'ān) commentaries, but the ghayl called Ghayl Alāf was not one of these. After their (re-)appearance the sown land increased and people were relieved from the toil of well irrigation (*al-masnā*).

19 Loc. cit.

20 *Mu'jam al-buldān*, edit. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1868, II, 830, but for his *lawm* must be read *lu'm* with oriental editions of the text.

21 Ar., *shī'r ghayr mawzūn wa-huwa ma'a dhālika malhūn*. The full prosodic sense of *malhūn* cannot be discussed here, but these are interesting verses of *Humaynī* type.

22 Abu 'l-Jayyāsh's verse must refer to Zabid and not to Šan'ā'. The *mawālī* in this case are likely to be non-Arabs of the area of African descent.

23 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 337; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, Cairo, 1376 or 1379 H, 113.

24 Cf. p. 616.

25 Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis, Ta'riḥ al-mustabsir*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951-54, 178.

26 Ibid, 185.

27 Op. cit., 457.

28 *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 292; *ibid*, I, 336.

29 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 599.

30 *Ghawwar* according to Dozy, *Supplément*, means *faire absorber les eaux par la terre*. In the Šan'ā' region it can also mean to make a hole or build a hole in a wall for water to pass through. Since 'Āmir brought so many oxen his intention must surely have been to fill in the ghayls by pushing back the spoil excavated from them and lying around the access pits or funnels at intervals along their courses.

31 Sayyid Ahmad al-Shāmī informs me that *awṭān* means *huḡūl*, fields. One says *jirbah waṭan-hā kabīr ghanīyy*, a field with abundant rich earth; *al-turāb waṭan - yiddī khayrāt kathīr*, the earth is good earth, producing abundant harvest; *waṭan-ih qalīl khafīf*, its earth is little, light; *māfīh 'inda-hā waṭan*, it has no good earth.

32 Al-Wazīr, *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin, ms, 30b.

33 Ibid, 95a.

34 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabārah, *Nashr al-'arf*, II, Cairo, 1377 H, 248 seq. Cf. al-Jirāfī, *al-Muḡtaṭaf*, Cairo, 1370/1951, 150, who says it was 'concealed (*maḥmūr*) from a distant age'.

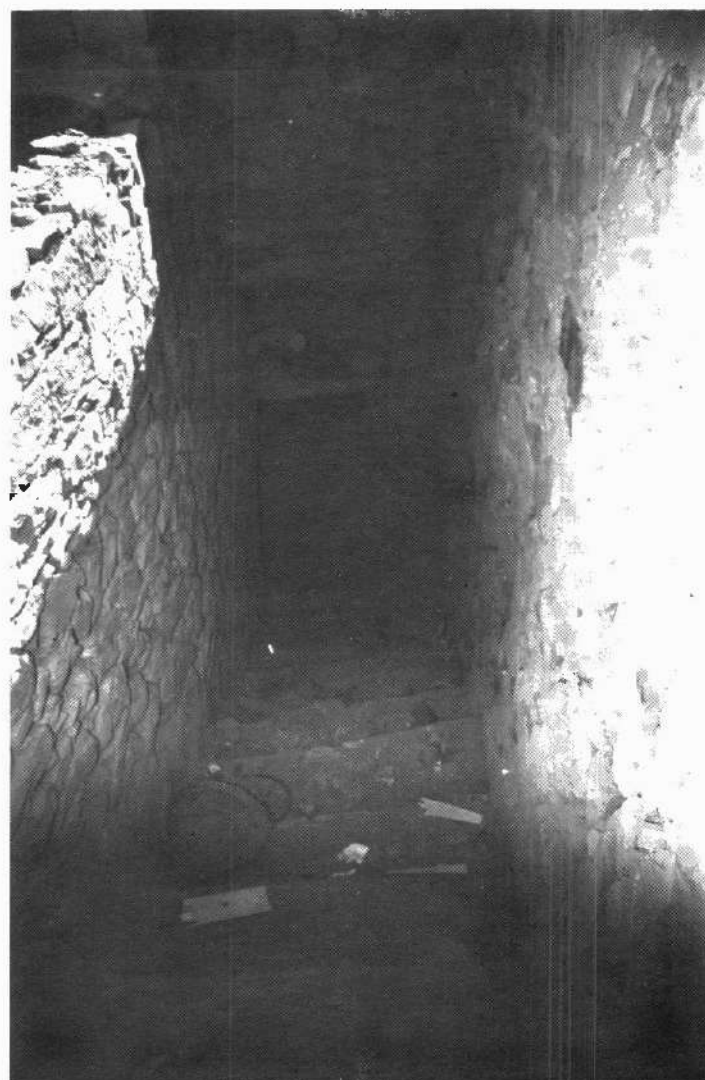
... In the year 1177/1763-4 he ordered the excavation of the watercourses (*majāri*) of al-Ghayl al-Aswad and its spring/source (*manba'*) in the Qā' which lies west of the village of al-Jardā' and east of the village of Bayt Sibṭān, a distance of about two hours south of the city of Ṣan'ā', as well as the excavation of the water-courses of Ghayl al-Barmakī and its source (*manba'*) from around the village of Bayt 'Uqub and the village of Ghaymān, a distance of about three hours south east of Ṣan'ā'. After the excavation of the water-courses of the two, and getting the use of them, there came from the Qādī Ismā'il b. Yahyā al-Ṣiddīq, one of the governors (*hukkām*) of Ṣan'ā', the written text of a decision by him (*taḥrīr al-raqm min-hu*), dated Ramaḍān of the year 1180/February, 1767. The gist of his decision (*raqm*), as I read it, is that the tracks (*āthār*)³⁵ of al-Ghayl al-Aswad and Ghayl al-Barmakī had been put right (*uḥkimat*) by the far-reaching dam/barrage (? *al-sadd al-bāligh*),³⁶ but (these tracks, *āthār*) and been effaced, and people had made these water-courses into sown land. So al-Mahdī repaired them, and the afore-said Governor ordered the Mashāyikh of the Wādī Shu'ūb/Sha'ūb, Bīr al-'Azab, Haddah, and Bayt Baws to put a valuation on them, and their valuation of the two came to 700 *riyāls*. The afore-mentioned Governor chose the option (*rajjaḥa*) of selling them with their water-courses and all pertaining to them by *shar'* law and custom (*'urf*), to the Factor of the Treasury (Wakīl Bayt al-Māl), to al-Mahdī al-'Abbās for 1400 *riyāls*. Al-Mahdī remitted the price determined by the Governor afore-said to the factor of his (personal) holdings (*amlāk*), the *faqīh* 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī.³⁷

This 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī, called al-Ṣan'ānī of the well known *qāḍī* family of Government officials (who died in 1183/1769-70) had 'under his surveillance many posts (*waṣā'if*) connected with the Imām, including building (*al-'imārah*), whatever it was, for the Government (Dawlah), the administration (*siyāsah*) of the city, the punishment of anyone who revolted against the path of obedience to God and His Apostle, the putting down of irresponsibles (*sufahā'*) of people whom he "shall know them by their token" (Qur'ān, II, 273), the inspection of the workmen (*al-ṭiyāfah 'ala 'l-'āmilīn*) excavating the shafts (*kaṣā'im*) of the *ghayls* and repairing them.'³⁸ In true Yemeni administrative tradition, be the ruler sultan or imām, al-Mahdī, 'the Imām, the Caliph of God Exalted, seized from him his house and horses, committed him to prison, and exacted from him the handing over of his property/money which he specified as an obligation on him.' Zabārah comments, 'This is a thing which, in God's knowledge, has happened before.'

When Halévy visited the Yemen in 1869 al-Barmakī had dried up, and only al-Ghayl al-Aswad, and, to a smaller extent, Ghayl Alāf were still active.³⁹ Zabārah writing of very recent times, states that al-Ghayl al-Aswad still cuts through (*yashuqq*) Ṣan'ā' and irrigates some of the properties in Wādī Shu'ūb, but Ghayl al-Barmakī has become very weak so that in these years of the 14th/20th century it has only irrigated a part of the properties of Maḥall Dā' al-Khayr, south of Ṣan'ā'.⁴⁰

Ghayl al-Barmakī in 1975

The catchment area of the *ghayl* lies midway between the village of Dār Salm and the southern side of Jabal Nuqum. At the source of the *ghayl* there are about twenty wells to the south of al-Jardā' village. The course of the *ghayl* runs underground in a more or



2.1 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. The southern stairs to the water channel.

less north westerly direction, receiving also water from a branch *ghayl* called al-Manṣūrī which starts a few hundred metres to the south east. Al-Barmakī runs at an average depth of 7m for a total length of about 500m. The outlet at the point where the underground channel emerges into the open is a highly sophisticated structure—three flights of steps lead down to water level, obviously to allow people to draw water from the channel. The staircase and its walls are carefully built in dressed stone. Originally part of the staircase was probably roofed. It then continues in the open for about 800m until it flows into a cistern of about 24m × 31m. This is a few hundred metres south east of Bayt Mi'yād village, from which the *ghayl* then runs approximately northwards to irrigate the area beyond the village. However, before it comes to Bayt Mi'yād the *ghayl* has already split into three branches at a very old garden 300m south of the village—which indicates that at least part of the *ghayl* did not go to Ṣan'ā' but irrigated the fields south and west of Bayt Mi'yād in al-Ṣāfiyah.

Al-Ghayl al-Aswad

The sources consulted say nothing of al-Aswad before the opening years of the 9th/14th century though it had certainly existed in some state or another in the 8th/13th century. If negative evidence has any value it may be pointed out that Ibn

37 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 14. Presumably the text means that al-Mahdī gave the money to al-'Amrī to buy the *ghayls* to add to his personal holdings.

38 *Ibid*, II, 248-9.

39 See p. 137b.

40 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 13.

35 *Āthār*, lit. traces, steps - perhaps a technical word here; perhaps it refers to the line of mounds on the ground above the water-course, formed by the spoil removed to form the channel.

36 The sense of this whole sentence is completely uncertain to us.

al-Mujāwir, about 1260 A.D. mentions only al-Barmakī, but though al-Aswad is neglected by the sources prior to the first date, this is inconclusive.

'In this year (803/1400-1)', says the author of *Ghāyat al-amān*,⁴¹ 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered Ghayl al-Aswad,⁴² south of⁴³ Ṣan'ā', to be excavated and its water-courses to be repaired, when previously they had been covered over (probably with earth, *datharat*) and become dilapidated/demolished. Water appeared and reached al-Bustān (Bustān al-Sultān) and Sha'ūb. The place where it first comes out (*aṣl makhraj-hi*) is from Qā' Artil below Ghayl Ālāf. Ghayl al-Barmakī was in good repair at this time.' Our sources do not name al-Aswad as having been destroyed by the Ṭāhirid sultan 'Āmir in the 9th/15th century, though it is likely that it shared the fate of the other *ghayls*, but, as already seen, it was re-excavated in the year 1177/1763-4.

This is the only *ghayl* which runs underground from the beginning to the end of its course. It originates about the plain

east of Jabal al-Nahdayn—perhaps more correctly called Ḥaddayn, at a distance of about 200m from it and from Ghayl Ālāf. The catchment system is formed by 16 wells. Its channel runs northwards at an average depth of 6m, crosses the bed of the Sā'ilah, and enters the environs of Ṣan'ā' near the mosque of al-Jarādī. This latter is the first of four places at which there is access to the water of the *ghayl*. Near this very small mosque there is a little cistern at ground level, and a double staircase bending slightly to the left, leading down to the *ghayl*. At present both sides of the staircase are blocked with bricks near the actual level of the *ghayl*. A few metres north west of al-Jarādī mosque lies al-Bilaylī Mosque, then comes al-Bahlūlī Mosque. From here the channel runs straight for about 500m, then crosses a drainage canal which runs parallel to the town wall of Ṣan'ā'. From this point the *ghayl* turns towards the north west again, then runs in a straight line, more or less in the centre of the post-1962 Ṣharī 'Alī 'Abd al-Mughnī, up to Dār al-Shukr and the Mutawakkil Mosque.⁴⁴

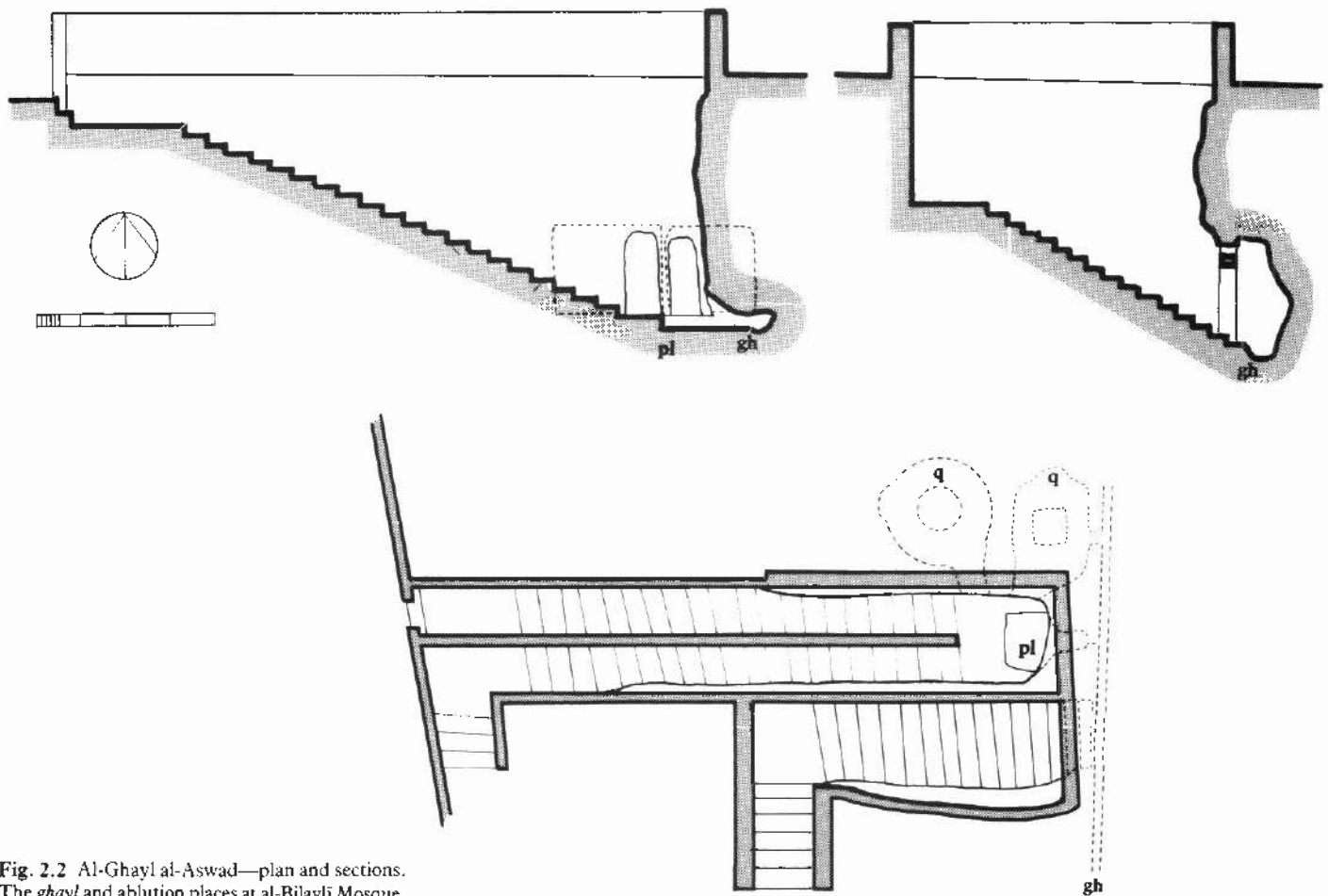


Fig. 2.2 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad—plan and sections. The *ghayl* and ablution places at al-Bilaylī Mosque.

Key to all figures

a animal stalls	b bathroom	br boiler	c court
cu court upper level	ch changing room	d <i>diwān</i>	e entrance hall
eu entrance hall upper level	f warm room	fr furnace room	g grinding mills
gh <i>ghayl</i> —water level	h excrement room	hr hot room	j grain and fruit store
k kitchen	i lobby	lt laundry terrace	lb lavatory/bathroom
m <i>mafrāj</i>	mn minaret	n <i>mihrāb</i>	nw washing floor
o loading and mounting animals	or restaurant/eating place	p passage	pl pool
plr cold pool room	q public ablution area	r room—general use and sleeping	rr reception room and business
rl library	s store	sh sheep pens	sp shop
t terrace	tm tomb	tr treasury	u shaft
v rain water cistern	vm man in charge	w well	wb water cooling box
wr well ramp	x <i>minbar</i>	y women's room and wardrobe	z <i>manṣar</i>

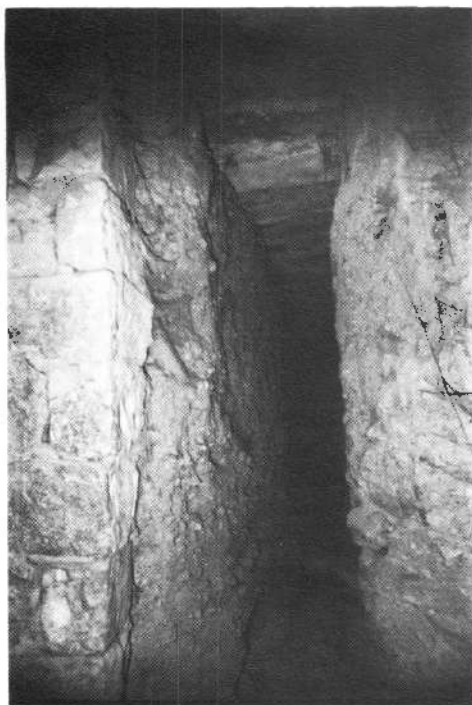
41 Op. cit., 559. Cf. *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 292.

42 Note this form, the Ghayl of al-Aswad, not the Black Ghayl as the name is given elsewhere.

43 For the text's 'adī we must read 'Adan.

44 Al-Wāsi'i, *Al-Badr al-muzil*, Cairo, 1345 H, 10, says that al-Aswad

enters Ṣan'ā' towards two mosques, Masjid al-Mutawakkil and Masjid Hajar at Bāb al-Sabahah (Cf. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 43). It then enters Bustān al-Mutawakkil and comes out at Shu'ūb, north of Ṣan'ā', to water the lands (*arādī*) up to al-Jirāf. Masjid Hajar was unfortunately demolished during the Egyptian occupation of Ṣan'ā'.

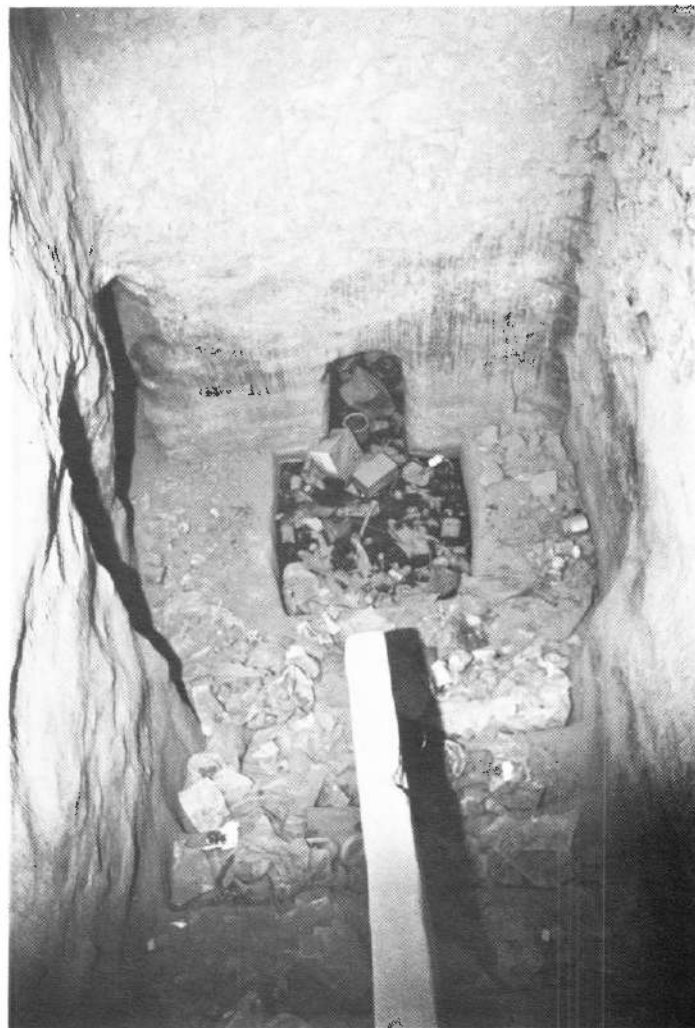


2.2 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. Looking along the water channel.

Outside the Mutawakkil Mosque can still be seen the flat *muqaddad* open space known as *miṣbānah*,⁴⁵ the wash-place for women, made by Imām Yahyā b. al-Manṣūr, though it is now not in use since the water supply of the *ghayl* has been cut off. Hammām al-Mutawakkil is also on al-Ghayl al-Aswad. Inside the Mutawakkil Palace the channel is still well preserved—along the *bustān* to the *mafrāj* of Imām Yahyā at the end of it. The *ghayl* supplied water to the *mafrāj*, then it runs under the mud wall still around the *mafrāj* into the open—close by it outside the wall, is a well known as Bīr Khayrān. At no great distance in time, the course of al-Ghayl al-Aswad continued beyond the Mutawakkil Mosque to the Bustān al-Yahūd/Yahūdī of Arabic writers—on this land now stands al-Qiyādat al-‘Āmmah li-l-Quwwāt al-Musallahah, the Forces G.H.Q., in a building said to have been sequestered from the Imām al-Badr.

Zabārah⁴⁶ informs us that, in the year 1314/1896-7, the Mayor (Ra'īs al-Baladiyyah), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bilaylī the Ṣan'ānī, completed the building of the well-known mosque in the Ṣāfiyah, south of Ṣan'ā', on the right of a person going out in the direction of Haddah and Ṣan'ā', in addition to the excavation and construction of the well and *sabīl* from which the passer-by on the road drinks, and the cistern connected with it for sheep-and-goats to drink. He brought the water of al-Ghayl al-Aswad into the ablution places (*mutawaddayāt*), expending much money on perfecting the building.

We visited the Bilaylī Mosque in November 1975. Access to the *ghayl* water is from inside the mosque area, and there is a more complicated approach to it than in the next mosque lower down on the water-course, al-Bahlūlī. One descends a staircase divided into two, and those wishing to perform the ablution descend by the left side and, after washing (*yitwaddaw li-'l-ṣalāh*), return ascending the right side, carrying their shoes in their hands. At the foot of the stairs are little ablution rooms called *maṣfā* (pl., *maṣāfi*) for men, and one for women, where there are little shallow pools—the waste water from them is thought to have drained away from them, not to have returned to the course of the *ghayl*. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*⁴⁷ calls them *miṭhār*, and says there is one for washing (*ighṭisāl*) and one for the ritual ablution (*li-'l-wuḍū'*).



2.3 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. The pool at the bottom of the northern stairs.

The people here maintained that the water in the course of the channel used to flow at a height of three quarters of a metre and showed us the mark on the top of the flow on the side in support of their statement. The *ghayl* is cut through the natural packed gravel and earth layers of the area and a man can walk upright along the water-course. Outside the mosque, as Zabārah says, there is a well leading to the *ghayl* so that a woman could draw water, but it is now covered over. There was also a *manza'ah* for sheep. It seems that, via this well, the cleaners (*maṣṣārīn*) could remove any accumulations from the *ghayl* or the ablution rooms attached to it.

For al-Bilaylī Mosque there are said to be legal documents (*baṣā'ir*) with the al-Wishāh house, and Bayt al-'Anqād farmed it—the water was sold by the *tāṣah*. The *tāṣah*, as described by Rossi,⁴⁸ is a metal pot with a hole of known size—this is used as a time measure—it taking 11 minutes 15 seconds for a *tāṣah* filled with water to empty itself. At Shu'ūb where he saw water being distributed from al-Ghayl al-Aswad to the fields, a 24 hour allotment of water is called a *farḍ* and is equivalent to 128 *tisān* (pl. of *tāṣah*), but smaller allotments can be made by the manager of the water called a *dā'ilī*, down to a *rub' thumun* of a *tāṣah* which would come to 3/4 of an hour. In practice the *dā'ilī* calculates longer periods by the shadow of the sun. Rossi adds that the register of the distribution of the water of al-Ghayl al-Aswad is kept with a certain al-Razzāqī at Ṣan'ā'. Measures for water distribution seem to vary even in other villages quite close to Ṣan'ā'.

45 Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Hajarī, *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, Ṣan'ā', 1361/1942. Cf. Mohammed Hassan, *Heart of Yemen*, Baghdad, 1947, 81.

46 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 203.

47 Op. cit., 22, which says that near the mosque is a small prayer-place (*musallā*) for women, which has another path to the *ghayl* for drawing water (*ighṭirāf*) and washing (*tahārah*).

48 Op. cit., 252-3, 355.

At al-Bahlūlī, the next mosque in the series, but outside the actual mosque itself, a stairway, also divided into two by a low wall, leads down to the channel of the *ghayl* called *majall al-mā'*. The roof of the *ghayl* is covered by a sort of paving stones. As in al-Bilaylī there are *maṣāfi* rooms with a small pool in the middle, different rooms being assigned to men and women. The arch inside the bathing-room is called *jalaylah* (pl., *jalāyil*) which Dr Maqṭarī suggests is derived from the phrase often written inside such an arch as those, *Allāh, jalla jalālu-hu*.

Informants at the Bahlūlī Mosque insisted that the *ghayl* is not a *waqf* but belongs to the farmers (*mamlūk al-zurrā'*) who have cut off the water above (*iḥtajazu tāli'*). They suggested that the people of Šan'ā' of Shāri' 'Alī 'Abd al-Mughnī have refused to pay their share for the maintenance of the *ghayl*, and that they took the water for nothing (*akhadhu 'l-mayy bi-dūn muqābil*).

It would be interesting to obtain copies of the agreements for al-Ghayl al-Aswad which should show how the *ghayl* used to be maintained and who is responsible for the expenses involved, but this task we have left until a possible subsequent occasion.

The late Muḥammad Aḥmad Nu'mān some time before he was murdered in Beirut in 1974 is said to have put up the sum of 100,000 *riyāls* to have something done about bringing al-Ghayl al-Aswad into commission once more.

When the *ghayl* used to run there was two kinds of fish in it, both simply being called *al-ḥūṭī*; Šan'ā' small boys are said to have liked playing with them.

Ghayl Ālāf

One of the notable acts (*ma'āthir*) of the Imām al-Qāsim b. 'Alī (ob. 393/1002-3) was to bring forth the Ghayl Ālāf by the hand of his governor al-Zaydī, south of Šan'ā'.⁴⁹ Ghayl Ālāf was extended by Tughtakīn b. Ayyūb to Bustān al-Sulṭān. It was one of the *ghayls* destroyed by Sultan 'Amir the Tāhirid in 870/1465. The poet al-Khafanjī⁵⁰ (ob. 1180/1766-7) makes Bīr al-'Azab boast, 'I have Ghayl Ālāf.' It also has a proverb of its own of the standard type, '*Ghayl Ālāf yisqī li-ghayr ahl-iḥ*, Ghayl Ālāf irrigates/waters people other than its own.'⁵¹ The people in the upper localities derive no advantage from the *ghayl* passing through their own territory. Ghayl Ālāf is owned half by Bayt Zuhrah, and the rest by owners (*mullāk*) among whom are to be counted the Yemeni Government, Bayt al-Jirāfī and Bayt al-'Amrī. Bayr Zuhrah stem from an ancestor, 'Abdullāh Shā'if Zuhrah of Dhū Muḥammad, from Urjūzah in Baraṭ, who transferred to Šan'ā'—they were cultivators (*zurrā'*) and have now become *Mashāyikh* of Bīr al-'Azab.

Ghayl Ālāf is now the largest of the southern *ghayls*. Its source (*manba'*) is from a small valley opposite the village of Artīl. At this source, according to Husayn al-Shāyif, are *dayāwīn* (sing. *al-dīwān*) which he described as stones high up in the air down which water trickles. At any rate, the catchment area is formed by some fifty wells. The *ghayl* runs in a straight northerly direction underground for about a kilometre, then debouches into a large collecting cistern which seems to have been at least partly roofed. This cistern is square and measures about 20m a side.⁵² Now it is silted up so that the exact depth cannot be measured. It has been suggested that it also draws on the Sawād Ḥizyaz.

From the cistern the canal runs, open to the sky, sometimes straight, sometimes zigzagging northwards round the eastern hill of Jabal al-Nahdayn or Haddayn, becoming very deep and impressive towards the north west. It then turns again northwards to run along the eastern edge of the old military airfield.⁵³ From

the north eastern corner of the runway the channel zigzags for about 300m, then it branches out into many small channels which are invisible nowadays beneath hundreds of new buildings. One branch of the canal is still visible along the road to Bāb al-Khuzaymah, more or less in front of the large Jā'ifī house where there is a group of old buildings.

Near Bayt Mi'yād, on the western side of it, all the wells of the channel, intended for cleaning, are visible and well preserved. One of these wells, the nearest to the house of Bayt Mi'yād, shows many deep ruts made by the well ropes in the stones of the casing of the well-head. Obviously the inhabitants of the village used it to draw water from the channel for a long time. Probably they had some special right to do so, and this would be worth investigation.

Ghayl Ālāf is said to have supplied water to the fields of the Šāfiyah, then it went on to Bayt al-Zuhrah from which it flowed northwards through Bīr al-'Azab and Bīr al-Shams as far as al-Jirāf. South of this village there are actually remains of several large cisterns, but it is impossible nowadays to follow on the ground the course of the channel through the town. North of Bīr al-Shams some channels are visible running in a northerly direction, but it is not possible to ascertain whether any of them is Ghayl Ālāf. Mohammed Hassan⁵⁴ speaks of Ghayl Ālāf as being near Bāb al-Šabāh, also removed during the Egyptian occupation.

Al-Nahrayn

Ghayl al-Barmakī and al-Ghayl al-Aswad were both, as stated to us, known to have entered Šan'ā' from the Upper Khanādiq, the wall set on arches runs over the Sā'ilah or flood-bed on the southern side of the city. This nevertheless seems unlikely in the case of al-Barmakī. After al-Barmakī had been extended to Bustān al-Sulṭān, and, whenever it was that there came into being the two *ghayls* in Bustān al-Sulṭān, the northern and lower part of this Quarter lying west of the Sā'ilah were known as al-Nahrayn, the two rivers or *ghayls*, and this gave the name to the Masjid al-Nahrayn there.

Ghayls from Jabal Nuqum

In the year 985/1577-8 or thereabouts the Ottoman Murād Bāshā is said to have made water flow to the Murādiyyah Mosque which he had constructed and to the Qaṣr from Ghayl al-Bāshā at the lowest part of Jabal Nuqum, where traces of the concreting (*qaḍāḍ*) of the *sāqiyah* or water-channel from Ghayl al-Bāshā to al-Qaṣr are said by Zabārah⁵⁵ to be still evident on the ground.

From Masjid Nuqum, an ancient foundation, or a little below it we went to see the *ghayl* called Ghuzl Bāsh (doubtless Qizil Bāsh) with Nāṣir al-Ru'aynī. It seems fairly certain that this is to be identified with Murād Bāshā's *ghayl*. Al-Ru'aynī showed us a square well of excellent masonry with footholes for steps in the side, down which one descends to the bottom. In the wall there, are said to be arches from underneath which passages can be entered, though there is only enough room for a small child to pass along. One passage is said to communicate with an underground cistern (*birkah*) in which there is an iron door made by the Turks behind which are held the treasures of Ḥimyar! The door, on each side, is however guarded by the Jinn, by two slaves ('*abd*'). The *birkah* is believed to lie under an adjoining hillock approached by this passage. If in fact there be such passages, then some may come from catchment areas in the

49 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 234; cf. al-Jarmūzī, *al-Sīrat*, ms. Mukallā, 557.

50 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 196; Aḥmad Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Ṭarā'if al-mukhtārah min shi'r al-Khafanjī wa-'l-Qārāh*, Cairo(?), 1970, 30; *Masājid Šan'ā'*, 75.

51 Qādī Ismā'īl al-Akwa', unpublished section of *al-Amthāl*.

52 This measurement requires confirmation.

53 It is said that during the Egyptian occupation Royalist tribesmen used this

ghayl to approach the airport and ambush a high-ranking Egyptian officer, arriving or taking off from the airport. This appears unsubstantiated.

54 Op. cit., 81. *Al-Badr al-muzīl*, 3, states that it enters Bīr al-'Azab after irrigating al-Šāfiyah, i.e. lands and crops south of Šan'ā'.

55 *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 482.

mountain, but one passage must be an exit—carrying on down-wadi from the well-bottom. Lower down the wadi is a cistern with a barrel-vaulted roof on top of which is a flat masonry praying-place to which one ascends from ablution tanks that would be supplied from the vaulted cistern which has a sort of window facing downstream with a rough modern temporary iron network of bars to protect it. The praying place looks now disused. We continued down the wadi to the point where the rough mountain slope ends and fields begin—here there had been a cistern but it has been removed, seemingly fairly recently. The wadi or gulley in which this *ghayl* lies seems known as Wādī 'l-Qaṣr. With the great extension of new building in this area it would be difficult to trace the course of the *ghayl* to inside the Ṣan'ā' walls. It is said however to join the Bīr al-Bāshā/al-Bāsh, described by al-Ḥajārī⁵⁶ as the 'great benefaction (*maḥsinah*)', near a small mosque he constructed also in the vicinity of Masjid al-Ḥaymī. Qāḍī Ismā'īl said this well is in the high part of the city and has the best and sweetest water, and he cited the proverb, 'Lāzim 'alā man 'ashīq yaṭṭan wa-yiddi 'l-mā min al-Bāsh, He who is in love must grind (grain) and fetch water from al-Bāsh well.' Both these are hard work executed by women.

Another little gulley called 'Ayn al-Faqīh flows towards Bāb al-Yaman when there is rain, but it does not seem important.

The Northern Ghayls

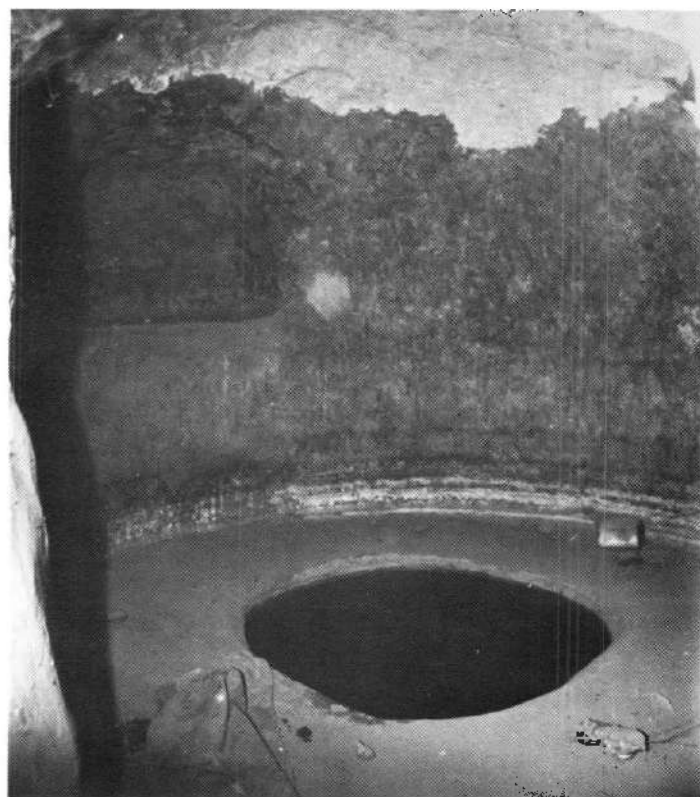
Since these *ghayls* do not actually serve the city of Ṣan'ā' we have only been able to devote a limited amount of field research to them, yet their importance because they serve the villages just outside Ṣan'ā' is obvious, and some of the historical data are also relevant to the general history of irrigation in the Ṣan'ā' basin. If our field data are incomplete so also is our search for data to be obtained from literary sources, but the extracts drawn from certain chronicles which follow do shed light on the discovery and exploitation of sources of underground water.

The author of *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*⁵⁷ informs us under the events of 1058/1648 that

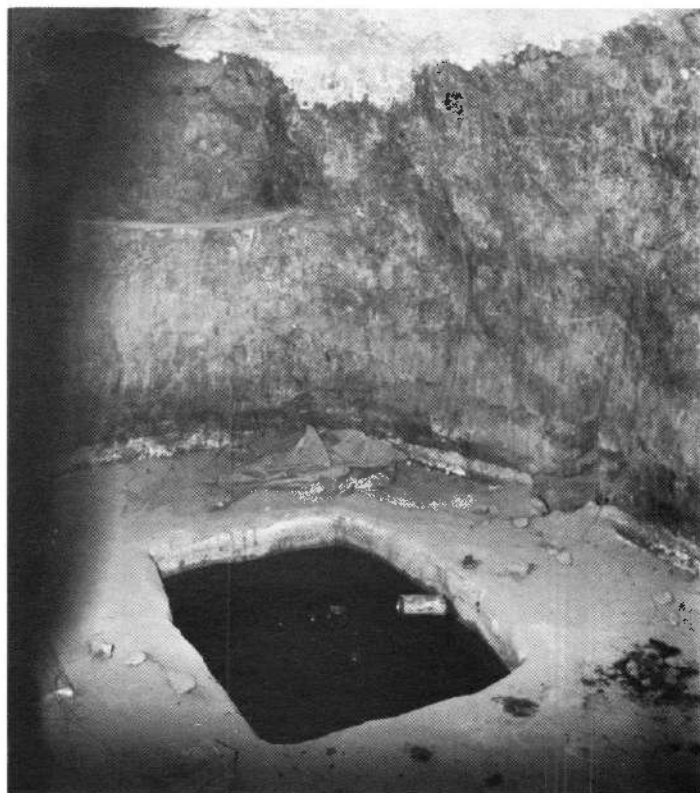
in this year an increase of the flow (*wārid*) of Ālāf in the (subterranean) water (*al-baḥr*) came about, the effect of which showed in Ṣan'ā' and its environs like al-Rawḍah and al-Jirāf. The *ghayl* of al-Jirāf showed at the lightest digging, and flowed from the top of the dam/barrage (*al-sadd*) at Shu'ūb/Shā'ūb, and it continued to do so. The people of al-Jirāf derived the most perfect advantage from it, and through the rising/discovery of bubbling springs (*istiqlā' al-'uyūn al-fawwārāt*) people found relief from water-lifting from wells (*masānī*) and the labour on bucket-watered land (*ḍawālī*) or on *khattārah*s⁵⁸. It is ancient foundations (*asās*), and a great abundant river (*nahr*) which the Ṭāhirid ruler (*ḍawlah*) buried over when he buried the *ghayls* of Ṣan'ā'. There followed this, in succession, the digging out (*istinbāt*) of another *ghayl* belonging to 'Alī the Imām's son which he brought forth by the least amount of labour, leading it to Manāzīr⁵⁹ al-Hushayshiyah so that he irrigated them in entirety. It flowed to al-Rawḍah al-Ghannā' (the abounding in herbs and the hum of birds, insects etc.) and ran over into

the gardens of that place.

Al-Jarmūzī⁶⁰ has a good deal more to say about the development of the *ghayls* at this time during the reign of al-Mutawakkil



2.4 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. An ablution pool in one of the caves carved out alongside the *ghayl*.



2.5 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. The second ablution pool.

56 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 50.

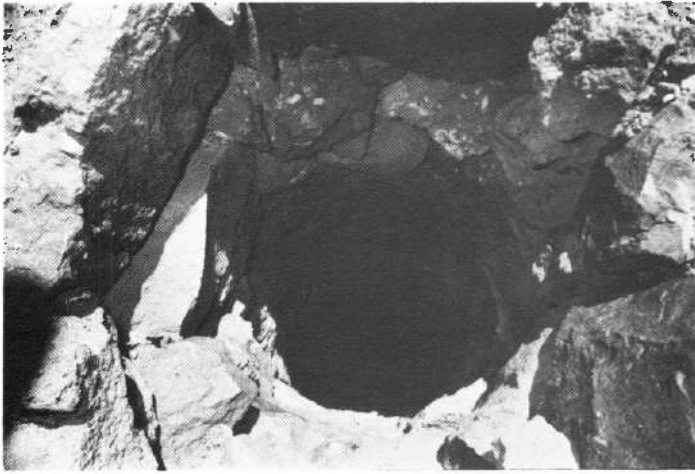
57 Op. cit., 22 b.

58 For the 'uyūn anḥār of al-Jirāfī cf. *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 170. For *ḍawālī* and *khattārah* (the latter a simple and widely known apparatus for lifting water to be found, e.g., in Nigeria, Egypt and Hungary, consisting of a long pole set on an axle upon a column horizontally, and having a weight at

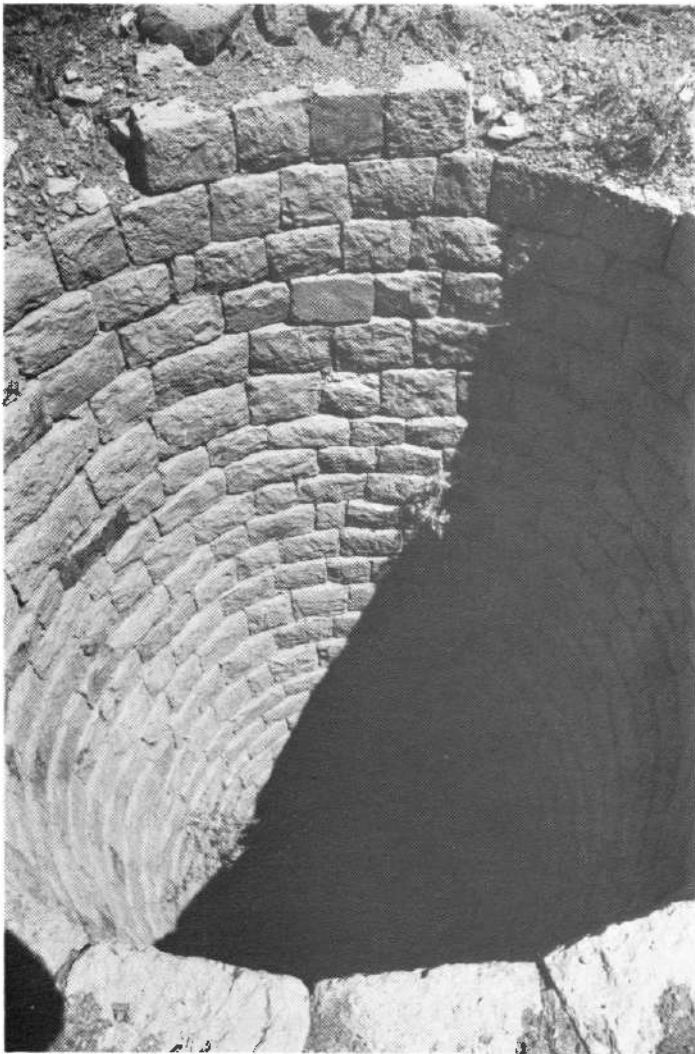
one end and a scoop or bucket at the other - the bucket end dips into the water and is lifted by the weight at the other end) see C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imamat Zaidite au Yémen*, trans. Jacques Ryckmans, Leyde, 1960, 137 and 143. I have not yet seen or heard of the *khattārah* as being used in the Yemen today.

59 The reading is uncertain as this word is undotted.

60 *Al-Sirat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 557 seq.



2.6 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. A vent and access shaft.

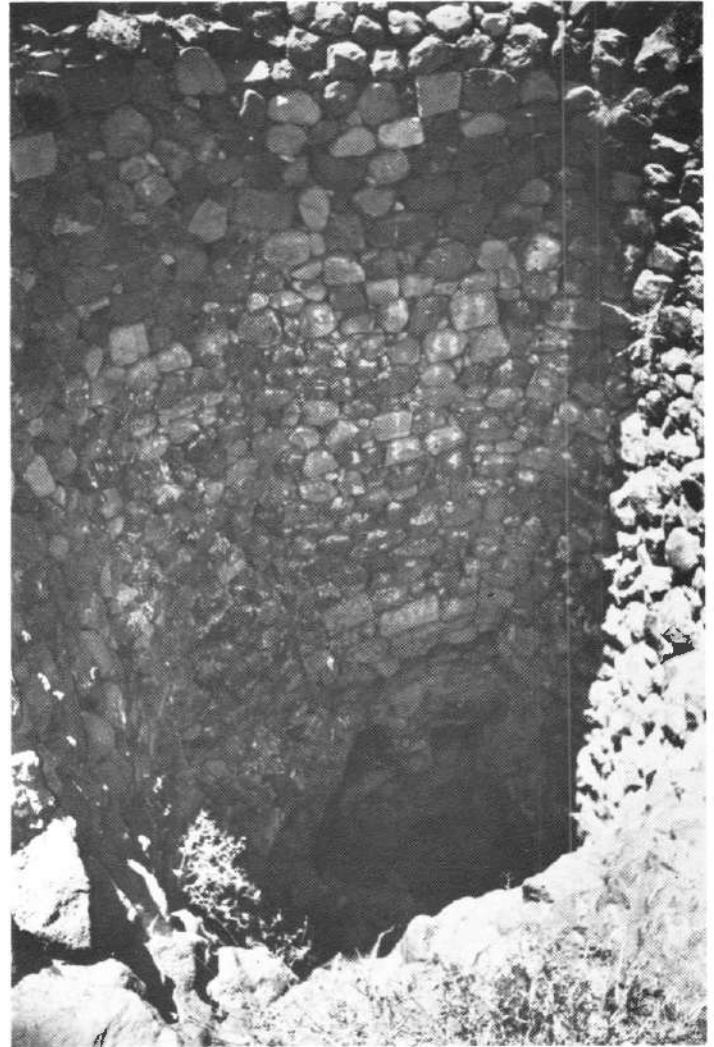


2.7 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. One of the wells which serve as the collecting source for the *ghayl*.

Ismā'īl (1054-87/1644-76), but regrettably the Mukallā Ms. is imperfect and worn at this passage. Of Ṣan'ā', he says,

All its water is from wells except the *ghayl* of al-Rawḍah known as Ghayl Rislān.⁶¹ Our lord al-Ḥasan, God be pleased with him, had excavated a *ghayl* near it which. . . (unclear). In digging it he ultimately reached to the length of the ropes of the wells nearby it, or more. In point of fact all he did was to produce water of a large well by (using) force-when the measuring of its depth (*qa'r*) was measured on the top of the ground, this being possible by artifice and patience. One of

61 Between the Military College and the road.



2.8 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. A second gathering well, with outlets to the connecting *ghayls* visible near the bottom.

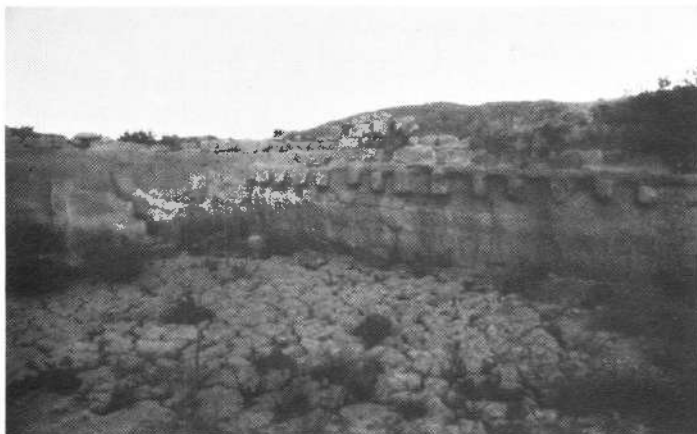
(our) predecessors brought forth Ghayl Ālāf near Artīl, it being said that the person to do so was the Sayyid al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad, buried in Dhamār, of the posterity of Zayd b. 'Alī, God's peace on him, he being a governor ('*āmīl*) of the virtuous, the greatest Imām, al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī (4th to early 5th/10th to 11th centuries), God's peace on him. Nothing else was known in Ṣan'ā'.⁶²

As for these *ghayls* which God has brought into the open in such abundance this was not Man's action, but a person of Shu'ūb/Shā'ūb merely happened to come upon wetness in earth (*ṭīn*) close to the dam/barrage, known as Sadd al-Imām, so he went up to it and water showed there. When he noticed it increase he informed our Lord 'Izz al-Islām, God succour him, who went out to it and ordered an extension (*tawṣī'ah*) to be dug in it, and it increased until it was as I shall relate, if God Exalted will. It began to be brought forth after . . . (blanks in text) . . . and he appointed over it honest men (*umanā'*) (to oversee) the digging and construction of it. Then he built it with stone (text unclear) after setting long shafts (*kazā'im*) in it, and they were, up to the recording of this decision (? *raqm hādha 'l-tawqī'*), . . . (blank) . . . each shaft (*kazimah*) near to the building of a well (? in shape?). He assigned places for them to cross to the paths, places for the washermen (*ṣabbānūn*), any who wanted to draw water (*ightirāf*), and for the Prayer. It irrigated their properties for most of the inhabitants of Shu'ūb from al-Jirāf then al-Rawḍah and al-Ḥushayshiyyah, increasing abundantly all the time. He brought it forth to the districts of Dhahbān and the homelands

62 This statement is strange in view of the existence of al-Barmakī.



2.9 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. The mounds of material cleared from the shafts visible as the *ghayl* approaches Ṣan'ā' from the south.



2.10 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. The collecting cistern from which the *ghayl* begins.

of Jadir and 'Alamān, God revivifying through him a world of people and livestock. The supplies of our Lord Muḥammad bore the provisions and maintenance (*al-aqwāt wa-'l-nafaqāt*) necessary for any upon whom he relied, then the fodder for his horse and all. . .⁶³ (damaged) and he supplied many others apart from them. All these ways to the water had initially no track/trace/mark (*athar*)—God is most knowing.

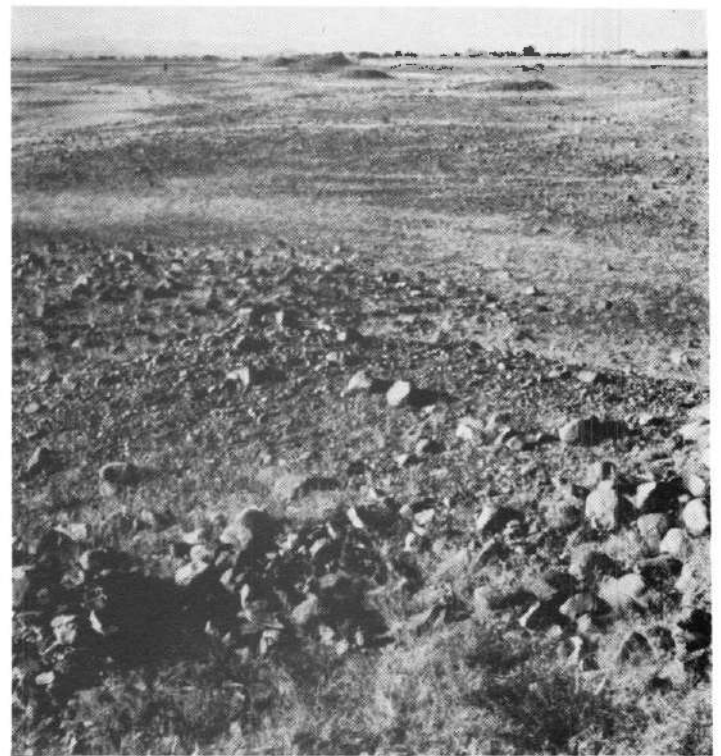
Yea, and one of the Shu'ūb people found an indication of water in another place near that, as already stated above, and he apprized our lord 'Alī, son of the Commander of the Faithful, God succour him, of that. So he also ordered people to dig and they discovered marks that had become lost under the ground and paths to the water, and the water became plentiful till it was near the river which belongs to our lord 'Izz al-Islām, God succour him, (in quantity), and it irrigated much of the districts of al-Rawḍah and what lies beyond them. Then our lord Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, God succour him, also discovered (water) and a great river (*nahr*), over and above the first two, came forth the flow of which he directed to many of the peasants (*du'afā'*)⁶⁴ and many found advantage in it. Then our lord Muḥammad b. Aḥmad son of the Commander of the Faithful also discovered a river (*nahr*) but lesser than those previously mentioned. The country around these rivers was most fertile, its harvests (*khayrāt*) abundant, so these areas of it were brought into cultivation again.

Al-Jarmūzī continues,

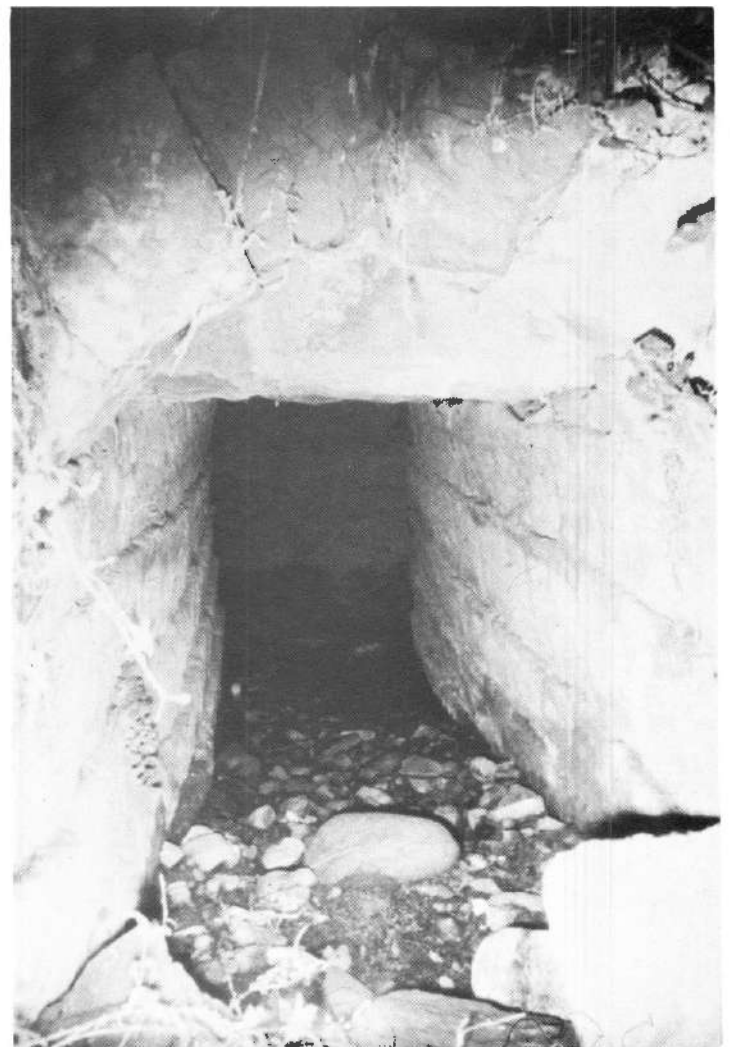
The increase in the (supply) of water goes on up till the present, increasing each year and the number of the said

⁶³ The whole of this sentence is rather strange in the Arabic.

⁶⁴ *Da'if*, presumably non-tribal cultivators.



2.11 Al-Ghayl al-Aswad. A view along the line of the *ghayl*, with a shaft in the foreground.



2.12 Ghayl al-Barmakī. An old section of the underground channel showing the 2nd/8th century construction, with stepped stonework of the same type as that of the wall of the Great Mosque.

rivers on the Shu'ūb side now comes to six. Yea, and when our lord the Commander of the Faithful arrived in Preserved Ṣan'ā' in the year (10)71/1660-1, as will be related if God Exalted will, some person also discovered one, and he excavated, by the order of the Commander of the Faithful, peace upon him, a great river (*nahr*), apart from those already mentioned.

Round about a quarter of a century later or much less these *ghayls* were to suffer much damage, for in Jumādā I 1083/late August 1672 'a copious rain fell at Jabal Artil and Bayt Baws south of Ṣan'ā', and the floods collected at its Khandaq (the southern (?) arched wall) and most of the *ghayls* were destroyed, especially Ghayl al-Imām, and that had been going on for days.⁶⁵ Then again in 1089/1678 'halfway through Ṣafar/April the great flood came down from Nuqūm and buried the *ghayl*, Ghayl al-Rawḍah which issues forth from al-Ṣafā,⁶⁶ and other *ghayls*, and destroyed a number of houses of Shu'ūb and other places.'

Ghayl al-Mahdī and Ghayl Muṣṭafā

Ghayl al-Mahdī is that mentioned by al-Jarmūzī⁶⁷ as founded by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (1087-92/1676-81), irrigating al-Rawḍah. According to *al-Badr al-muzīl*,⁶⁸ 'the Imām brought it forth and he made it a *waqf*, he having a right to it for the estates (*istihqāq-an la-hu 'ala 'l-diyā'*). Then it became cut off. Its source (*manba'*) is from the middle of Shu'ūb. Later the Governor (Wālī) Muḥammad 'Izzat, in the year 1302/1884-5, brought it out and repaired its channels up to al-Rawḍah, spending much money on it. Then the shaykh 'Alī al-Bilaylī purchased it from him.'⁶⁹ In 1309/1891-2 a flood from Sa'wān came down which destroyed al-Rawḍah and created much damage in it, even to the dam (*sadd*) of Ghayl al-Mahdī and destroyed the water channels (*sawāqī*). Ghayl Muṣṭafā has its source higher up than Ghayl al-Mahdī, near Ṣan'ā'. It takes its name from a certain 'Alī Muṣṭafā, of Damascan descent but of Meccan origin (ob. 1196/1782) who bought it and made it descend into al-Rawḍah. *Al-Badr al-muzīl*⁷⁰ affirms that it flows into Ghayl al-Mahdī. It was cut off for a period, then, during his governorship, Aḥmad Fayzī/Fayḍī, in the year 1310/1892-3 brought it forth and repaired it, after which the shaykh Muḥammad al-Bilaylī bought it also, from him. Nazīh al-Mu'ayyad⁷¹ comments that, going out of al-Rawḍah, one passes first by Ghayl al-Mahdī, and Ghayl Muṣṭafā, running two to three metres under the ground like 'Roman *qanāts* for water with us in Syria.'

A first inspection of the northern *ghayls* gave us the names Ghayl al-Manṣūr and Ghayl al-Mahdī. The latter actually flows into the former to form one big channel flowing in a straight line to al-Rawḍah. In more recent times it seems that at the head of both channels, were dug deeper and large wells, most probably in order to reach down to the water-table and increase the amount of water supplied to the channels.

Already under Imām Yaḥyā, at the large well of Ghayl al-Manṣūr a water pump was installed, then it was improved and restored several times, until, some twenty years ago, the well ultimately dried up. The situation became even worse with the construction of the Textile Factory which started to discharge polluted water towards the catchment area of the channels. Today the site is a filthy place with stagnant black water and dying vegetation.

When the channel reached al-Rawḍah it split into two main branches, one carrying on towards the middle of the town, and

one flowing to the very end of it, on its eastern side.

Ghayl Abī Ṭālib

This *ghayl* is described as irrigating up to al-Rawḍah, its source being east of Shu'ūb below the village of al-Ḥāfah. 'Ṭughtakīn b. Ayyūb brought it forth. When the rule (*dawlah*) and Caliphate passed to the Imām al-Manṣūr billāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (1006-29/1598-1620) he assigned it to his son Abū Ṭālib Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim, and he made it a *waqf* to the estates in Darb al-Salāḥ in al-Rawḍah, al-Ḥillah, Bīr Zayd, and some for the Jāmi' Mosque of al-Rawḍah. This *ghayl* still continues (to flow) up to now (1926) but it is sometimes strong, sometimes weak.'⁷²

Zabārah states⁷³ that he has seen a writing (*muḥarrar*) of 'Alī Muṣṭafā dated 1196/1782, the contents of which pose something of a problem to us here. In this, 'Alī Muṣṭafā notes that he bought half of the Ghayl al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad called Ghayl al-Sadd, the well known *ghayl* north (*qibli*) of the city of Ṣan'ā' from its owners (*mullāk*), the Bayt Abī Ṭālib, its *qarār* (place where water rests, probably the source or perhaps the dam itself), its possessed water-courses (*majārī mamlūkah*) along with the rights ensuant to them in *shar'*-law and 'urf'-custom, and that, after repairing it and bringing it forth, he constituted it a *waqf muḥabbas*⁷⁴ firstly for himself, then for his children and their male and female children. . . . If his posterity from the Yemen, al-Ḥaramayn and Damascus become extinct the revenues of the *waqf* (*ghallāt al-mawqūf*) are to be applied in the interests (*li-maṣāliḥ*) of the Jāmi' Kabir in Ṣan'ā' of the Yemen. He assigned the guardianship (*walāyah*) over it to himself so long as he lives, then to the upright of his children. If they become extinct and it goes to the Jāmi' Mosque the guardianship will go to the Imām al-Mihrāb (i.e. the Imām al-Ṣalāḥ) in the Jāmi'.

It was Ghayl al-Sadd which was, as al-Jarmūzī has informed us, developed by 'Izz al-Islām about the middle of the 11th/17th century, but the name Ghayl al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad suggests the Imām al-Manṣūr . . . al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad (1127-31/1716-20), and this in turn suggests that the name Ghayl al-Manṣūr, into which today Ghayl al-Mahdī flows, is another appellation for the same *ghayl*. On the other hand the Abū Ṭālib house is not stated to have owned this *ghayl*, but only the *ghayl* called after its house. For the moment therefore it is uncertain to which *ghayl* this passage refers.

The Old Ṣan'ā'-al-Rawḍah Road

Only those parts of this old road which, since they were exposed to the action of floods, had to be built or paved, are still clearly visible today. As the road must bear some relationship in its siting to the *ghayls* it is relevant to describe its course in case it undergoes alteration in coming developments.

The road started at Bāb Sha'ūb/Shu'ūb following the same route as the modern one for about 800m, then it turned gently towards the Sā'ilah bed and along its eastern bank. The road touches a small group of old houses around a very old well—old rustic dressed stones are re-used in the walls of these houses—then goes on to Qaryat Dūr and Qaryat al-Dajāj. Immediately after the last named village is preserved quite a long stretch of paved road and a small bridge, the width of the inner span being 2.65m

65 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 95a.

66 Ibid, 120 b. Al-Ṣafā seems unknown to the maps.

67 Cf. p. 82a-b.

68 Of 'Abd al-Wāsi' . . . al-Wāsi' i, 11.

69 Ibid, *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*, 1st ed., 1356 H, 147.

70 Ibid, 11; *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 303.

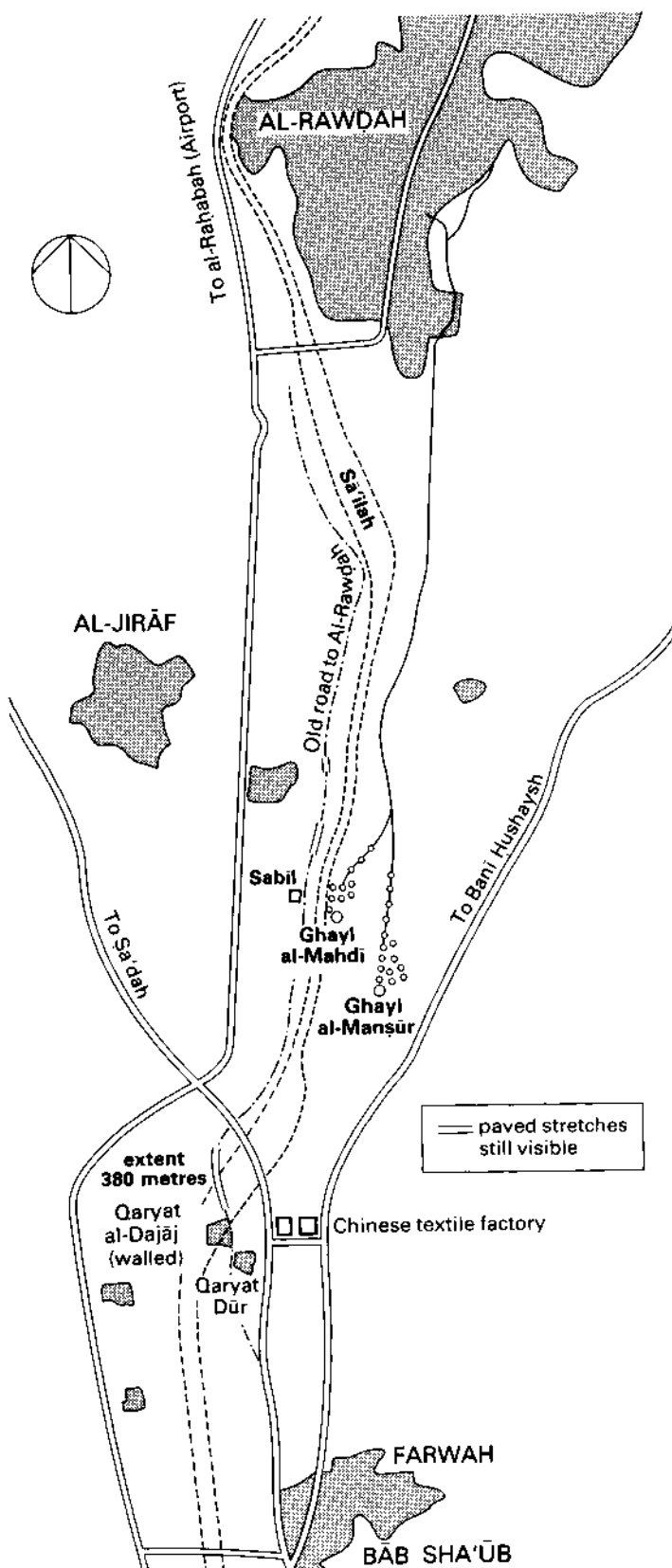
71 Nazīh al-Mu'ayyad al-'Azmi, *Riḥlah*, I, Cairo, 1937(?), 260.

72 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 303.

73 A *waqf*, lit. an inalienable *waqf*, but perhaps there is some special distinction in Zaydī law.

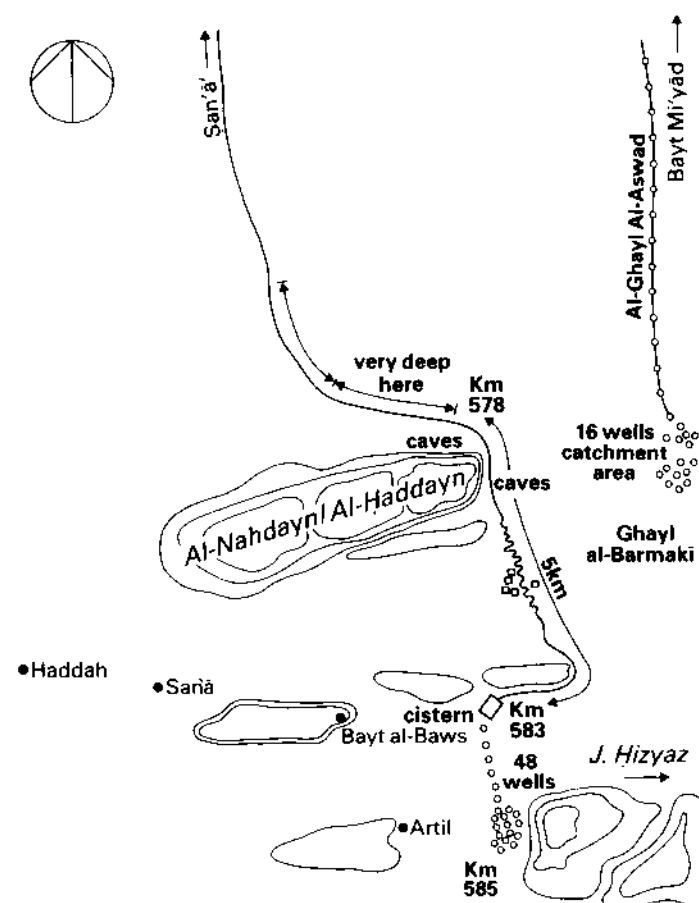
and the inner height to the key 1.40m. The arch is today formed by two courses of stone of a thickness of 0.42m; the width of the bridge from face to face is 3.90m. The built and paved road is preserved for a length of 380m, its width being from 3.50 to 5.30m.

Two other small portions of the paved road are preserved near the village of al-Jirāf. It would be interesting to make a topographic survey with cross-sections, of the area near al-Jirāf



where the Sā'ilah, road and channel run parallel and very close to one another. In all probability the road may have been built and paved with huge stones only where it was necessary to do this, so those parts visible are likely to be also the only sections so constructed existing in olden days.

The date of this road is so far unknown. It seems at least several hundred years old, while the bridge was probably re-built in more recent times.



Ghayls to the north (left) and south of Ṣan'ā'.

Chapter 3

Calendars, the Time of Day and Mathematical Astronomy

Calendars

In the Yemen there is a variety of calendars used in the countryside varying much from region to region, but all based on the observation of stars. This has given rise to a not inconsiderable literature showing the correspondences between calendars, and of almanacs which specify the appropriate agricultural labours to be undertaken in their seasons.

The *hijrah* year which in this book is given along with the corresponding date in the Christian era is of course common to all regions for official and religious purposes. Being a lunar year it is not used for dating seasonal events and operations.

Instead the Byzantine/Greek months (*al-shuhūr al-Rūmiyyah*) are in common use in the north and even as far south as Lahej on the Aden side of the border. Al-Hamdānī¹ dates agricultural operations such as sowing or harvesting by this system which, writing about the very early 4th/10th century, he treats as well enough established to need no comment. True to their name they were undoubtedly introduced from Byzantium into southern Arabia before Islam, probably by the Christians in the Yemen. My impression is that they are not used east of a line as yet undetermined, but which it would be interesting to plot. In almanacs the corresponding stars are noted for each *Rūmī* month. It is stated² that the agricultural year begins on the 1st of Shubāt, i.e., 14 March, but the normal order of these months is

Tishrīn al-Awwal	14 October	Naysān/Nisān
Tishrīn al-Thānī		Ayyār or Mabkar
Kānūn al-Awwal		Ḥazirān
Kānūn al-Thānī		Tammūz
Shubāt		Āb
Ādhār		Aylūl ³

The third type is the star calendar universal in the Arab world, even as far west as medieval Arab Spain, the Yemen version of which was first published by Glaser upon whose researches the table below is based. The star calendar however varies widely from place to place both in nomenclature and periodicity, though local calendars appear to be related to the system in the table.

Month	Day	Sun-Station	Agricultural Stars	Evening Ascension	Morning Ascension
January	10	<i>Sa'd al-Dhābiḥ</i>	<i>Rābi' Awwal</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Nashrah</i>	<i>al-Na'īm</i>
	23	<i>Sa'd Bulā'</i>	<i>Rābi' Akhīr</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Tarf</i>	<i>al-Balāh</i>
February	5	<i>Sa'd al-Su'ūd</i>	<i>Khāmis al-Samāh</i>	<i>al-Jabāh</i>	<i>al-Dhābiḥ</i>
	18	<i>Sa'd al-Akhhayāh</i>	<i>Sābi' al-Samāh</i>	<i>al-Zabrah</i>	<i>Sa'd Bulā'</i>
March	3	<i>al-Farḡ al-Muqaddam</i>	<i>Sābi' al-Samāh</i>	<i>al-Sarjah</i>	<i>Sa'd al-Su'ūd</i>
	16	<i>al-Farḡ al-Mu'akhhhar</i>	<i>Zafīr Awwal</i>	<i>al-Awwal</i>	<i>Sa'd al-Akhhayāh</i>
	29	<i>Batn al-Hūt</i>	<i>Zafīr Thānī</i>	<i>al-Simāh</i>	<i>al-Muqaddam</i>
April	11	<i>al-Sharāṭayn</i>	<i>Simāh (al-Far')</i>	<i>al-Ghufīr</i>	<i>al-Mu'akhhhar</i>
	24	<i>al-Buṭayn</i>	<i>Ghurūb Kāmah</i>	<i>al-Zubānā</i>	<i>al-Rihā (Batn al-Hūt)</i>
May	7	<i>al-Thurayyā</i>	<i>Ghurūb al-Thaur</i>	<i>Ikhlī</i>	<i>al-Sharāṭayn</i>
	20	<i>al-Dabarān</i>	<i>Tulū' Kāmah</i>	<i>al-Qalb</i>	<i>al-Buṭayn</i>
June	2	<i>al-Haq'ah</i>	<i>Tulū' al-Thaur</i>	<i>al-Shatlah</i>	<i>al-Thurayyā</i>
	15	<i>al-Han'ah</i>	<i>Tulū' al-Zulm al-Awwal</i>	<i>al-Na'īm</i>	<i>al-Dabarān</i>
	28	<i>al-Dhīrā'</i>	<i>Tulū' al-Zulm al-Thānī</i>	<i>al-Balāh</i>	<i>al-Haq'ah</i>
July	12	<i>al-Nashrah</i>	<i>'Alā'</i>	<i>Sa'd al-Dhābiḥ</i>	<i>al-Han'ah</i>
	25	<i>al-Tarf</i>	<i>Suhayl</i>	<i>Sa'd Bulā'</i>	<i>al-Dhīrā'</i>
August	7	<i>al-Jabāh</i>	<i>Rawāḥ al-Awwalāh</i>	<i>Sa'd al-Su'ūd</i>	<i>al-Nashrah</i>
	20	<i>al-Zabrah</i>	<i>Rawāḥ al-Akhhayāh</i>	<i>Sa'd al-Akhhayāh</i>	<i>al-Tarf</i>
September	2	<i>al-Sarjah</i>	<i>Khāmis 'Allān</i>	<i>al-Farḡ al-Muqaddam</i>	<i>al-Jabāh</i>
	15	<i>al-Awwal</i>	<i>Sābi' 'Allān</i>	<i>al-Farḡ al-Mu'akhhhar</i>	<i>al-Zabrah</i>
	28	<i>al-Simāh</i>	<i>Sābi' 'Allān</i>	<i>Batn al-Hūt</i>	<i>al-Sarjah</i>
October	11	<i>al-Ghufīr</i>	<i>Awwal Fān'</i>	<i>al-Sharāṭayn</i>	<i>al-Awwal</i>
	24	<i>al-Zubānā</i>	<i>Rābi' Kāmah</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Buṭayn</i>	<i>al-Simāh</i>
November	6	<i>al-Rihā</i>	<i>al-Thaur</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Thurayyā</i>	<i>al-Ghufīr</i>
	19	<i>al-Qalb</i>	<i>al-Najmāyān</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Dabarān</i>	<i>al-Zubānā</i>
December	5	<i>al-Shawlah</i>	<i>Zulm Awwal</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Haq'ah</i>	<i>al-Ikhlī</i>
	15	<i>al-Na'īm</i>	<i>Zulm Thānī</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Han'ah</i>	<i>al-Qalb</i>
	28	<i>al-Balāh</i>	<i>Suhayl</i> (Evening)	<i>al-Dhīrā'</i>	<i>al-Shawlah</i>

Rossi⁴ confirms that *Ṣan'ā'* distinguishes four seasons of the year - *Shitā'* winter, *Rābi'* spring, *Ṣayf* summer, and *Kharīf* autumn. A Ms. source says that winter begins on 24 Aylūl which should be 6 October, spring on 24 Kānūn, summer on 24 Ādhār, and autumn on 24 Ḥazirān, but I have not checked to see if these are the accepted dates in present day *Ṣan'ā'* though it is likely. For the peasants of the *Ṣan'ā'* plain Rossi gives *Qiyād* the late winter harvest, *Dithā'* the harvest of spring-summer, *'Allān*⁵ the season of rains, and *Ṣurāb* the autumn harvest. *Al-Jahr* is a hot period falling about late May, June and July—it would appear to vary in its incidence: *Sabt al-Subūt*⁶ in the northern Yemen is said to be the Saturday, falling in October, which marks the beginning of winter.

The past year, says Qāḍī Ismā'īl, is called *al-'ām* among the tribes of Dhamār and Yarīm, and the year before it *qabl al-'ām*. In everyday speech people naturally date by events, such as before or after the 'Īd, either of the two Feasts, but especially by al-'Īd al-Kabīr, the Feast of the Sacrifices, etc.

It would be possible to say much more about calendars in the

1 Al-Hamdānī, *Sifah*, ed. D. H. Müller, 199.

2 In Muḥammad Ḥaydarah's almanacs published at Ta'izz, but this may not be true for other parts of the Yemen.

3 See 'Cultivation of cereals in Medieval Yemen', *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1974, 28 seq., and 61 seq., *passim*; 'Star calendars and an almanac from south-west Arabia', *Anthropos*, Posieux (Fribourgh), 1954, XLIX, 433-59; A M A Maktari, *Water rights and irrigation practice in Lahj*, Cambridge,

1971, 177. These contain earlier bibliography.

4 *L'Arabo parlato*, 151.

5 This for Rossi's 'Allān.

6 *Sabt al-Subūt* in Zabid comes about the end of the date season. Cf. 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abdullāh al-Hadrami, 'al-Mu'arrikhūn wa-Subūt fī Zabid', *al-Kalimah*, Hodeidah, 1973.

Yemen and Ṣan'ā' district in particular, as, also, the popular wisdom and lore connected with them. A knowledge of them is essential to any enquiry into the life of the villages surrounding Ṣan'ā', and even into life in Ṣan'ā' itself⁷.

In Ṣan'ā' Arab time is commonly used, though persons and institutions dealing with foreigners also use the western reckoning. Thus western 6 a.m. is 1 o'clock and 12 noon 6 o'clock Arab time. The Arab day commences at 6 p.m. Western time, so that, e.g., an Arab referring to the evening of Friday means a period commencing at our 6 p.m. on Thursday. The Muslim calendar is therefore reckoned by nights, but the *Rūmī* calendar on the contrary by days, since it is the daytime which starts first.

The Times of Day in the Upper Yemen

In olden times the Yemeni did not use a watch, but distinguished the various times of day by names of their own. The list of these below was provided by Qāḍī Ismā'īl. Though, as elsewhere in the Peninsula, Arab time is ordinarily in use, in the larger towns of the Yemen concessions have been made to European time reckoning.

- 1) *Sharqat al-shams* or *fadhḥat⁸ shams* (Class. *al-shurūq*), sun-rise.
- 2) *Kharjat ghanam* or, with the tribes, *masrah quraṣh*, the going out (to pasture) of the sheep-and-goats, or the morning departure of cattle/beasts.
Waqt al-'ajm, kneading time (for the breakfast bread), with women.
Class. *al-bukūr*.
- 3) *Ḥamyat⁹ shams*, or *ḥamyat al-kilāb*, or simply *ḥamyah* (Ṣan'ā'), the warmth of the sun, or *tarḥat shams*, when the sun's rays fall on the earth straight down.
Class. *al-ghuduww*.
- 4) *Rakaat shams* (Class. *al-duḥā*), high morning, from about 9 to after 11 a.m., used by the tribes particularly.
- 5) *Waqt al-waqdah/al-waqīd* (Class. *al-hājirah*); Ṣan'ā', *al-lasyah*; Dhamār, *al-luṣwah*, fire-lighting time (for making the lunch bread), used among women and the tribes; in Ṣan'ā' and Dhamār—firewood (time).
- 6) *Waqt al-zuhr* (Class. *al-ṣahīrah*), or *al-ghadā'*, or, in Ṣan'ā', *adhān al-zuhr*, midday, or lunch, or the midday call to prayer. Described as *kabid al-samā'*, the meridian of the sky.
- 7) *Ba'd al-zuhr*, or *bayn al-ṣalātayn*, or *bayn al-aṣrayn*, (Class. *al-rawāḥ*), afternoon, or, between the two prayers, or,

between the two afternoon periods.¹⁰ *Qahwat ghadā'*, lunch coffee-time, with women.

- 8) *ʿAṣr* (also Class.), mid-afternoon.
Tafriḥah, with women—women's leisure time.¹¹
- 9) *Ba'd al-aṣr* (Class. *al-qasr*), late afternoon, the last part of the day.
- 10) *Raj'at ghanam*¹² (Class. *al-aṣīl*), return of the sheep-and-goats—with the tribes.
- 11) *Qabl al-maghrib* (Class. *al-ghurūb*), before sunset, setting of the sun.
- 12) *Gharbat shams*, or *ghaybah* (Class. *al-'ashiyy*), sunset.¹³
- 13) *Ba'd al-maghrib* (Class. *al-shafaq*),¹⁴ after sunset.
- 14) *'Ishā'* (Class. *al-ghasaq*)¹⁵ evening, or *Ṣalāt al-'ishā'*, evening prayer.
- 15) *Ba'd al-'ishā'*, or *al-dānī*, after evening, or, the near.
- 16) *Ḍarbat al-marfa'*, or *al-tamsiyah* (time equivalent to Class. *al-sudfah*), the beating of the drum. The verb *massā*, *yimassī*, obviously to be derived from the Arabic *masā*, evening, means to beat the drums (*tubūl*) at 3 o'clock Arabic time, i.e. 9 p.m. This is to announce the curfew which appears to be an ancient institution and to be indicated in a passage of al-Rāzī's¹⁶ history.
- 17) *Haj'ah* (Class. *al-fahmah*),¹⁷ quiet, stillness of people and sleeping.
- 18) *Nuṣṣ al-layl* (Class. *al-zullah*), middle of the night.
- 19) *Ghadā Ramadān*, or *saḥūr*, or *al-tasbiḥat al-azwalah* (Class. *al-zulfah*),¹⁸ Ramadān breakfast, breakfast, or, the first *tasbiḥah*,¹⁹ collect.
- 20) *Al-tasbiḥat al-thānīyah* (Class. *al-subḥah*), the second *tasbiḥah*, collect.
- 21) *Al-tahmidah*, or *al-tasbiḥat al-thālithah*, the third collect. At time of Class. *al-saḥar*, before daybreak.
- 22) *Al-fajr*, dawn.
- 23) *Ḍaw'*, or *ḍaw' zalām*, or *ghabash* (Class. *al-ṣubḥ*), light before sun-rise, of last shadows of the night, etc.
- 24) *Ziqziqah*, or *ḍaw' barāḥ* (*al-ṣabāḥ*), bird-chirping²⁰ (sparrow-fart!), the light of a veiled woman uncovering her face (*kashf ḍaw' sāfir 'an wajhi-hā'*)!

Festivals

'Id al-Mawlid al-Nabawiyy, the Prophet's birthday—12 Rabi' I.

'Id al-Naṣr, the Victory Festival, when Imām Ahmad defeated 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr²¹—28 Jumādā I.

'Id Jum'at Ṣan'ā', when the people of Ṣan'ā' accepted Islam, after which all the Yemen followed them—First Friday of Rajab.

Al-'Id al-Ṣaghīr/'Id al-Fiṭr, the Lesser Festival—1 Shawwāl.

a strange expression is reported of Ṣan'ānī women not of the upper classes—one of these would say, *'Shāṣir 'ind istimat al-Malik/al-Rahmān'* etc. This is probably for *siti Amat*, there being many female names of the type *Amat al-Razzāq*, *Amat al-Laṭīf*, etc.

12 See p. 169b seq.

13 About now in Ramadān, *Iftār al-sā'im*, faster's breaking his fast.

14 Remains of light and redness of the sun in the first part of the night (Lane). Ahmad al-Shāmī calls it *bayn maghrib wa-'ishā'*.

15 Class. *'atamah*, first third of the night after the disappearance of *al-shafaq*.

16 Cf. p. 148a, n. 46. The *haras al-layl* assemble and chant *zawāmil*.

17 *Fahmah*, the intense dark of the night.

18 A portion of the first part of the night (Lane).

19 The *tasbiḥah* is said to include such phrases as *Subḥān Allāh*; texts are given on pp. 310b seq. In Ramadān *yusabbih al-mu'adhḥin* three times during the night. The third called *tahmidah* is said to be different from the first two and somewhat longer. Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tālī*, Cairo, 1348 H, II, 101, relates that a fanatic in the early days of al-Mahdī 'Abbās, averred that he rose in revolt because he found that in his first times in Ṣan'ā' the muezzins used to make three *tasbiḥahs* at the end of the night, then when he entered Ṣan'ā' again he found they had grown lax, and some only made two, some one, and some no *tasbiḥah* at all!

20 *Waqt ziqziqat al-aṣfir*, the time when sparrows break into chirping at dawn.

21 No longer celebrated of course.

7 This is evident from the Ms. of which I have a photocopy through the kindness of the Shaykh Muḥammad Zayd, containing much agricultural material, notably a poem of Ḥasan b. Jābir al-Affārī. This Ms. of mixed contents I have under examination at present. The Islamic calendar also has numerous sayings and saws connected with it, e.g., *'al-ashr marḥumah wa-lā fi'l-shitā'*, the ten days of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah are fortunate even if they fall in winter.' They are fortunate (*marḥumah* = *khayyirah*) because things for the 'Id are plentiful.

8 Paraphrased as *waqt shurūq-hā*. One says *Min ayn fadhḥ? = ashraqat*, imperfect *tafudḥah*.

9 *Ḥamyah* = *al-diṣ'*, *Tarḥah*, when the rays fall on the earth *murakkazah*.

10 Between *Ṣalāt al-Zuhr* and *al-'Aṣr*.

11 *Tafriḥah/tafriḥah*, pl. *tafriḥ*, when women attend a wedding (*'irs*) or a birth (*wilādah*) or more precisely perform the visits connected with these events, or it may be a rather different occasion, *al-marūt*, a death, where they wear black (*thiyāb sud*), the mourners rearing their hair, slapping their faces, and mentioning the deceased father or husband. A woman might say to her husband, *'Shāṣir atfarraq 'ind bayt filān'* not mentioning the name of the woman she intends to visit; or she might mention the name of the woman, were she among women only. Compare the expression *'Shāṣia' atjamma' 'ind ummī*, I'm going to spend Friday with my mother'. What at first sight seems

Yawm al-Ghadīr, the Shī'ī festival of Ghadīr Khumm when the *tamshiyat Yawm al-Ghadīr* takes place, also called al-Nushūr²²—'Id 'Arafah = 9 Dhu 'l-Hijjah.

Al-'Id al-Kabīr called al-Idhā (Aḏhā), the Feast of the Sacrifices—10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah.

Mathematical Astronomy in Medieval Yemen

There has been an active tradition in mathematical astronomy in the Yemen from the 4th/10th century down to the present century. This tradition is attested by several dozen medieval astronomical manuscripts of Yemeni provenance that have been located in the past few years in various libraries in Europe and the Near East.²³ The scope of the surviving Yemeni astronomical writings suggests that other works were compiled by the astronomers of medieval Yemen that are now no longer extant.

The Yemeni tradition of mathematical astronomy is quite distinct from the tradition of folk astronomy attested in the Yemeni almanacs described above. This folk astronomy relates the seasons, whose passage is determined by the progress of the sun along the ecliptic, to agricultural and meteorological patterns. Medieval mathematical astronomy, on the other hand, was concerned with such topics as the determination of the positions of the sun, moon, planets, and the fixed stars; the prediction of planetary conjunctions, eclipses, and visibility of the lunar crescent; timekeeping by the sun and stars; and the computation of horoscopes and celestial configurations with astrological significance. The Islamic tradition of mathematical astronomy was based on the earlier traditions of Greek, Sasanian, and Indian astronomy, rather than the primitive folk astronomy of the Arabian Peninsula. Since only a very small fraction of the works compiled by Muslim astronomers was known in medieval Europe, most of the vast corpus of Islamic astronomical literature has only become known in the West during the past 150 years, as a result of the labours of orientalist working in the libraries where this heritage is in part preserved. This literature includes *zīj*, that is, astronomical handbooks containing extensive tables and instructions for solving the standard problems confronting the medieval astronomer; tables for timekeeping by the sun and stars and for regulating the times of prayer, which in Islam are astronomically defined; treatises on instruments; treatises on astrology; and treatises on a wide range of other related topics.²⁴

The earliest Yemeni astronomer on whom we have some reliable information is the celebrated late 4th/10th century geographer al-Hamdānī. He compiled a *zīj* which was used in the Yemen at least until the 7th/13th century. Unfortunately this *zīj* is no longer extant, but we know from a surviving fragment of al-Hamdānī's treatise on mathematical astrology that he was familiar with the earlier *zīj* of the astronomers of 'Abbāsīd Iraq. Most of these works are likewise lost, and it is a complicated task for the historian of Islamic science to gather information on these works from such valuable sources as al-Hamdānī's chapter in his treatise on astrology dealing specifically with the different opinions of his predecessors.

Under the Rasūlīd Sultans there was considerable activity in astronomy in the Yemen, some of which was conducted by the Sultans themselves. The two astronomers al-Fārisī and al-Kawāshī were apparently sponsored by the Sultan al-Muẓaffar

Al-Fārisī prepared a *zīj* containing tables for the Yemen, based on a 6th/12th century Iraqi *zīj*, and al-Kawāshī prepared a *zīj* with tables specifically for Aden and Ta'izz, based mainly on a contemporary Egyptian *zīj*. The Sultan al-Ashraf himself compiled an extensive treatise on astrolabes and sundials, displaying his knowledge of certain earlier Andalusian and Egyptian works on these instruments. He compiled new tables for drawing the curves on astrolabes and sundials, computing these tables for the latitudes of the major cities of the Yemen. One of the astrolabes made by al-Ashraf with the aid of these tables is now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Al-Ashraf also compiled an extensive treatise on astrology, in which he included astrological tables computed specifically for the latitude of Ṣan'ā'.

The Yemeni astronomer Abu 'l-'Uqūl worked for the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad. He compiled a *zīj* based on one of the *zīj*es of the 4th/10th century Cairo astronomer Ibn Yūnus, and included tables computed specifically for the latitudes of Aden, Ta'izz, Zabīd, and Ṣan'ā'. Greater originality is displayed in the corpus of tables for timekeeping attributed to Abu 'l-'Uqūl. These tables for timekeeping by the sun and stars, computed for the latitude of Ta'izz, constitute the largest known corpus of such tables compiled for any Islamic city during the medieval period, being considerably more extensive than the corresponding tables that were prepared for such centres of astronomy as Cairo and Damascus. In fact, the Ta'izz corpus contains over one hundred thousand entries, but it is difficult to estimate the extent to which these tables were used in later centuries since they survive in only two manuscripts, whereas literally dozens of manuscripts of the Cairo and Damascus tables survive. No comparable corpus of tables for timekeeping appears to have been compiled for Ṣan'ā'.

Each year almanacs and ephemerides were prepared for the Yemeni Sultans by their astronomers. These contained extensive calendrical and astrological information for the year in question, as well as tables of the positions of the sun, moon, and planets for each day of the year. Two of these survive in the manuscript sources, both now preserved in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo. The first was prepared for Ṣan'ā', 727/1326-7, and the second for Ta'izz, 808/1405-06.

The Sultan al-Afḍal compiled an extensive compendium of astronomical treatises and tables, most of which were simply lifted from earlier Egyptian, Syrian, and Yemeni sources. Such a compendium is of considerable interest to historians of science for the information it contains on earlier works that are no longer extant in their original form. Various other Yemeni works of an eclectic nature survive either complete or in fragmentary form in the manuscript sources and remain to be properly studied, including *zīj* for Ṣan'ā', Zabīd, and Ta'izz. The last Yemeni *zīj* tables were compiled for Ṣan'ā' in the 11th/mid 17th century by the brothers al-Ḥasan and 'Abdullāh al-Sarhī, relying entirely on earlier Yemeni *zīj*. In Ṣan'ā' today there is still a small group of elderly people who have received instruction on the *zīj* of the brothers al-Sarhī.

Besides this sophisticated tradition of mathematical astronomy the Yemeni astronomers maintained an interest in traditional folk astronomy and simple timekeeping using shadow lengths by day and the lunar mansions by night. Thus, for example, the 7th/13th century astronomer al-Fārisī wrote a treatise on these two topics as well as his *zīj*. In the courtyard of the mosque of al-Janād north of Ta'izz there is a stone gnomon about the height of a man, with which the time of day could be reckoned using

22 On this day Imām Yahyā used to go out to 'Ayn al-Faqīh or Khazā' in al-Muṭahhar or Lakamat al-Jazzārīn, the last being on the footslopes of Nuqum to the east of it and Ṣan'ā'.

23 For a more detailed account of Yemeni astronomy see D. A. King, *Mathematical astronomy in medieval Yemen*, currently being submitted for publication.

24 For a brief account of Islamic astronomy see D. Pingree's article 'Ilm al-hay'a' in *IE*². Additional basic information on Islamic astronomy is contained in the *Encyclopaedia* articles *Astronomy*, *Manāzil* (lunar mansions), *Mākāt*

(definitions of the prayer-times), *Mintaka* (zodiac), and *Tayyir* (aspects of mathematical astrology) in the 1st ed.; and *Aṣṣūlāb* (astrolabe) and *Qibla* (direction of Mecca) in the 2nd ed.

On Islamic astronomical handbooks and tables see E. S. Kennedy, 'A Survey of Islamic astronomical tables,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, n.s., XLVI, 1956, 123-177, and D. A. King 'On the astronomical tables of the Islamic Middle Ages', *Studia Copernicana*, XIII, Wrocław, 1975, 37-56.

simple rules originally adopted from Indian astronomy, and the time of the midday and afternoon prayers, both defined in terms of shadow lengths, could also be regulated. In medieval Yemeni almanacs simple tables were sometimes given for reckoning time of night by the lunar mansions.

In the Yemen, as elsewhere in the Islamic world, mathematical

astronomy declined from about the 9th/15th century onwards. The works of the early Yemeni astronomers were thereafter forgotten and in some cases lost. Fortunately, enough Yemeni manuscripts survive in libraries in Europe and the Near East to enable us to document a substantial part of this tradition for the first time.

Chapter 4

Pre-Islamic Ṣan‘ā’

Continuous occupation of a site often makes it impossible to retrieve the archaeological record of its earliest phase, and one is forced to rely on written records, which ordinarily testify to it only as an already established habitation site; and this is the case with Ṣan‘ā’. However, situated as it is at an important road junction, where the north-south route along the spine of the Yemen is met by one of the principal routes from Ma‘rib up into the highlands of northern Yemen, it is likely to have been an occupied site from very early times. Such inscriptional evidence as we have for Ṣan‘ā’ and its palace of Ghumdān (famous in the lore of Islamic times), clusters in the third century A.D. (see below), which appears to have been the period when the location enjoyed particular significance. In order to appraise this, some brief account must be given of earlier periods.

Saba—or the Sabaeans—is the name of a community who, basically, were ‘owners of the town of Ma‘rib and its agricultural lands’ (RES 3910/2).^{*} But already before the Christian era, Sabaeen domination had extended over some other neighbouring areas: the oases on the edge of the desert north of Ma‘rib; several places in the Wādī Jawf; and the Bakīl territory in the high plateau now known as the Qā‘ al-Bawn.¹ This ‘greater Sabaeen’ state expressed its identity and cohesion through the medium of a shared cult of the deity Ilmuqah, whose principal (but not the only) shrine was the temple called Awā (now Maḥram Bilqīs) some little distance from Ma‘rib. But within the compass of the semicircle formed by those territories lie the Ṣan‘ā’ plain and the Arḥab plateau to the north of it. In early times these constituted the kingdom of Sam‘ay, having its own distinctive cult of a deity named Ta‘lab, whose main shrine was at Riyām in Arḥab. There must nevertheless have been some kind of federal link between Sam‘ay and Saba, since an inscription at Riyām (RES 4176) directs Sam‘ay to participate in the Ilmuqah cult at Ma‘rib, at a national festival held annually there; a joint religious celebration of this kind is a sure indication of political affiliation.

In the early centuries A.D., Sam‘ay was subdivided into three

cantons: first Ḥāshid, situated in Arḥab and dominated by the aristocratic clan of the Banū Hamdān; secondly Ḥumlān in the hilly country west of the Ṣan‘ā’ plain, dominated by the Banū Bata’ whose principal centre seems to have been at Ḥāz (north west of Ṣan‘ā’ on a route leading to ‘Amrān); thirdly Hajar,² where the leading clan was the Banū Sukhaym, centred on the town of Shibām close to modern al-Ghirās. Some 35 km south east of Ṣan‘ā’ is the massive Jabal Kanin, and the valleys to the north of this belonged to another influential clan, the Banū Jurat, who were not Ta‘lab worshippers and hence not part of Sam‘ay.

Von Wissmann writes³ that Ṣan‘ā’ was ‘apparently’ the northern outpost of Jurat territory; his map⁴ makes the Jurat frontier run northwards from the Yisliḥ pass approximately along the line of the modern motor road from Ṣan‘ā’ to Dhamār, but then curve round the west and north of Ṣan‘ā’, cutting off Ṣan‘ā’ from the village of Shu‘ūb only 5 km northwards; and Shu‘ūb was unmistakably part of Sam‘ay, since it participated in the Ta‘lab cult. Such a geographical frontier seems extremely artificial and improbable.

An unpublished text in the Aden Museum⁵ reveals that there was a sanctuary named Awā outside Ṣan‘ā’, parallel to the sanctuary of Awā outside Ma‘rib; the duplication of the name need cause no surprise since there was yet another of the same name at Shibām-Kawkabān. Both the latter and the Ma‘rib shrines were of the Sabaeen national deity ‘LMQH, and the one at Ṣan‘ā’ probably was as well. It could even be that Ṣan‘ā’ was founded as a national, non-tribal enclave (like Washington D.C. in the USA).

During the first three centuries A.D., a marked change took place in the political complexion of the Sabaeen federation. Many of its kings were no longer from the Ma‘rib area, but were members of the aristocratic clans of the highlands, including Bakīl, the Sam‘ay clans, and Ghaymān to the south east of Ṣan‘ā’. Also, while some continued to use the title ‘king of the Sabaeans’, many others used an expanded title ‘king of the Sabaeans and of Raydān’.

*Epigraphic References

CIH = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars 4, inscriptiones Himyariticas continens.

Er = M.A. al-Eryani, *In Yemen History*, Ṣan‘ā’, 1973.

Ja = A. Jamme, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs*, Baltimore, 1962.

For interpretations of the Jamme texts, see A.F.L. Beeston, *Warfare in Ancient South Arabia*, London, 1976.

RES = *Repertoire d’Épigraphie sémitique*.

Epigraphic names and technical terms are given in ‘arabicized’ form, though the ancient pronunciation was in some cases probably substantially different.

1 Sabaeen influence in the oases and the towns of the Jawf is attested by a range of early inscriptions recording ‘walling’ of the towns; in the Qā‘ al-Bawn by the inscription Rathjens 42 (C. Rathjens, *Sabaeica*, Teil III, herausg. von M. Höfner, Hamburg, 1966).

2 The word in itself means simply ‘town’, but for its use as a toponym compare the modern place-name al-Ahjur.

3 *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Altsüdarabien*, Wien 1964, 367.

4 *Ibid.*, Abb. 17 facing p. 294.

5 Publication is anticipated in the forthcoming second volume of the *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes*.

It has hitherto been almost universally accepted that Raydān in this title means the hill-fortress of that name close to Zafār (south east of Yarīm) in Ḥimyarite territory. I have elsewhere⁶ voiced doubts about this. Glaser records⁷ that he was informed that there had been an ancient fortress called Raydān just outside the southern gate of Ṣan'ā'; Von Wissmann attempts to explain this away by the supposition that the south gate might have been called 'the Raydān gate' simply because the road towards Yarīm and Zafār started from there, and that this has given rise to what he calls the 'legend' of a second Raydān outside Ṣan'ā'. But is it just an unfounded legend? Once again, no definitive answer is possible at present. One thing that is certain is that the kings of the Sabaeans and of Raydān consistently stress Ṣan'ā' and its palace of Ghumdān as a dynastic headquarters on a parallel with Ma'rib and its palace of Silhīn.⁸ In the religious sphere, the national cult of the Sabaean federation remained, down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., firmly rooted in Ilmuqah's shrine at Awā near Ma'rib. But in the political sphere, from the end of the second century or at any rate early in the third, Ma'rib and Ṣan'ā' played parallel roles.

There are three texts in which Silhīn and Ghumdān are bracketed very closely together: Ja 577, on which see further below; NNAG 12⁹ tells us that Ilmuqah showed favour to king Sha'ar Awtar 'and the bayt [singular!] Silhīn and Ghumdān'; in Er. 18 thanks are expressed for 'the royal installation and accession of Ilisharāḥ Yaḥḍab and his brother Ya'zal Bayyin, kings of the Sabaeans and of Raydān, in the bayt Silhīn and Ghumdān'. How to interpret *bayt* in these contexts is puzzling; J. Ryckmans renders it in the former instance as 'dynasty',¹⁰ which however is not so easy to accept in the second instance. But these texts at all events show us Silhīn and Ghumdān enjoying an equality of status as royal dynastic centres.

Normally, Ṣan'ā' is designated simply a 'town' (*hajar*). But Ja 577/17 has an interesting phrase, referring to 'the two *maḥrams* and the town, Ma'rib and Ṣan'ā' and Nashq'. According to the stylistic principles of the inscriptions, this certainly implies that Nashq (in the Wādī Jawf) was a town and nothing more, whereas Ma'rib and Ṣan'ā' are being each assigned a distinctive rank as a *maḥram*. This cannot here mean a religious shrine, since Ma'rib was not *per se* a cult centre, the religious cult there being served at Awā some distance away from the town; it must have a more general sense, of a place to which access is prohibited or restricted, no matter whether for religious or for other reasons.¹¹ Ja 577 indicates that the towns of Ma'rib and Ṣan'ā' were hedged about with a special awesomeness derived from their being royal residences, whereas Nashq was not, in spite of being a place of considerable importance in the Sabaean federation.

In another text (Ja 647) we hear of certain 'army lands' (*araḍāt al-khamīs*) situated at Ma'rib, Ṣan'ā', Nashq and Nashān (the last named being close to Nashq). A plausible guess is that these were agricultural areas set aside for growing crops used to provide rations for the troops, as was the case in 'Abbāsīd Iraq with an area south east of Samarra irrigated by a canal which was called Abu 'l-Jund 'father of the troops'.

It is indeed as a military centre that Ṣan'ā' emerges, alongside its dynastic role, most clearly in the texts. Just as Ma'rib was the headquarters for campaigns eastward against Ḥaḍramawt and northward against the bedouin, so Ṣan'ā' was the headquarters for

campaigns southwards against the Ḥimyarites and westward against the Red Sea coastal areas. In the campaigns southwards and westwards it was Ṣan'ā' that the Sabaean troops used as their base of operations (Ja 575, 576); to Ṣan'ā' they returned in triumph (Ja 574, 576, 577); in Ṣan'ā' they received peace missions (Ja 574) and hostages (Ja 616); at Ruḥabah (probably an open assembly space outside the town) honours were handed out to victorious leaders (Ja 629). In one instance (Ja 644), Ma'rib itself had fallen into the hands of insurgents having the support of the Banū Shaddād of Khawlān, and the lord of Ghaymān (which lies between Ṣan'ā' and the Shaddād area) had to move back to Ṣan'ā' in order to collect a force with which to subdue the Banū Shaddād. In another case (Ja 576), when the campaign was against the Ḥimyarites, the Sabaean troops had to move up from Ma'rib to Ṣan'ā' before launching their campaign. It can also be remarked that the name Ṣan'ā' itself means 'well fortified', since in the Sabaic language derivatives of the root *ṣn'* are (with a solitary exception where the meaning is uncertain) exclusively associated with military defensibility.¹²

As I have said above, it is in the third century A.D. that the name Ṣan'ā' emerges into prominence, though the site may have existed earlier under another name. The internal chronology of that century is a complex problem; but if one follows J. Ryckmans,¹³ the kings mentioned in connection with Ṣan'ā' and Ghumdān would be arranged as follows:

- (a) the joint kings Sa'adshams Asra' and his son Marthad Yuhāḥmid at the beginning of the century (Ja 629).
- (b) slightly later than the above, a certain Yuhāqīm, not himself a king, but son of king Dhamar'ali Dhariḥ (Ja 644).
- (c) the joint kings Ilisharāḥ Yaḥḍab and his brother Ya'zal Bayyin about the middle of the century (Ja 574, 575, 576, 577, Er 18, CIH 314).
- (d) also somewhere about the middle of the century, Sha'ar Awtar (NNAG 12).
- (e) perhaps in the third quarter of the century, Nasha'karib Ya'man Yuharhib, 'son' and successor of the brothers in (c) (Ja 616).
- (f) the joint kings Yasir Yuhā'im and his son Shammar Yuhā'ish, who present a problem: Ryckmans distinguishes two pairs of kings so named, one slightly anterior to the brothers (c), the other following after Nasha'karib, and at the end of the century. It is not at present possible to determine which pair (if there were indeed two pairs) is mentioned in Ja 647.

It is clear from this statistic that the reign of the brother kings Ilisharāḥ and Ya'zal (c) was the time when the importance of Ṣan'ā' in the Sabaean state was at its peak. This is in line with Muslim sources,¹⁴ which name Ilisharāḥ as the builder of Ghumdān. This tradition has a direct bearing on our chronological problems, since it precludes us from placing Sha'ar Awtar, in whose reign Ghumdān already existed (NNAG 12), earlier than the reign of the brothers Ilisharāḥ and Ya'zal.¹⁵

All the texts which have been discussed come from the temple of Awā, and were intended to record, and explain the reasons for, offerings of votive statuettes to the national deity in gratitude for successes achieved and in hope of a continuance of divine favour. But in the course of the fourth century A.D. the ancient polytheistic cults were swept away and replaced by a monotheistic type of belief. In consequence, the temple of Ilmuqah at Awā was

and not two.

11 It is pertinent to recall the wholly non-religious use in Arabic of *maḥārim al-layl* 'the fearful places of the night, which the coward is forbidden to traverse' (Lane).

12 Professor Serjeant writes to me that 'a traditional interpretation makes the name refer to the town's manufactures'; but this is certainly a (relatively) modern interpretation based on the normal meaning of the root in Arabic; whereas the meaning in Sabaic was quite different.

13 'Chronologie des rois de Saba et du-Raydān', *Oriens Antiquus*, III, 1964, 4.

14 e.g. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, under entry Ghumdān.

15 Unless, that is, the Ilisharāḥ who built Ghumdān was a previous king of that name, father of the Sa'adshams mentioned under (a); but this is less likely, given the special clustering of texts mentioning Ṣan'ā' under the later Ilisharāḥ.

6 'The Ḥimyarite Problem', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, V, 1975, 1-7. Epigraphic evidence for it is weak, and the inscriptions show no mention of the title 'king of the Ḥimyarites' before the sixth century A.D. The sole reason for this identification lies in the reference in the Greek *Periplus Maris Erythraei* to a Charibael, 'king of the Ḥimyarites [sic] and of the Sabaeans', as having his royal residence at Zafār.

7 Quoted by von Wissmann, op. cit., 367, note 314.

8 See e.g. CIH 429/10 (in the form Ghumdān) and Er 18.

9 See J. Ryckmans 'La Mancie par *hrb'* in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, herausg. E. Gräf, Leiden, 1968, 263.

10 i.e. a dynastic group with a binomial title; compare the community attested in the inscriptions as 'Tin'am and Tin'amat' which is the name of a single *sha'b*

abandoned, and the sequence of records there, of such immense value for our knowledge of the preceding centuries, ceases. There is no epigraphic mention of Ṣan'ā' or Ghumdān throughout the fourth to sixth centuries. Besides the cessation of the Awā records, there is a political reason for this: power had shifted into the hands of a Himyarite dynasty established at Zafār (the Tubba' kings of the Islamic sources), whose realm embraced the whole south west corner of the Peninsula, so that the lands of the older Sabaeen federation became merely one province of that extended realm. During that period, Ṣan'ā' must have suffered a temporary eclipse of its importance.

At the same time, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Islamic tradition that the Christian king Abrahah (mid-sixth century) built a church at Ṣan'ā',¹⁶ thus attesting a continuing importance for the town. In fact, some foundations were recently found east of the Great Mosque, which Dr P. Costa thought *may* belong to the apse of a church. About the final destruction of Ghumdān the traditions are contradictory: Ṭabarī¹⁷ says that this happened during the Abyssinian invasion of the early sixth century; whereas Hamdānī¹⁸ asserts that Ghumdān continued in use until the time of the Caliph 'Uthmān.

Supplementary note: On the problem of the third century kings, see now Chr. Robin, 'Les inscriptions d'al-Mis'al', *CRAIBL*, 1981, 315-39.

16 Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, I, 934.

17 *Ibid.*, I, 928.

18 *Ikkil* VIII, ed. Anastase al-Kirmili, Baghdad, 1931, 19.

Chapter 5

Ṣan'ā' the 'Protected', Hijrah

In the pre-Islamic inscriptions, as already seen, Ṣan'ā' is designated as a *hajar*, defined as a *qaryah*, i.e. village, town, in Ḥimyar dialect by al-Hamdānī;¹ but Nashwān b. Sa'īd² says, (significantly in view of what follows), 'The *hajar* of the tribe (*qawm*) is the place of their honour ('*izz*) and assembly (*ijtimā'*).'³ A single inscription designates both Ṣan'ā' and Ma'rib as *maḥrams*, a place kept inviolate. It is a pity so few inscriptions relating to Ṣan'ā' have, as yet, come to light, but both terms, *hajar* and *maḥram* are full of import for understanding the true status of Ṣan'ā' before and after Islam.

The sacred enclaves, *ḥaram* and *ḥawtah*,³ have been discussed in earlier writings, as also the little known but undoubtedly ancient Yemeni institution called *hijrah*⁴ that resembles them in a number of respects. The question here is whether, before Islam, Ṣan'ā' had something of the nature of the *ḥaram* of Mecca. I am persuaded that it had, in view of the evidence to this effect marshalled below, but the Meccan *ḥaram* and Ḥaḍramī *ḥawtah* flourished in territories and with societies closely similar—whereas the Yemen is endowed with a natural richness, and was in antiquity more complex and culturally advanced than either. Caution is therefore necessary in drawing parallels.

To digress briefly before launching into this topic, it is suggested that the 'army lands' (*aradāt al-khamīs*) (p.37b) may well be identifiable in the case of Ṣan'ā', with the Ṣāfiyah,⁵ irrigated lands outside the Ṣan'ā' wall to the south, once held by the Sasanian Lord of Ṣan'ā', Bādhān, and arrogated to the Islamic state by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb after Bādhān's death.

The Meccan *ḥaram* was protected by God from its enemies, and would-be violators of its sacred territory repelled by agencies backed by a supernatural power. Medina also proved its sacred and inviolate character by repelling the Prophet Muḥammad's foes at the episode of the 'Trench'. For the protection accorded by God to Mecca we have the authority of the Qur'ān; for Ṣan'ā' 's, claims to be protected in a similar context we have traditional material ascribed to the first century Traditionist of Ṣan'ā',

descended from the Persian Abnā', Wahb b. Munabbih. According to Wahb, Ṣan'ā' was 'preserved/protected' before Islam.

When a Meccan had defiled Abraham's church (al-Qalīs) in Ṣan'ā', the Abyssinians, as the histories tell us, marched against Mecca with an Elephant. This is alluded to in the brief *sūrah* cv of the Qur'ān, to which Professor 'Irfān Shahīd⁶ has proposed (reviving an old tradition) the following *sūrah* cvi must be annexed—this makes excellent sense textually. 'Did you not see how your Lord did with those of the Elephant? Did he not cause their evil intention (*kayda-hum*)⁷ to go astray?' The *sūrah*s speak of the predatory birds and how they dealt with the bodies of the dead would-be assailants of holy Mecca, then goes on to urge Quraysh to thank the Lord of this House (Bayt—the Ka'bah) for feeding them, and for protecting them against insecurity.

The story with which Wahb⁸ is credited runs, 'None, in the Jāhiliyyah and in Islam, intended evil (*sū'*) against Ṣan'ā' but God threw back his evil intention (*kayd*) against his (own) chest.' Al-Rāzī who reports the Wahb tradition, goes on to remark that in Islam the Ṣan'ānī Mashāyikh used to say that it is a preserved town (*qaryah maḥfūzah*).⁹

This is substantiated by another story likewise credited to Wahb,¹⁰ 'I have heard that Hamdān, in the Jāhiliyyah, intended to raid Ṣan'ā', and, while they were at Ta'ūd¹¹ in al-Bawn, up came a gazelle, and one of them took it. Others said, "We took it." And yet others, "We took it." So they fell to fighting and a great massacre among them took place, then they separated and departed.' An expanded version of the same tale¹² has a bird drop a minatory message on them, following which a gazelle suddenly emerges from a pass (*shib'*)—they shoot at it and thereafter set to quarrelling. It is perhaps no accident that these Hamdānīs are depicted as distracted by an animal of the deer family, associated with the ritual hunt once known to these parts of the northern Yemen.¹³

Another very significant item of information cited by al-Rāzī¹⁴ states that 'Ṣan'ā' has indeed a *ḥimā*, from about the west part

ya'khudhu-hu ra'is al-jaysh wa-yakhtaru-hu li-nafsi-hi min al-ghanimah.... Al-ṣawāfi al-amlaku wa-'l-arādī 'llati jalā'an-hā ahlū-hā aw mātu wa-lā wāritha la-hā

6 Paper delivered at the Arabian Seminar, London, 1975.

7 Ibn al-Athīr, IV, 41, *kayd* = *ḥarb*. *Kāda-hā arāda-hā bi-sū'-in*.

8 Al-Rāzī, *Ta'rikh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, Damascus, 1947, 40, 261.

9 Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* VIII, ed. al-Kirmīli, Baghdad, 1931, 27-8, in identical terms to al-Rāzī.

10 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 33.

11 This place Ta'ūd is not known to al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifāh*, and the name may be fanciful. Al-Rāzī quotes an explanation (op. cit., 34) that it was so called because they returned from it ('*ādū*') time after time!

12 Loc. cit. Cf. al-Wasī'i, *al-Badr al-muzil*, Cairo, 1345 H, 5.

13 Cf. the writer's *South Arabian Hunt*, London, 1976, 8, 75.

14 Op. cit., 45.

1 Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, ed. Müller, Leiden, 1884-91, 86. Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* I, ed. Muh. al-Akwa', Cairo, 1963, (1st ed.), II, 317, 'Al-hajar sir yajma'u qusūr-on, wa-'l-hajar bi-'l-Ḥimyarīyah al-qaryah wa-'l-qusūr al-multaffah.' Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Abū 'Alī al-Hajarī*, al-Riyād, 1968, 16, quoting al-Hajarī's *al-Ta'liqāt wa-'l-nawādir*, 'Naḥnu nartāf al-rif wa-naḥtajir al-mahjar—wa-hajaru-nā Najrān, wa-yaqūlu-hā Nahdī, 'Wa-kull balad iamiaru-hu bādīyah fa-huwa hajaru-hum.'

2 *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwān's im Šams al-'ulūm*, ed. 'Azīmuddīn Aḥmad, Leyden-London 1916, 108.

3 'Ḥaram and Hawtah, the sacred enclave in Arabia' in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, ed. Abdurrahman Badawi, Cairo, 1962, 41-58.

4 Cf. the writer's introduction to A. J. Arberry and C. F. Beckingham, *Religion in the Middle East*, II, *Islam*, Cambridge, 1969, 9.

5 Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāyah*, Cairo, 1311 H, II, 268, *Al-ṣafīyy mā kāna*

(*maghrib*) of it, like the *himā* of the Ḥaram.' A *himā* is known in its sense of a protected pasture from the pre-Islamic era, and in those days interdicted grazing lands were apparently sometimes linked with religious cults like the Maḥmā of Ta'lab at Ghūlah of al-Bawn,¹⁵ and this may have had part of the nature of a *ḥaram*, that is in the sense of the Meccan Ḥaram. A verse of Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Radā'ī, in an age preceding al-Ḥamdānī who quotes, *in extenso*,¹⁶ his *Urjūzat al-Ḥajj*, (a poem of a quality so near to tribal poetry today), strongly supports this. Describing Šan'ā', he says,

A land of power/authority; he errs who would compare
Ground at Šan'ā' with its foundations laid
Countless (years) ago, the friendly (*anīs*) *ḥaram*,¹⁷
Ground upon which stand Ghumdān and al-Qalīs.

Al-Ḥamdānī calls Ghumdān and al-Qalīs the two *maḥfids* of Šan'ā', royal castles, forts. The emphasis on the protection accorded by Šan'ā' is further confirmed by an allusion of al-Radā'ī, in an earlier verse, to the '*iṣmat al-ma'zūl*', the protection of the person in danger (*khā'if*).¹⁸

In point of fact, were one asked to suggest where the pre-Islamic *maḥram* of Šan'ā' was located, the obvious answer would be in the old western sector containing the Christian church, Ghumdān palace, and later the Jāmi' Mosque, and we consider that the town may have still ended about this Quarter at the time when it became converted to Islam.

To revert however to al-Rāzī¹⁹—he quotes a number of Traditions on the special 'preserved/protected' status of the city. 'Five cities are preserved (*maḥfūzāt*)' and one of these is Šan'ā'. A contrary dictum, no doubt spuriously, ascribed to the Prophet himself, defines the 'preserved' cities as four—Mecca, Medina, Najrān, Aelia (Capitolina—Jerusalem), while the cursed (*mal'ūnāt*) are Šan'ā' and Bardha'ah (in Arrān, Persia), and those overthrown by God (*al-mu'tafakāt*) include such south Arabian towns as Ša'dah, Khaywān and Aden—al-Shiḥr is singled out as being two of the doors of Jahannum! This legend possibly makes some historical sense if taken in conjunction with a rather cryptic anecdote cited by al-Rāzī.²⁰ The Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, enquiring of a man at his *majlis* unknown to him, learned that he was of the people of Šan'ā'. He then asked, 'Are you from its *qaṣabah* (fortress,²¹ capital)?' 'Yes', the man replied. 'Abd al-Malik said, 'Well, that is a preserved *qaṣabah* (*maḥfūzah*)—what of you are beyond Šan'ā'?'²² So he told him, and 'Abd al-Malik said, 'That is a village upon which is the wrath of God—what of you comes after Ḥaḍūr?' So he told him. 'Abd al-Malik then called these latter the Sinai-ites—presumably the worshippers of the Golden Calf. Since it was during 'Abd al-Malik's reign that the Khawārij conquered southern Arabia these quotations distorted and jumbled as they seem may reflect perhaps memories of northern anti-Khawārij feeling at that time. On the other hand the latter anecdote may simply be directed against the Banū Shihāb of Ḥaḍūr,²³ in which case it may reflect the anti-Banū Shihāb sentiments of the Abnā' inhabitants of Šan'ā'.

There was evidently some controversy, possibly in the city itself it would seem, about its status, for al-Rāzī²⁴ quotes what must be the gist of an argument, 'If anyone says, "How can Šan'ā' be preserved (*maḥfūzah*) as has been narrated when it has been violated (*ubḥat*) numerous times, that having been witnessed of those who wished to do that to it like al-Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī when

he violated it on behalf of the Qarmaṭians, driving out its inhabitants and plundering its properties? This demonstrates that the narration (*riwāyah*) that it is preserved is not authentic!"—(it may be answered that) Medina was also violated and Mecca was also violated as it (Medina) was.'

Protection by Allāh of a *ḥaram* or *hawṭah* by means supernatural goes concurrently with protection of it by the surrounding tribes that have entered into an agreement with the Lord, or Lords, of the enclave to maintain its inviolability internally by the prohibition of any warlike action or aggression within its boundaries, and to defend it from external aggression.²⁵

A verse of al-Radā'ī's *Urjūzah*,²⁶ probably composed in the 3rd/9th century, names Šan'ā' 's protectors in those days,

In time should it so befall her that the fear
Of foe malevolent perturb her—then
Two tribes straightway arise in her defence,
Qaḥṭān and, of Sāsān, the free tribesmen.²⁷

That is to say that the Banū Shihāb, the large tribal confederation of Ḥaḍūr, west of Šan'ā', and the Abnā' of mixed Persian and Arab descent, but free tribesmen (*aḥrār*—the term is used in earlier times of the same class at Najrān), settled in Šan'ā' (but also in Dhamār etc.) will unite (presumably) to defend the city.

Under the heading of towns (*qurā*) of which the population is split into two opposing parts, Ḥamdānī²⁸ includes Šan'ā' as divided between the Shihābiyyūn and the Abnā'. 'Whoever is affiliated to Nizār (*tanazzar*) there enters with the Abnā', and the people of the town (*balad*) and those affiliated to Qaḥṭān (enter) with the Banū Shihāb.' The Abnā' would seem to have affiliated to the northern Arabs by joining the Prophet Muḥammad. To judge however by the mixed speech of the city its population was varied. 'Among the people of Šan'ā' are the vestigates of pure Arabic (*al-'Arabiyyah al-maḥḍah*) and fragments (*nubadh*) of the speech of Ḥimyar. The town of Šan'ā' is of various languages and dialects (*luḡāt wa-lahajāt*)—each area (*buq'ah*) has a *luḡah* (dialect/language), and anyone near Sha'ūb differs from the lot.'²⁹

Hijrah

Sufficient indication has been given by the few pre-Islamic inscriptions available, and early Arabic sources, of Šan'ā' 's special status. Arabic authors also speak of Šan'ā' *al-maḥmiyyah billāh*, Šan'ā' the protected by God, but then they also refer to most towns, perhaps even smaller places, as *al-maḥrūsah* with the same sense, and this is no doubt merely a convention.

It is stated by various Yemeni men of learning we have consulted that Šan'ā' is *muhajjarah*, and this introduces a much wider concept of its standing than the rather bald allusion earlier sources make to it as *maḥram*, *himā*, *ḥaram*, or *maḥfūzah*. The Yemenite *hijrah* must be linked with the Prophet's *hijrah*, as I have suggested, usually rendered as 'emigration' (by older Western scholars as 'flight'), but properly speaking Muḥammad's *hijrah* chiefly involves the concept of seeking protection with powerful armed tribes, even if *hijrah* does mean one's physical transference from one place to another. The following description of the process, given me about 1964 or 1966, should assist to clarify it.

'Sometimes the tribes agree upon the *tahjir* of a town—that war should not take place inside it, nor should there be aggressive

15 Op. cit., 75, 112.

16 *Šifāh*, ed. D. H. Müller, 240; ed. Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Akwa', Beirut, 1974, 408.

17 Al-Akwa' 's reading *al-ḥaram al-anīs* is to be substituted for D. H. Müller's *al-ḥurm wa-l-anīs* which does not seem to make much sense—the metre accepts either reading.

18 The poet in using the word *ma'zūl* would be aware of Šan'ā' 's older name Uzāl. The same root is found in the name of the joint king Ya'zāl Bayyin supra. Al-Rāzī says Šan'ā' was called Uzāl till the Abyssinians entered it.

19 Ibid, 41, 260.

20 Ibid, 247.

21 *Qaṣabah* is in this sense of fortress synonymous with the name Šan'ā'.

22 A village adjoining Ḥaddah of the Banū Shihāb.

23 This is plain from the version of the story given by al-Rāzī on p. 263.

24 Loc. cit.

25 Cf. 'Ḥaram and *hawṭah*', 45.

26 *Šifāh*, 241.

27 *In rāba-hā min ḥadathi 'l-zamāni*
Raybu 'aduww-in ḥaribi 'l-adghāni
Qāma fa-hāmā dūna-hā hayyām
Qaḥṭānu wa-'l-aḥrāru min Sāsāni

28 *Šifāh*, 124.

29 Ibid, 135.

action (*i'tidā'*) against it, even though their enemies be inside it.' It was commented that it would be a shameful act (*'ār*) to attack one's foe in a town protected thus.

If we were to suppose that the avenger of blood (*ṣāhib al-tha'r*) discovered a murderer in the protected town (*al-madīnat al-muhajjarah*), it is not proper for him to take the vengeance for his slain (relative) inside it—or else he commits a deceit/treachery (*'amal khada'an*) and he is obliged to restore the town's inviolability³⁰ (*yuhajjir al-madīnah*), and give it satisfaction in accordance with customary law (*'alā ḥasb al-'urf*). For the most part, the place of abode of those persons who are protected (*muhajjarīn*) may be (part) of the protected town (*al-madīnat al-muhajjarah*)—like Āl al-Kibṣī (in al-Kibṣ), Āl al-Shāmī in Jahānah³¹ and Bayt al-Mutawakkil at Shahārah. Basically (*fi 'l-aṣl*) Ṣan'ā' is protected by all the tribes (*muhajjarah min jamī' al-qubul*) that are around it, and it follows (*tābi'ah*) Sinḥān basically.³²

The Sayyid who gave me this definition of the *hijrah* and *muhajjar* then remarked, 'The Allegiance of al-'Aqabah—that is *hijrah* (Bay'at al-'Aqabah hiya 'l-hijrah).' This spontaneous recognition by a highly educated Yemeni Sayyid that the agreement of al-'Aqabah concluded by his ancestor the Prophet Muḥammad with certain of the tribal chiefs (*naqībs*)³³ of Yathrib (later Madīnat al-Nabiyy, the Town of the Prophet) is identical with *hijrah* is in itself impressive evidence of the sense of continuity of this institution from olden times.

He further commented that the noted Mashāyikh family, Bayt al-Aḥmar, are '*hijrat Ḥāshid*', i.e. that Ḥāshid accorded them protection (*hajjarū-hum*), *hijrah*-protection being received by inheritance (*tukhadh al-hijrah bi-'l-wirāthah*). They were, he said, *fuqarā'*, in the sense of *faqīr 'ālim* learned *faqīrs*, before they became Mashāyikh. When tribes protect (*yuhajjir*) a Sayyid or some other person, he remains above the level of hostilities (*farwq mustawā al-khuṣūmāt*) and (in the case of persons of standing of course) he remains as a place of reference when there are quarrels (*marja' 'ind al-khuṣūmāt*)—in other words he acts as arbiter. Such a person is under no obligation to share in contributions made by the tribe for one purpose or another, known technically as *ghurm*.

The *ghurm* is a levy the tribe imposes on itself when it wishes to collect funds for war, or a sum for the payment of the blood-wit (*diyyah*), or for the cost (*qimah*) of entertaining a guest. Sayyids never paid this *daribat al-ghurm*, nor the blood-money tax (*daribat al-dam*). The tribe divides it out (*yifarriq*)³⁴ (*'alā*) amongst its members (*al-qabīlī yitgharram ma' aṣḥāb-ih*), and when for instance there has been a large entertainment the tribe makes the levy on itself secretly to meet the costs, without the guest knowing anything of this.

The way in which *hijrah* (pl. *hijar*) is accorded—mainly to Sayyids, but as in the case of Bayt al-Aḥmar it can be accorded to others³⁵—is that the tribes assemble together and decide to grant

a certain person protection because of his sanctity, etc. The person so protected does not fight and is not molested. The Sayyids are called *hijrah al-qabilah* and the Sayyid is *muhṭaram muhajjar min kulli shī*, respected and protected from everything. The tribes are at his disposal and respond to his call (*al-qabā'il taḥt irādat-ah tulabbī sawt-ah*). Should any attack the Sayyids, the Shaykh al-Bilād will say, '*Dhā hijrat-nā wa-'tadā 'alayh*, This is our *hijrah* and he has attacked him.' The tribes then rise to fight in defence of him. 'Indeed,' said my friend, 'if I, a Sayyid, am insulted in any way, the tribes will bring '*aqā'ir* sacrificial animals, to me, so as to conciliate me (*tākhdh minni 'l-riḍā*).' These beasts must be slaughtered at the door of the Sayyid's house.³⁶

Since he does not fight, the *hijrah* person can act as an intermediary between the tribes. A tribesman will say, 'I shall go to my protected person (*Asīr 'ind al-hijrah*).' He means that he will go to him for arbitration and in this context *hijrah* almost takes on the meaning of arbiter. The men of religion (*rijāl al-dīn*) called *hijrah* are thus taken as a *marja'*, reference, therefore arbiter, and a *qudwah*, an example to imitate. The tribesman acting as a soldier does not enter the houses of men of learning (*buyūt al-'ilm - mā yadkhul al-qabā'il al-jumūd 'inda-hum*), and the men of religion give these troops no maintenance (*nafaqah*) as the local tribe would have to do. Among the conditions of the people who are *hijrah* is that 'conscription' (*tajnīd*) does not apply to them, i.e. when the Imām sent for troops to a tribal district and each house produced a man or two for the army, the *hijar* were not obliged to send anyone. The *hijrah* Sayyid judges also in cases of marriage and divorce or quarrels of any sort. He writes amulets for men called *ta'wīdah* and for cattle and camels then called *ruqyah*. This last function frequently figures in the biographies in Zabārah's *Nashr al-'arf*, and Imām Yahyā was often approached by the tribesman to cure his ailing cow by such means. Whether any ulema would object to the practice I do not know. For this some sort of recompense would certainly be given, but there seems also to have been more or less voluntary gifts called *hariz* made by tribespeople to Sayyids in accordance with a man's means or wishes.

The tribe does nevertheless have some control over the *muhajjar* person, for it can instruct him to desist from acts of which it disapproves, or 'we shall declare ourselves quit of protection for you (*natabarrā min al-hijrah lak*).' On his part, if the *hijrah* finds that the tribespeople have not been treating him properly or looking after his defence, etc., he could say, 'I declare you free of your (obligation) to protect (me), *Anā abri-kum min al-tahajjur*.'³⁷ This is effected by a proclamation (*ṣāhirah*) which a *dawshān* or the *muzayyin al-qaryah* will go to a high place and declaim. These principles are exactly illustrated in the case of the celebrated supporters of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Meccan period, Abū Bakr, when he absolved his protectors from further obligations to defend him, and in a similar case when one of the

30 This can only be effected by the offender paying a *ghurm*. The verb in the imperfect I have heard pronounced *yighram* and *nighrim*. *Hajjar* here applied to the town would mean *ja'ala-hā muḥṭaramah*.

31 For Jahānah see Zabārah's description, *A'immat al-Yaman* (2), I, Ta'izz, 1372 H, 36.

Ṣirwāh is the *hajar* of Arḥab, their *hijrah*. When al-Zubayrī broke away from Ṣan'ā' during the Egyptian occupation he wished to assemble both the Royalist and Republican tribes at Ṣirwāh of Arḥab because this was where they traditionally assembled—Hamdān, Arḥab, Nihm, Sufyān, Hamdān Ṣa'dah etc. See Nashwān's definition of the *hajar* at the beginning of this section.

32 Qādī Ismā'il does not agree that Sinḥān had this special link with Ṣan'ā'.

33 The word is still in common use in this sense in the Yemen, in Arḥab for example.

34 One says, *yiftariq diyat-ah*. Cf. p. 154 *passim*. Zuhayr (*Sharh Diwān Zuhayr b. Abi Sulmā*, Cairo, 1384/1964, 17, 26), uses *gharāmah* in the same sense—wounds are paid for by instalments as a *gharāmah* without shedding blood. Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London-Oxford, 1966, 628, says, Muḥammad

dissociated himself (*bari'a*) from a brigand attacking Quraysh caravans, and Abū Sufyān agrees Muḥammad is not liable for blood-money (*diyyah*) of *ghurm*. Al-Qālī, *al-Amālī*, 74, explains *ghurm* exactly as the Zaydis use it, *Ṣāra fulān-un ma' qulat-an alā qawmi-hi ghurm-an yu'addūna-hu min amwālī-him*.

35 I was informed that *muzayyins*, *dawshāns* and even Jews can be *hijrah*; though of course they would not have the standing and function of Sayyids and others, it is agreed by all my informants that they were well treated by the tribes.

36 See S.D. Goitein, 'Portrait of a weavers' village', cited p. 419, n. 132, and *ibid*, 19.

37 The medieval *Talqīh al-hukhām* appended to *K. al-Tabyīn* of Yahyā . . . al-Qaḥṭānī of al-Bayḍ (perhaps the village of the Jahānah district), has an example of the penalties paid for insulting one of the Prophet's house, fol. 43 r., 'Whoever scores (*jamash*) with his hand, the cheek of a Sharīf of the family of the Apostle of God must pay a sheep (*kabsh*) costing ten *dirhams* for each place (marked by) a finger. If he be one of those who bear the Qur'ān (*min ḥamalat al-Qur'ān*), an ascetic (*zāhid*) in the World, God-fearing (*taqīyy*), practising (*'āmil*) a virtuous *faqīh*—ten *dinars*. If he is a Sharīf a *dinar* for every place (marked by) a finger. If it is other people a *dinar* and half *dinar* (outright?), and if a woman half of the estimate of what her husband is.'

37 This is precisely in accord with what is laid down in the *K. al-Ādāb wa-'l-iawāzim fi akhām al-man'ah* which I am editing along with the Rossi Mss. on tribal law.

Prophet's followers terminated an undertaking of protection given him, he did so publicly at the place of prostration (*masjid*) in Mecca.³⁸

Habshūsh³⁹ confirms what has been said above.

Those people called *qarār*⁴⁰ are different from the people called *hijar*⁴¹ because the *hijar* have a special distinction (*mīzah*) and honour (*nāmūs*) with the tribes (*qabā'il*); they make of them judges (*quḍāh*) to judge between them and they enter into (marriage) relations with them (*yunāsibū-hum*).⁴² They are the people who come and settle in the country (*bilād*) and gain possession in it.⁴³ If they do not care to enter into what the tribes enter—war, raids (*maghāzī*), or some indemnity which the tribes have to pay (*li-sā'ibah mimma ṣawwabū-hu*) they have the right (not to do) that. They call them *hijar* and no-one may ever molest them. If someone does molest them by some wrongful act (*khaṭā*),⁴⁴ plundering (*naḥb*), (offensive) talk (*qīl*), or anything else, the tribes, all of them, rise and start up on account of this thing of theirs (*'alā hijat-hum*)⁴⁵ just as the protector rises up on account (of something done to) his protected person.

That the protected categories, known as *hijar*, existed in the Ṣan'ā' district in the pre-Islamic period has been strikingly demonstrated to me by Professor Maḥmūd al-Ghūl, quoting inscription Ry. 508 which contains the line *wb'š' b/dhmn d/whgrhmw/w'rbhmw*, that is to say—the tribes of Hamdān, and their *hijar*, and their tribal/bedouin Arabs.

It seems to me probable that even when Ṣan'ā' had an Imām ruling over it, part of the political sub-structure of such power as he wielded must have included some kind of tribal agreement to protect Ṣan'ā'. If al-Radā'i's *Urjūzah* belongs to the 3rd/9th century, it would tend to indicate that under an 'Abbāsīd governor the integrity of the city was guaranteed by the Abnā' and the Banū Shihāb. It may be that when the Yemenite histories are made available to us, further indications of the tribal political relation with Ṣan'ā' could reveal themselves. How the political inter-relationship of the city and the surrounding tribes was affected by the presence of foreign rulers at Ṣan'ā' such as the Ayyūbids, Mamlūks, and the first Ottoman Turks, it is impossible, from such evidence as we have up to date, to say, naturally the economic inter-dependence could not be much affected.

Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī told me that there are seven tribes (*qubul*) involved in the *tahjīr* or guaranteed inviolability of Ṣan'ā'—Hamdān, which as we have just seen from the inscription above, had *hijar* before Islam, Banī 'l-Hārith, and Banī Ḥushaysh on the northern side, and on the other sides or districts, Banī Maṭar on the west who claim Bustān al-Sultān as Maṭarī⁴⁶ territory, Sinḥān, Bilād al-Rūs, and Banī Bahlūl who are a part of the great Khawlān confederation, and are adjacent to the Ṣan'ā' mountains. By all of these the city was *muhajjarah*, a *hijrah* guaranteed by most northern tribes, as a Sharaf al-Dīn Sayyid told me, so they could sell their produce and buy necessities there—Ṣan'ā', as he put it, was *ḥaram*, inviolate.

Khawlān are known also to make certain claims to part of the city.

Of course Ṣan'ā' has been captured and plundered more than a few times since the argument as to its being *maḥfūzah* of al-Rāzī's day, and harsh treatment meted out to it by such conquerors as the Ṭāhirid 'Āmir, the Mamlūks and others. After the Ottoman Turkish surrender of Ṣan'ā' to the Zaydīs in 1038/1629 Ṣan'ā' in native hands may not have suffered major inroads on its security, but during the second Ottoman Turkish occupation, the customary and tribal inviolateness (*al-ḥaṣānah al-'urfīyah wa-'l-qabaliyyah*) was raised, and the tribes used to attack Ṣan'ā', but without consistency (*bi-dūn qarāwah*). Inside the city Arab opponents of the Turks seemed to have delighted in blowing up buildings.⁴⁷ Then, as al-Ghaffārī said, Ṣan'ā' was *muhajjarah* in the days of Imām Yaḥyā, but Imām Aḥmad rent it open (*ikhtaraqa-hā*) when his tribal supporters plundered it after the collapse of the Bayt al-Wazīr take-over in 1948. The tribal sack of Ṣan'ā' made a lasting impression on the Yemenis and has still not been forgotten.

There were probably written undertakings respecting the *tahjīr* of Ṣan'ā' and al-Ghaffārī was of the opinion that such *qawānīn* probably still exist, though nobody knows where. We know that the blood-feud between tribes, mutual enemies, does not run in Ṣan'ā', as in any other protected place. Nor could arms be borne in the town.⁴⁸ A case was cited to me illustrative of the workings of this institution in Ṣan'ā'. 'Ibn al-Bukhaytī (of one of the two branches of the Ḥadā shaykhs) slew his foe, a murderer, inside Ṣan'ā'—it being *muhajjarah*. So he was first compelled by the Government to make Ṣan'ā' respected (*tahjīr*) again by paying a fine (*ghurm*) and slaughtering a sacrificial animal (*'aḡīrah*) for the city. The person who commits any wrongful act will "*hajjar*" it—slaughter an '*aḡīrah*' at it for the town—it must be slaughtered at the Gate of the town.' The beast, a bull, is slaughtered for the town (*tu'qar li-'l-bilād*, basically it is 'for the name of the town (*'alā ism al-bilād*).' During the Ḥamīd al-Dīn period it was slaughtered at the Ḥukūmah, Government Offices. In 1974 I saw cattle tethered as '*aḡīrahs*' outside al-Qaṣr al-Jumhūrī (the Republican Palace). It appears however that an '*aḡīrah*' is not always, in practice, actually slaughtered or hocked.

With the centralisation of power under the Ḥamīd al-Dīn Imāms, Yaḥyā in particular, the *hijrah* in general, for there are many *hijrahs* in the Yemen; naturally became greatly weakened as an organisation. Officials of the Imām's Government replaced the authority of the protected residents of the *hijrah*, so that, today, there remain far fewer evidences of its functionings than in the previous age. A tribesman, I am informed, who murdered in the *hijrah* during the days of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn would be seized and handed over to the civil authority. In addition to paying the blood-wit (*diyyah*), he would also have to pay a fine called *hajar*, for having murdered in that place. This fine for the *hijrah* corresponds exactly to the additional payment made for violating the Ḥadramī *ḥawtah*.⁵⁰

Unlike other Sayyid houses, it appears that the Ḥamīd al-Dīn

38 Ibn Hishām in A. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, Oxford-London, 1955, 171, 169.

39 *Travels in Yemen; an account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870 written in San'ani Arabic by his guide Hayyim Habshush*, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1941, 31. Cf. for a *sūq muhajjarah*. Hebrew text, 99. The *K. al-Adab wa-'l-lawāzim*, op. cit., has 15b., a section, *Maṣ'alah: Qabīlah sāḥū fi sūq anna-hu ḥaram-an āmin-an li-'l-qā'il wa-'l-maqtūl*, A tribe that proclaim in a market that it is a *ḥaram* (inviolable) to the murderer and murdered.

40 Cf. C. de Landberg, *Arabica V*, Leiden, 1898, 100, the plur. of *qarawī*, *gens de métier, ouvriers*.

41 The vowels, not found in the text in Hebrew character, are supplied by analogy.

42 This could mean that they inter-marry, but as a Yemeni once said to me—it is not permitted to a Qaḥṭānī to marry an 'Adnānī, meaning that one (a girl) of the Prophet's house may not marry outside it. I believe however that this rule is not strictly observed. On the other hand Sayyids do marry tribal girls.

43 *Yatamallakū fi-hā*, sense uncertain. It could mean to obtain property in it, or to become as kings.

44 *Khaṭā*, could mean some accidental act but this is unlikely here. It was

pronounced *khaḍā*, as with Class. *dād*.

45 Cf. *hijrah* in Gloss. *daḡ*, 356.

46 People speak of, '*Hukm Banī Maṭar fi sūq-hum*, The law of the Banī Maṭar in their market.' They administer the land on which the market is held as it belongs to them—this being an oppressive rule (*ḥukm jā'ir*), as understood by others. Identical proverbs exist with the names Banī 'Inān, well-known Mashāyikh in al-Suḥūl of Ibb province and their market Sūq al-Sabt or Sūq al-Suwayq, and of 'Idhar, a *baṭn* of Ḥāshid with their Sūq at al-Qaḥṭā (Qaḍī Ismā'il, unpublished). It means they are a law unto themselves.

47 *A'immat al-Yaman* (2), *passim*.

48 Cf. p. 149b.

49 Another sort of '*aḡīrah*' is to put down (when I have seen this happen the object was thrown down!) your '*imāmah*' or '*jambīyyah*' on the ground in front of the person you are invoking, and say, '*Hādḥā jāh Allāh 'ind-ak 'imāmātī/jambīyyatī/bunduḡī*, etc. This is God's honour/protection (?) with you, my turban/dagger/rifle.' *Jāh* is a most difficult word to render accurately, but see Gloss. *daḡ*, 325, with the senses also of power, dignity.

50 Cf. '*Ḥaram and ḥawtah*', op. cit., 46.

had no special *hijrah* of their own, but, in fact Ḥāshid *hajjarat* al-Imām Yahyā—perhaps when his election by the ulema as Imām was supported by the tough paramount chief, Nāṣir b. Mabkhūr of Bayt al-Aḥmar.

As an interesting sidelight on how the *'aqīrah* can be employed in the political game, after Imām Yahyā's murder in 1948 at Ḥizyaz, a little south of Ṣan'ā', Imām Aḥmad got a certain 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Faqīh to slaughter four dogs at some of the tribes, one of these tribes being Arḥab. This was in order to put the shame on them (*ḡinakkif-hum*, i.e., *ḡi'ayyib-hum*) so as to stir them up, as if he were saying to them, 'The blood of people (of nobility) has, in your eyes, become like that of dogs (unclean animals for whose blood, hunting dogs apart, no compensation is sought).' It implied that 'Alī b. 'Alī was saying, 'Hādhā 'inda-kum yā Arḥab! If you do not rise to avenge (*tha'r*) them you are as dogs—this being the ugliest of things (*absha' hāh*) should it happen! So they rose as one man to avenge Imām Yahyā.

It seems that some of the Quḍāh, the Qādī class, with a position in certain respects analagous to that of the Sayyids, if resident in a *hijrah* have no obligation to participate in paying the *ghurm*, but others do. The Zaydī city of Dhamār used also to be *muhajjarah*, and the tribal villages around Dhamār were considered as the 'Doors' Abwāb Dhamār, but the *dā'i*, the call or summons would be for the protection of the Sādah families, Ḥamīd al-Dīn, Sharaf al-Dīn, and 'Izz al-Dīn, not to the Quḍāh who were not considered *muhajjarīn*. My informant on this point was a member of the Qādī class himself. There is however apparently some difference of opinion as to whether the Quḍāh are excluded from the status of *hijrah* there. In support of the claims of the Quḍāh to be *hijrah* it is to be remarked that neither they nor the Sayyids paid for the entertainment of troops sent there by the Imām though the other Dhamārīs did. A case that might be further investigated is that of the Sayyid house of Bayt Ṣādiq in Hodeidah—because of whom the street in which they lived was regarded as *muḥtarām*, and they used to receive gifts. I understand however that they no longer enjoy this favoured position. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me that in the Yemenite Tihāmah the *hijrah* does not exist, but he thought the Mansībs (who in the area of the old Aden Protectorates were the lords of *hawāṭahs*) had a position resembling that of the *hijrah*—this indeed seems to be the case.

Since learned scholars were often settled in the *hijrah* it often took on the character of a *hijrat 'ilm* a centre of learning renowned as a sort of school of the Islamic sciences and a place to which students resorted. Of this aspect of the *hijrah* Qādī Ismā'il al-Akwa' has for some time been preparing a study of a comprehensive nature.

Several classical sources show how close the concept of the Yemeni *hijrah* is to that of the Prophet. Abū 'Ubayd⁵¹ defines it in the following words, 'The *hijrah* is two *hijrahs*, the *hijrah* of the *bādī* (tribesman, countryman) and that of the *ḥāḍir* (settled man). Where the *hijrah* of the *bādī* is concerned it is his duty to respond when summoned (*yujīb idhā du'īya*) and to obey when he is ordered. Where the *hijrah* of the *ḥāḍir* is concerned it is the severer of the two in affliction and the greater in reward: The sense is that the *bādī*, tribesman, when summoned to fight must do so, (but he does not have permanently to leave his country). The *ḥāḍir* on the contrary must abandon his native place and possessions. The fact that Abū 'Ubayd gives *hijrah* a religious implication should not prevent one from recognising it as a secular institution also.

51 K. al-Awṭāl, Cairo, 1353 H., 219. 'Ā'ishah also makes the significant statement that there is no need for a Mu'min for *hijrah* as he can worship wherever he wishes.

52 Al-Hamdānī, *Iktīl* I, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala, 1965, II, 67.

53 K. al-Maghāzī, II, 757.

54 Ibid, 745: Ibid, 730, mentions two tribesmen making a *hijrah* and *quḍūm* 'ala 'l-Nabiyy (cf. 962). Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, Cairo, 1311 H., IV, 239, says, 'A man would come to the Prophet and leave his people and property, not going back to any of it, and he would associate himself solely with his

Hijrah in Early Islam

A Juhanī, hearing of the Prophet's arrival in al-Madīnah, came to him and said, 'Make a pact with me (*Bāyi'-nī*), Oh Apostle of God.' To which the Prophet answered, 'Is it to be an allegiance of the A'rāb (*bay'ah A'rābiyyah*) or a *bay'ah hijriyyah*?' The Juhanī replied that he desired a *bay'ah hijriyyah*.⁵² This is to be explained in terms of the important passage of al-Wāqidi's *Maghāzī*⁵³ quoting directions attributed to the Prophet before the Mu'tah expedition. People who come over to the Muslims are to go to the *dār al-hijrah* and they shall have what the *muhājirūn* have and also the same duties. If they accept Islam and chose to remain in their own territory (*dār*) they shall be like the A'rāb, probably to be understood as the Tribal Arabs outside the centres like Medina or Mecca. They shall receive no booty unless they fight alongside the Muslims. If they refuse then they are to be summoned to pay the *jizyah* poll-tax. Like Islam itself, the *hijrah* makes a complete break (*yajubb*) with what went before it.⁵⁴ What is clearly intended is that all alliances, affiliations etc., prior to the *hijrah* of a person or group, are annulled by the *hijrah*. Allegiance to Islam and the Apostle supersede them. These quotations imply a new engagement, verbal or written, like the engagements into which the Prophet entered with the tribal Naqībs of Yathrib, and it is impossible to conceive of *hijrah* agreements which as a main item would not contain arrangements for protection. The very wording of al-Balādhuri⁵⁵ in allusion to the Prophet's agreement with the Naqībs indicates this, 'The Apostle of God had acquired protection and an abode of *hijrah* (*man'ah wa-dār hijrah*)', i.e. at Yathrib (Medina).

Ibn al-Athīr⁵⁶ gives a significant definition of *hijrah*, 'When Mecca was opened up (i.e. taken over by the Prophet) it became Dār al-Islām (Islamic territory) like Medina, and the *hijrah* was terminated (*inqaṭa'at*). The second *hijrah* was when the tribal Arabs (al-A'rāb) *hajarū* (emigrated leaving one's tribe, leaving the desert) and raided along with the Muslims but they did not do as those of the first *hijrah*.' It seems to me that the second massive *hijrah* of the Arab tribes may have become confused with the first *hijrah*, or more precisely the first two *hijrahs* to Abyssinia and Medina where the Muslims sought new protectors. The new situation after Mecca and Quraysh were incorporated in the Prophet's confederation (*ummah*) is expressed in the maxim, 'There is no *hijrah* after the opening up (of Mecca) but (only) war (*jihād*) and intent (*niyyah*).'⁵⁷ That *hijrah* implied certain obligations is clear from the tale of al-Nābighah⁵⁸ who, wishing to return to the *bādiyyah* came to ask permission of the Caliph 'Uthmān who said to him, 'Al-ta'arrub ba'da 'l-hijrah lā yaṣluḥu'. 'Uthmān however eventually did give him permission to go, but for a limited period. What he meant was that reversion to tribal circumstances, and presumably a looser tie with the Islamic state, was not approved.

A most interesting application of the directions attributed to the Prophet was made by al-Manṣūr billāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad who fought against the Ottomans in the first quarter of the 11th/17th century from al-Qārah and other places.⁵⁹ Al-Manṣūr billāh said in *al-Hidāyah*,⁶⁰ 'The ordinance (*ḥukm*) of the *bawādī* (the tribesfolk of the country) of Ṣan'ā' (district) is that of the tribal Arabs (A'rāb) of the Muslims in the time of the Apostle of God, and they do not have the ordinance (*ḥukm*) of the *hijrah* or of the infidels (*kuffār*). It is the Muslims' duty to support (*naṣara*) them when they need, except against people with whom you have a pact (*mithāq*).''

muhājir, the latter term explained as his 'place' of *muhajjarah*.

55 *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo, 1858, I, 257.

56 Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

57 Ibid.

58 Muḥ. b. Sallām al-Jumāhī, *Die Klassen der Dichter*, (*Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā'*), ed. J. Hell, Leiden, 1916, 27.

59 Al-Jarmūzi, *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 34.

60 Brockelmann, *GAL*, Sup., II, 559, mentions only his *al-Hādī ilā sabīl al-irshād* which I have assumed is this work.

Chapter 6

The Church (al-Qalīs) of Ṣan‘ā’ and Ghumdān Castle

Ghumdān/Ghamdān

The great castle of Ghumdān/Ghamdān is celebrated in the Yemen national ethos as an expression of the grandeur and both technical and aesthetic achievement of the ancient pre-Islamic civilisation. It is variously supposed to have been destroyed in the time of the third Caliph ‘Uthmān¹ or, even earlier, by the Abyssinian conqueror Abrahah, but in fact it was evidently re-fortified a number of times. The descriptions of it that have survived in such authors as al-Hamdānī while no doubt containing a sub-stratum of fact, are so overlaid by legend as to be of very little factual value. Its four sides were of different coloured stone, one side white, one black, one green and one red; it had seven storeys each 40 *dhirā’* in height, or 20 storeys of 10 *dhirā’*,² etc. That it had copper/bronze (*naḥās*)³ lions at each corner which roared when the winds blew and passed through the statues is acceptable, even likely in view of archaeological discoveries of lions elsewhere in the Yemen. The lights from its alabaster windows are beloved of the poets. ‘Alqamah⁴ in one of his verses lists the timbers used in its construction—‘*ar‘arah*⁵ *munashsharah*’ sawn juniper, *sāj* Indian teak (*tectona grandis*)—though the African tree to which the Arabs give this name seems to be a different species, *ṣulb al-sidr* hard lote-tree wood, *labakkh*⁶ *Mimusops Schimperi*, and *ḍurūm* a tree with a sweet smell found in the Yemen, but this meaning seems uncertain.⁷

‘Of the ancient side (*khadd*) of Ghumdān there remains a section/field of tangled ruins opposite the first and second of the eastern doors of the Jāmi‘ Mosque. The remains of Ghumdān are a great mound (*tall*) like a mountain, much of what is around it consisting of the dwellings of the Ṣan‘ānīs. Of it is a chamber/house (*bayt*), and Ibn al-Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī fortified himself on the mound of it (*tall*) when he entered Ṣan‘ā’.’ This was how al-Hamdānī⁸ knew it in the early 4th/10th century, and of course that part of Ṣan‘ā’ does form an eminence which is known to

contain the debris of ancient times, but until it can be excavated it would be premature to say more about it. We can be sure it was a high building and the western fortification of the town, the Qaşr being the eastern fortification.

The Church al-Qalīs and Christians⁹

The case of the famous Church of Ṣan‘ā’ is rather different from that of Ghumdān, for al-Azraqī¹⁰ provides what is at least a plausible account of it though one may be sceptical as to certain particulars of detail, and Wüstenfeld’s text is sometimes faulty. The site, called Ghurqat al-Qalīs/al-Qullays,¹¹ is today still shown in Ṣan‘ā’, a shallow circular pit (*ghurqah*) about 2m deep. No reason is known to us to suggest this is other than genuinely the site of the Qalīs or *ecclesia*, so we have worked on the assumption that it is so. At one time there may even have been a Quarter or Ward called al-Qalīs as there is today, for al-Rāzi¹² quotes a man of ‘the poor (*masākīn*) of al-Qalīs’ who were registered as a group by the Diwān when a distribution of alms was to be made in Ṣan‘ā’ in 191/806. The pit is illustrated on p. 127.

The same author¹³ reports a legend likely to have originated with the Christians before Islam, that Jesus came to visit Ṣan‘ā’ ‘and prayed in the place of the church (*kanīṣah*) so the Christians made the church in Ṣan‘ā’ where his place of prayer (*muṣallā*) was. This church in these days of ours is a ruin, and lies at the lowest part of the Zuqāq al-Mubayyidīn (The Tinsmiths’ Lane) on the south (‘*Adanī*’) side opposite the Jewish synagogue (*bī‘ah*) which still remains in Ṣan‘ā’ today. Of this church a corner (*ḍabr*) like a column (*uṣṭuwān*) remains at the edge of the road to the Sūq

1 Al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* VIII, Baghdad, 1931, 19. Al-Rāzi, *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan‘ā’* Damascus, 1947, 20, also treats of Ghumdān.

2 Ibid, 23, 15.

3 Ibid, 24. *Naḥās* in Ṣan‘ā’ today means brass. Cf. the poem, ibid, 16.

4 Ibid, 22.

5 It seems that ‘*ar‘arah*’ can also mean cypress.

6 Cf. *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, BR 527, 591.

7 *Dirḥ/durm*, in Lane’s *Lexicon*, *durm*, *Gloss. dat.*, 2172, an odiferous tree. Muḥammad al-Akwa’ in a footnote to his edition of *Iklīl* II, 354, commenting on al-Hamdānī’s quotation from a ‘Himyarī’ document mentioning 200 *rākibāt dharaḥ* to be brought from the mountains between Ṣan‘ā’ and the Tihāmah to Wādī Dahr, says that the *rākibah* is a bulky timber laid on a structure so that another structure may be put on top of it. *Dharaḥ* is a valuable timber, tall trees with a thick bole and hard wood growing where there are wadis with running water, and near the Tihāmah, and in Wādī ‘Annah.

8 Loc. cit., 15.

9 For Christianity in pre-Islamic south Arabia, see J. Ryckmans, ‘Le Christianisme en Arabie du sud préislamique’, *Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: L’Oriente cristiano nella civiltà*, Rome, 1964, an important survey.

10 K. Akhbār Makkah, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1895, 89.

11 The word *qalīn* is known in the pre-Islamic inscriptions. A curious passage in al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl* II, 87, speaks of a certain al-Qalīs b. Sharāḥbīl b. ‘Amr Dhī Ghumdān b. Ilī Sharāḥ, adding, ‘and to al-Qalīs b. ‘Amr is attributed Qaşr al-Qalīs in Ṣan‘ā’, which is an ancient building’, and he cites a well-known verse by al-Radā‘ī. Commenting on this, al-Akwa’ says this castle is the one which Abrahah turned into a church (*kanīṣah*) known today as Ghurqat al-Qalīs, in Ḥarat al-Qaṭī, near the Nuṣayr Mosque. He gives no authority for this identification. He mentions a village called al-Qalīs at the top of Jabal Ḥaḍūr.

12 Op. cit., 109.

13 Ibid, 32. Cf. al-Wāsi‘ī, *al-Badr al-muzīl*, Cairo 1345 H, 4.

al-ʿAṭṭārīn and the Damascus Quarter (*darb*), and I have come across many arches (*uqūd*) remaining up till the year 390/1000.' It is possible that this is not al-Qalīs of the Abyssinians, but as a working hypothesis it is to be supposed that it lies somewhere east of the Coppersmiths' Market we know today, well in the central area of the old town. Coppersmiths of course would tin any household utensils they manufactured or, if this were a separate craft, it would surely be practised in close proximity to them.

Christian communities continued to flourish in the Yemen for several centuries after Islam. About the years 837-50 A.D. Peter (Mār Petrus) is mentioned as Bishop of the Yemen and Ṣan'ā' by Thomas of Margā,¹⁴ and, though his book contains absolutely no other information about Mār Petrus, it does indicate the existence of some sort of ecclesiastical organisation. In the time of the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī (ob. 298/911) Christians are treated as a protected faith along with the Jews. He received *jizyah* poll-tax from them, but though he had the exclusive right to enjoy this source of revenue he did not do so. They were told to come to the Imām if any molested them, and during al-Hādī's wars with the Banu 'l-Hārith they, along with strangers (*ghurabā'*)¹⁵ and Jews, were ordered to leave Mīnās.¹⁶ Christians and Jews had landed properties (*diyā'*) inherited from the pre-Islamic era, but they were obliged to sell any properties purchased after Islam to Muslims.¹⁷

These Christians were at least, in the main, those native to the country. Al-Qalīs on the other hand was constructed by a foreigner. When the Abyssinians came to the Yemen to avenge the Christians martyred at Najrān by the Jewish ruler Dhū Nuwās,¹⁸ they burned Ghumdan,¹⁹ 'the largest castle known on earth' and conquered the Yemen. It was not for aggrandisement alone that Abrahah built al-Qalīs for the Najāshī since he wrote to him, 'I have built you a temple (*bayt*) in Ṣan'ā' the like of which neither the Arabs or non-Arabs ('Ajām) have constructed, and I shall not desist until I divert the pilgrims (*ḥājj*) of the Arabs to it and they abandon the pilgrimage to their own temple.' The political motive is at once discernible—the creation of a new centre of politico-religious power,²⁰ to which might be added an economic gain in that pilgrimage centres are also markets and recipients also of votive offerings.

So, says al-Azraqī, Abrahah built al-Qalīs, using the stone of Qaṣr Bilqīs at Ma'rib—in this the account seems fanciful, though Yāqūt, in a separate entry on al-Qalīs, specifies variegated alabaster (*rukḥām mujazza'*) and stones decorated with gold only.

Yāqūt also reports an inscription, his chain of authorities going back to Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Ṣan'ānī who became governor of Ṣan'ā' in 133/750-1, 'I saw written on the door of al-Qalīs, it being the *kanīṣah* (church) which Abrahah built at (*alā*) the Gate of Ṣan'ā' or—at the Ṣan'ā' door (of the church): in *musnad* (ancient South Arabian characters), "This was built for You as Owner/Master (*Mālik*)²¹ so that Your name may be mentioned in it, and I am Your servant." There seems to be

nothing inherently improbable about this report.

The following is the description given by al-Azraqī of the construction of al-Qalīs.

It was regular, level on all sides (*murabba' mustawi 'l-tarbi'*) He (Abrahah) made its height²² 60 *dhirā'*. Its raised area (*kibs*, lit., earth placed on an area to level it, plinth?) was 10 *dhirā'* high, and one ascended to it by alabaster/marble steps (*daraj al-rukḥām*). Around it was a wall (*sūr*) with 200²³ *dhirā'* between it and al-Qalīs, surrounding it on every side. He put between that, all of it, stones (reading so for the text's 'with stones') which the people of the Yemen call *jurūb*, ornamented (*manqūshah*),²⁴ fitted into each other (*mutābaqah*)²⁵ so that a needle could not enter between their courses (*aṭbāq*), struck close together to it (*mutabbaqah bi-hi*).²⁶ He made the height of the part he constructed of *jurūb* 20 *dhirā'* high. Between (each course of) *jurūb* stones he inserted (a course of) triangular stones like a camel's hump, entering into each other, of green, red, white, yellow and black stone, with *sāsam*²⁷ wood/beams(?) (*khashab sāsam*) between each two courses (*sāf*),²⁸ round of head (*rās*), the thickness of the beam (*khashabah*) being (that of) a man's chest/side (*ḥiḍn*), protruding over the building. So he used to insert this construction after this fashion. Then he inserted a frieze of alabaster/marble 2 *dhirā'* in height, the alabaster protruding 1 *dhirā'* beyond the building. Then over the marble he inserted (a course of) shining black stone of the stone of Nuqum, the mountain of Ṣan'ā', overlooking it. After this he placed shining yellow stone, then over that shining white stone. This was the exterior (*zāhir*) of the wall (*ḥā'i*) of al-Qalīs, the breadth of al-Qalīs wall being 6 *dhirā'*. They say that they do not recollect the measurement (*dhar'*) of the length and breadth of al-Qalīs (from the outside?). It had a door of copper (*naḥās*)²⁹ 10 *dhirā'* in height by 4 *dhirā'* wide, the entry from which was to a chamber (*bayt*) in its interior, the length of which was 80 *dhirā'* by 40 *dhirā'*, supported by columns (reading '*umud al-sāj*')³⁰ of *sāj*-wood ornamented/painted³¹ and (with) gold and silver nails (*masāmīr*). Then one enters from the chamber into an *iwān* (arched space) the length of which is 40 *dhirā'* on its right and left, its arches having mosaic applied to them, and being decorated (*mushajjarah*) with tree and shrub (motives),³² with stars of gold figuring conspicuously (*zāhirah*) between their (the arches') interspaces (*ad'āf*). Then, from the *iwān* one enters to a dome (*qubbah*), 30 by 30 *dhirā'* which he walled with mosaic in which were crosses depicted in mosaic (*ṣulub manqūshah bi-'l-fusayfasā'*), gold and silver. In it (the dome) was a piece of alabaster (*rukḥamah*) next to the place of the rising of the sun, of *balaq*³³ (any colour mixed with white), square, 10 *dhirā'* by 10 *dhirā'*, (so bright) it causes anyone looking at it from the centre of the dome to cover the eye, conducting the light of the sun and moon inside the dome.

14 Thomas of Margā, *the Book of Governors*, trans. E. Wallis Budge, London, 1893, II, 448.

15 In *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, this word means merchants or dealers not local to the town.

16 Al-Hamdānī, *Sifāh*, Leiden, 1884-9, reads incorrectly Mīnās for Mīnās.

17 *Sīrat al-Hādī ilā'l-Ḥaqq*, Beirut, 1972, 47, 58, 178; cf. index to C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imamat Zaidite au Yémen*, trans. by J. Ryckmans, Leyde, 1960.

18 For the latest researches on this topic, see Irfān Shāhid, *The martyrs of Najrān; new documents*, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 49, Bruxelles, 1971.

19 Al-Azraqī, loc. cit.

20 As in the case when *ḥarams* or *ḥawṣahs* are founded.

21 *Mālik* would mean God.

22 This height 60 *dhirā'* seems most unlikely, but of course the ordinary observer would have no means of actually measuring it.

23 This figure also looks exaggerated; a figure of 200 *dhirā'* for the total distance from wall to wall would be easier.

24 *Manqūshah* could mean painted, sculptured, or, less likely here, inscribed. Houses in the northern mountains do in many places have zigzag lines done in whitewash on the stone courses.

25 See Fig. H.12.

26 It is not easy to see how this last phrase applies, unless the *bi-hi* refers to al-Qalīs.

27 A sort of tree of the mountains resembling ebony according to the lexicons.

28 Any row of bricks ('*araq*') of the wall (*ḥā'i*), and a course or row (*ṣaff*) in a building.

29 More likely bronze.

30 The text has *mu'allaq al-'amal bi-'l-sāj*, but *al-'amal* seems impossible and easily misread for *al-'umud*. '*Allaq al-bīnā'* means, to make the building to be supported by pillars, etc.

31 Painted wood pillars could well be meant. Yāqūt says that Abrahah, *lakkaka-hā bi-amwā' al-aṣbāgh*, to lacquer/paint(?) with various dyes (colours?). Yāqūt would seem less dependable than al-Azraqī, but in view of the painted wooden ceilings we found in the Yemen his version is not without interest. *Ikhlīl* I, ed. Akwa', 394, cites verses mentioning '*ar'ar*, *sāj*-wood and stone used in the construction of Baynūn.

32 This is probably not to be taken too literally as *mushajjarah* can be applied to a variety of types of decoration.

33 *Balaq* of course is the name of a stone used in Yemeni architecture but it cannot have that sense here.

Underneath the piece of alabaster (*rukḥāmāh*) was a pulpit (*minbar*) of *labakh* wood—this being ebony (*ābnūs*) with them³⁴—with intervening (courses?) of white ivory. The steps (*daraj*) of the pulpit of *sāj*-wood were covered (*mulabbas*) with gold and silver. In the dome were chains of silver.³⁵ In the dome, or in the chamber, was an ornamented (*manqūshah*) beam of *sāj*, 60 *dhirā'* long, called Ku'ayb, and a beam of *sāj* of similar length to it, called Ku'ayb's Wife, from which³⁶ they used to seek good fortune (*yatabarrakūna bi-himā*) in the Jāhiliyyah. Ku'ayb was called al-Aḥwazī, al-Aḥwazī meaning *al-ḥ rr*³⁷ in their language.

Abrahah is said by the legend to have treated the craftsmen working on al-Qalīs with great severity.

The founding of what was intended as a rival establishment to the Meccan temple provoked reaction there. One of the intercalators of the Banū Mālik b. Kinānah incited two youths to go to al-Qalīs and defaecate in it. This so enraged Abrahah that he decided to attack and destroy Mecca and, advancing on it with his famous elephant, he met disaster. The incidental details of the story merit comment—firstly it is significant that it is the intercalators of the pre-Islamic calendar who reacted against al-Qalīs—which implies power and influence that the Prophet Muḥammad was to destroy, no doubt, when he adopted the lunar year. The defilement of Abrahah's church was probably intended to show that it had no power to defend itself and, ergo, no virtue as a sanctuary and place of pilgrimage. The great size of the open area around the Church, even if the figures provided by al-Azraqī be whittled down to half, resembles that of the *ḥaram* around the Meccan Ka'bah and would be intended to accommodate pilgrim crowds.

Walls 6 *dhirā'* thick

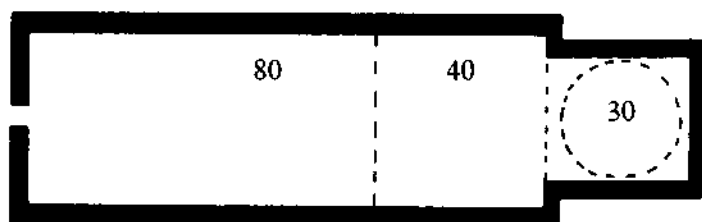


Fig. 6.1 Reconstruction of Abrahah's church at Ṣan'ā' (interpreted by R.B. Serjeant).

The story of the destruction of al-Qalīs, as related by al-Azraqī is no less interesting.

Al-Qalīs continued as it was until Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr (136-58/753-4 to 774-5) the Commander of the Faithful appointed al-'Abbās³⁸ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Ubaydullāh al-Ḥārithī governor over the Yemen. Al-'Abbās recalled the building materials (*niqḍ*), gold and silver, that were in al-Qalīs and this loomed large in his mind. It was said to him, 'You will acquire from it much property and a treasure.' So his heart longed to demolish it and take what was in it. He sent to a son of Wahb b. Munabbih and asked his advice about

demolishing it, and said to him, 'More than one of the people of the Yemen have indicated to me that I should not demolish it, but the business of Ku'ayb is serious in my eyes.' Then he went on to say that the people of the Jāhiliyyah used to seek good fortune (*yatabarrakūn*) from it (Ku'ayb), and it used to speak to them and tell them of things, some of which they liked and some of which they disliked. Wahb's son said, 'All that you have heard is false. Ku'ayb was no more than an idol of the Jāhiliyyah by which they were deluded (*futinū*). So order the *duḥul*,³⁹ i.e. the drum and a flute (*mizmār*) and have them close at hand—then make the demolishers go up on top of it and order them to (start) demolishing. The drum and flute will be spurring them on and keep them the more cheerful and you will make much money from the building material (*niqḍ*) from it as well as obtaining satisfaction from the scoundrels (*fasaqah*) who burned Ghumdān, and you will have expunged from your people the name of the building of the Abyssinians (al-Ḥabash) and cut off (all) memory of them.'

Now there was in Ṣan'ā' a Jewish scholar (*'ālim*). He had come to al-'Abbās b. al-Rabī' previously to gain his favour, and had said to him that a king who demolishes al-Qalīs will govern the Yemen for forty years. So when the words of the Jew and advice from Wahb b. Munabbih's son coincided in favour of it, he resolved to demolish it.

Abu 'l-Walīd said, 'A reliable person informed me saying, "I was there with al-'Abbās when he was demolishing it and he made a great deal of money out of it. Then I saw him call for chains. These they attached to Ku'ayb and the beam with it, and he (attempted to) get men to bear them⁴⁰ (the chains), but no one would come near them out of fear because of what the people of the Yemen used to say about them.⁴¹ So he called for *w r d yūn*,⁴² i.e. wheels, and attached the chains to them, then oxen, and men with them, pulled them until they brought them out⁴³ of the wall (*sūr*). When the people saw nothing of the harm which they feared from them, a man of the people of Iraq, a merchant in Ṣan'ā', sprang up,⁴⁴ bought the beam and cut it for a house of his. It was not long however before the Iraqi became affected by leprosy (*judhām*), and the rabble said, 'This is because of his buying Ku'ayb.' He continued, "Then I saw the people of Ṣan'ā' after that going round⁴⁵ al-Qalīs and picking up the bits of gold and silver from it."

The narrative conveys unequivocally that the demolition and plundering of al-Qalīs which figures as one of the glories of ancient Ṣan'ā' in the early poets was unpopular with the Ṣan'ā' populace and resented by them without distinction of Muslim or Christian. The adherents of both faiths evidently held Ku'ayb and his Wife in superstitious reverence of the sort that Muslim orthodoxy correctly classes as pagan. The reverence extended to the pillars al-Masmūrah and al-Manqūrah of the Jāmi' Mosque is of a similar genre but any pagan elements that may have attached to them in the minds of the commonalty have been purged and extruded from the descriptions of al-Wāsi'.⁴⁶ It is to be remarked that the penalty for swearing a false oath at the two pillars of the Jāmi' Mosque is affliction with leprosy (*judhām*) as it was in the case of the Iraqi merchant who purchased and sawed up Ku'ayb. Perhaps in al-Qalīs too, oaths may have been taken at Ku'ayb in cases at dispute between two parties.

34 Presumably he means the Yemenis use *labakh* instead of ebony.

35 To hold lamps?

36 The dual should be read here.

37 *Ḥ rr* can be read in a number of ways, but I have no clue as to what is intended here.

38 Al-Qāsim *Ghāyat al-amānī*, Cairo, 1388 H, 129, calls him 'Abdullāh. There is some confusion in the sources about the names of early 'Abbāsīd governors.

39 A Persian word; might it have been introduced by the Abnā'?

40 If the dual were read here this would refer to the two Ku'aybs, not to the chains.

41 The dual must be read here instead of *hā*.

42 This word is unknown to the lexicons consulted.

43 The dual should be read here.

44 Reading *wathaba* for *wathata*.

45 *Yaṭūfūna bi-*, which could be understood also in the technical sense of performing a ritual circumambulation of al-Qalīs; this is quite a possible interpretation of the text. The visitation of the pilgrims, by analogy with the practice at other Arabian shrines might have included a circumambulation (*ṭawāf*) of the Church, then when the pilgrims entered the church a circumambulation of Ku'ayb and his Wife, the pilgrims passing their hands over the columns as they did so.

46 Cf. p. 316b seq.

Ṭabarī⁴⁷ quotes one account which maintains that Abrahah, after obtaining the approval of the Najāshī to construct his church at Ṣan'ā', wrote to Qayṣar, i.e. the Byzantine emperor, informing him that he was about to build a *kanīṣah*, and asking him for aid. So Qayṣar assisted him with artisans (*ṣunnā'*), mosaic and marble. There is nothing inherently improbable in this, although it is reminiscent of the Byzantine aid contributed to the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus.

A much grander description of the decoration of the interior is vouched by Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, seemingly a native of Egypt, writing about the first decade of the 13th century A.D. It looks as if Abū Ṣāliḥ relied on a Christian tradition about al-Qalīs, but again, although no detail of his account appears in any way inconsistent with what might have been, a suspicion lingers that the account could reflect the decoration of Coptic churches in Egypt.

Abrahah decorated al-Qalīs,⁴⁸ he says, with gold and beautiful dyes (*aṣbāgh*, paints?) of various colours. He paved its floor (*arḍ*) with coloured marbles, set up pillars of marble in it, upright and horizontal (reading '*amada 'l-rukhām fi-hā qā'im-an wa-nā'im*'),⁴⁹ and made it shine with a most lovely glittering of gold, silver, gilded and coloured glass. He plated its doors with gold and silver plates (*ṣafā'ih*), nailing the gold plates with silver nails and the silver with plate-like (*mulawwāḥah*)⁵⁰ nails of gold. On the doors of the altars (*madhābiḥ*) in it he put wide sheets of gold, studding them with jewels of precious stones, and he set in the middle of each of these sheets a cross of gold, in the middle of which was a jacinth (*yāqūṭah*) of red translucent Bahramān.⁵¹ He set up a screen (*ḥijāb*) for it of perfect workmanship, made of ebony and *sāsam*-wood inlaid (*muṭ'am*) with pure white ivory, beautifully carved.

When it became famous many people made the pilgrimage to it, bringing it votive offerings (*nudhūr*). Many people, says Abū Ṣāliḥ, *jāwaru bi-hā*—this means literally to become a neighbour to, and the word is commonly used of persons residing in Mecca in the sense of being neighbours to the Ka'bah. However it also means to go into retreat for meditation and prayer in a mosque, a sense which seems appropriate here. The king built these *mujāwirs* houses in which to dwell. He also built for the *kanīṣah* many properties which he made *waqf* to it (*habasa-hā 'alay-hā*).

If these last statements can be accepted as fact a possible explanation of the great size of the ambulatory as reported by al-Azraqī presents itself. As stated below the walled enclosure around the church at Axum was clustered with buildings. The same might have been the case at al-Qalīs. It is tempting to compare the *mujāwir* of those pre-Islamic Christian days with the *muhājir* of Islamic Yemen, the student living in the row of cells attached to the mosque. Presumably the area enclosed by the wall of al-Qalīs in Ṣan'ā' would moreover have something of the nature of a sacred enclave, a *hijrah* or *ḥaram*.⁵²

Abū Ṣāliḥ reports also 'M rūḥ al-Dayr, it being a church around which is an impregnable fortress (*ḥuṣn*). It is now called Maqbarat al-Ḥukamā' (Cemetery of the Wise), and in this district is the Amir of the Yemen on behalf of Kisrā Anūshirwān.⁵³ This snippet of information looks important if only it were possible to interpret it.

Native Christianity in the Yemen does not seem to be known to our sources after the 4th/10th century⁵⁴ though this does not necessarily mean that it had disappeared, and in Socotra Island it still existed into Portuguese times.

The Remains of the Church (al-Qalīs)

The site, 175m west of the wall of the citadel, as stated above, is identified by a large pit lined with coursed rubble masonry, 12.45m in diameter north-west to south-east, and 14.65m in diameter south-west to north-east. The irregular shape is partly due to its being given a roughly octagonal form on the north side. It seems fairly certain that this stonework is part of the foundation wall; as the platform of the church was 10 *dhirā'* high, the original ground level could be nearly 5m underground today, yet the original floor of the church would still have been above the present ground level. It seems quite possible that there was a crypt within the walls of the surviving octagon; this is particularly likely if the church was modelled on the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, a possibility which is discussed below.

West of the open space in which this pit is situated is a block of houses with a curiously rectangular shape on the eastern, southern and western sides. It is particularly noticeable that the southern side of this block of houses is exactly on an east-west axis, and is slightly more than 10m south of the east-west axis of the pit. This rectangular block has at its western end another open space entered by four streets from different directions. It seems possible that this is the original entrance square for the church.

That this block of houses is built on the foundation walls of the main body of the church seems confirmed by the dimensions given in the description of the church. The length of the block is 55m, and the houses end 5m from the edge of the pit; al-Azraqī gives the length of the nave and choir together as 80 plus 40 *dhirā'*, that is, 58m without the wall thicknesses.

The west-east orientation parallels the orientation of Axumite churches in Ethiopia.

In the Great Mosque in Ṣan'ā' there are four capitals which originally carried crosses on all their faces, as well as three other capitals of a related shape without crosses, and a number of decorated column shafts (pl. 18.20). The capitals with crosses are identical with capitals found in the ruins of St. Mary of Zion in Axum,⁵⁵ built, according to a seventeenth century text, in 372 A.D. and finished in 424 A.D.⁵⁶ It seems quite possible, however, that the cathedral was extended or altered a century later, after the successful campaigns in southern Arabia, that is, about the same time as the church in Ṣan'ā' was built.

Although the cathedral in Axum was destroyed in the 17th century and a small one built in its place, the original platform of the great church remains, and from this and earlier descriptions of it, it is possible to reconstruct its plan and dimensions.⁵⁷ The church was elevated on a platform, it had a nave with five aisles ending in an east end with seven parallel chapels. More important, its total length was 125 cubits or *ell*, each *ell* calculated

geographically but it is not reported that Kisrā's Amīr ever resided there.

54 Muhammad al-Akwa', *Ikhlāṭ* I, 1, 182, note, avers that there were Christians in Najrān until the beginning of the 7th/13th century according to Yemeni historians, until the days of al-Manṣūr 'Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah, then they finally disappeared.

55 See E. Littman, U. v. Krenker, and Th. v. Lüpke, *Deutsche Axum Expedition*, Berlin, 1913, II, 106.

56 See C. Conti Rossini, S.S.C.O. 54, *Liber Axumae*, translated in C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, Cambridge, 1961, II, 525.

57 E. Littman etc., op. cit., II, 140; and D. Buxton and D. Matthews, 'The reconstruction of vanished Axumite buildings', *Rassegna di studi Etiopici*, Roma, 1971-2, XXV, 53-77. The latter study is comprehensive but speculative; in several major points, such as the capitals, and the decoration it seems to ignore the surviving evidence.

47 *Tārīkh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et alii, I, 935.

48 B. T. A. Evetts and A. Butler, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, Oxford, 1895, reprint, 1969, 300-2. The Arabic text is ungrammatical, and both the text itself and the translation, at least here, unreliable.

49 The translators evidently read '*umud*', but to read a verb here appears better to me, given Abū Ṣāliḥ's weak Arabic. *Qā'im wa-nā'im* seems to me to be an architectural phrase not understood by the translators.

50 Sense, and perhaps also the reading, dubious.

51 Dozy, *Supplément, al-yāqūt al-Bahramānī, escarboucle*; a well known term.

52 One deduces from the passing reference in al-Rāzi, *Tārīkh*, 109, that al-Qalīs was later reckoned a sector of Ṣan'ā'.

53 Reading Anūshirwān for Abū Sharwān. The places seem unknown. If the Amīr of the Abnā' resided in Ṣan'ā' then one should look for them in this district, but he might have resided at Dhamār. Zafār south east of Yarīm which had a large church of which almost nothing is left fits the description

by Littmann, von Krenker and von Lüpke as a little less than half a metre.⁵⁸ The al-Azraqī dimension for the total length of the nave and vaulted choir (*iwān*) of the Šan'ā' church is 120 *dhirā'*, each *dhirā'* being almost certainly the 'Abbāsid *dhirā'* of 48.25cm. From this it seems clear that the *ell* and the *dhirā'* of the early Islamic period were effectively the same measure. So that the lengths of the bodies of the two churches were roughly equal, though the Šan'ā' church had added to it, at the eastern end, a further 30 *dhirā'* in the diameter of the domed eastern chapel plus the width of its walls. The total height of the Axum church was 32 *ell*, that of the Šan'ā' church 33.5 *dhirā'*. On the other hand the nave of the Axum cathedral was 47 *ell* wide, whereas the Šan'ā' church is given as 40 *dhirā'* wide. At its east end the Axum church was increased in width by its seven chapels to 92 *ell*. It seems that in overall area these two churches were closely comparable, as indeed they were in the design of their stone capitals.

How are we to explain, then, the presence of a large domed chamber as a feature in the Šan'ā' church when it does not occur in the plan of the church in Axum? The explanation seems to lie in the interest shown by the Byzantine empire in the Axumite conquest of southern Arabia,⁵⁹ and more particularly the interest taken by the Syrian Christians.⁶⁰ From the description of the church and the fact that its mosaics were taken to decorate the Ka'bah in Mecca in 65/684,⁶¹ it is possible to judge that it was closer to Byzantine architecture, at least in part, than Axumite architecture in Ethiopia is thought to have been.⁶² The plan of the church, from al-Azraqī's description, was of Syrian type, in this case directly derived from the Church of the Nativity in

Bethlehem, which has a domed octagonal chapel 16m in diameter at the end of a five-aisled nave 26m wide,⁶³ and it was thus in turn linked in type to the sacred domed church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁶⁴

Smaller domes are known in chapels behind or above the altar in later Ethiopian churches. The Šan'ā' church is unusual in the large size of its dome, and in the use of a Byzantine octagon in plan.⁶⁵ The decorated beams referred to by al-Azraqī may have been braces to the dome or to the barrel vault of the choir; but their length does not relate to any dimensions in the plan and seems likely to have been exaggerated. The alabaster panel referred to in the domed chapel was probably a large top-light in the centre of the dome, like those smaller ones that survive in front of the *mīhrāb* in the Great Mosque (pl. 18.32). From the reference at the beginning of al-Azraqī's description to the Šan'ā' church being 'rectangular', it seems possible that the octagon was incorporated within an enclosing outer wall, the narrow remaining spaces on either side possibly serving as chapels. This regular shape for the whole church conforms closely with later Ethiopian practice. The dome, or rather, the roof over it, seems to have projected above the rest of the church as happened at Bethlehem; it is doubtful whether it could have reached the stated height of 60 *dhirā'*, that is, 29m.

The great size mentioned for the open-air ambulatory around the church (200 *dhirā'*, or 96.5m) appears likely to be an error which has crept into the text. The Axum church stood within a large walled enclosure, but excavation has shown that this was clustered with buildings. An open space for ambulation between 50 *dhirā'* and 100 *dhirā'* wide is more probable.

58 Op. cit.

59 Cf. Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. H. B. Dewing, London, 1958, I, 188-9, 191-6, ff; Photius, *The Library of Photius*, trans. J. H. Freese, London, 1920.

60 Cf. C. H. Sellassie, *Ancient and medieval Ethiopian history*, Addis Ababa, 1972, 131-3, in which the Syriac texts relating to the previous persecution and the conquest are listed, as well as the Greek texts.

61 Mas'ūdi, *Prairies*, edit. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, 192-3.

62 In addition to the authorities listed above, see L. Bianchi Barriviera, 'Le chiese in roccia di Lalibela', *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, XVIII, 1962 and XIX, 1963; D. R. Buxton, 'The Christian antiquities of Northern Ethiopia', *Archaeologia*, XCII, 1947, and 'The Rock-hewn and other medieval churches of Tigre Province, Ethiopia', *Archaeologia*, CIII, 1971, and Ruth Plant and D. R. Buxton, 'Rock-hewn churches of the Tigre Province' in *Ethiopia Observer*, Addis Ababa, 1974, XIII, 3.

63 For illustrations, see W. Harvey, *Structural survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, Oxford, 1935; 'The Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem', *Archaeologia*, LXXXVII, 1937; R. W. Hamilton, *Guide to Bethlehem, Palestine*,

1939; and J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London, 1941.

64 It is possible that *al-kanisah* and *al-Qafis* were the same building (cf. Yāqūt, quoted earlier), and that there was some faith in the legend reported by al-Rāzī that Jesus entered Šan'ā' and prayed on the site of *al-kanisah*; and the Christians took the place of the *kanisah* in Šan'ā' following his prayer place. This would explain the treatment of the east end of the church as a 'martyrion', a site connected with the life of Jesus, and link it logically with the churches at Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

65 The stone capitals and column shafts, together with two fragments of carved wood, preserved in the Great Mosque, are similarly much more Byzantine in style than traditional Axumite—so much so that their parallels in Axum were omitted by Buxton and Matthews from their restoration of the cathedral there as being irreconcilable with what they knew of that architectural style, see n. 47 above. Columns of the same bevelled type as are found in the Great Mosque can be seen in the church of Chergos at Wugro in Ethiopia, carrying capitals of the same shape, but undecorated, as the Šan'ā' and Axum capitals with crosses. Illustrated in Buxton, *Archaeologia*, 1971, CIII, Pl. XXIIIa.

Chapter 7

The Early and Medieval History of Ṣan'ā', ca. 622-953/1515

Introduction

Methodology

The arrangement of the material covering more than 900 years of the history of the city of Ṣan'ā' has presented problems, not least that of offering the inevitable host of names and dates in a digestible form. It is hoped that the pattern adopted will prove acceptable to the reader. As far as is possible, interminable lists of the names of persons, tribes, places and dates have been avoided. Rather, a more general picture of the city during this period has been attempted. However, the local dynasties centred on Ṣan'ā' are well documented in the primary sources available to us and in these accounts a more detailed picture of events can be given. The Ayyūbid period can also be treated in this way, whereas mention of Ṣan'ā' and its affairs is rare for the later Rasūlid and Ṭāhirid periods—at any rate in the Sunnī sources. The account given here must by necessity remain much weighted on the politico-military side, since this is the nature of these primary sources from which the material has been culled.

A brief allusion has already been made elsewhere¹ to the question of the primary sources for the history of medieval Yemen. In this field the historian suffers from the plethora of manuscript material of the Sunnī, Zaydī and Ismā'īlī traditions, although the last two still remain inaccessible or remote. However, the hope is that this chapter might at least form a reasonable introductory history to the city of Ṣan'ā'.

This early and medieval period of the history of Ṣan'ā' has been divided into seven parts as follows:

- 1) the early Islamic history of Ṣan'ā', 1-232/622-847
- 2) the Yu'firids, 232-387/847-98
- 3) the Ṣulayhids, 439-482/1037-1088
- 4) the Sultans of Hamdān, 493-569/1099-1173
- 5) the Ayyūbids, 569-628/1173-1228
- 6) the Rasūlids, 628-783/1228-1381
- 7) the Zaydī Imāms, 783-953/1381-1546.

It must be admitted, of course, that this form of presentation is not wholly consistent. Numbers 2, 3 and 4 above were local dynasties, in the main centred on Ṣan'ā' itself, while 5 and 6 were states covering much wider territory, the latter having headquarters in the southern area of the country, though often controlling Ṣan'ā' and indeed regarding it as an extremely important city.

The reader might consider that it is rather late to introduce a section on the Zaydī Imāms beginning with the date 783/1381. Indeed, from the year 284/897-98, when the first Zaydī Imām arrived in Ṣa'dah in the extreme north of the Yemen, until 1962 it can be said that there was a Zaydī Imām present in the country. On many occasions the Zaydī Imām controlled Ṣan'ā'. On many occasions too, the Zaydī Imām played an important part in the events taking place in the city. But rather than deal with the Zaydīs as a separate entity before this year—the year they seized the city and from that date held it continuously until the Turkish conquest—it seemed preferable to bring them into the picture whenever history demanded it under the heading of either of the local dynasties—2, 3 and 4 above—or under that of the main political and military force in the country—5 and 6 above. In this connection it should perhaps be stressed that this in no way implies that the Zaydī Imāms played a minor role in the history of Ṣan'ā' prior to 783/1381. Indeed the very opposite is the case. Their omission from the earlier section titles is justified only on purely practical grounds.

The Yemen as a Political Unit

From this study of the history of Ṣan'ā' it will be seen that the first two centuries of Islam produced nothing like a political entity called the Yemen. The picture during this period is rather that of a series of local dynasties ruling over varying extents of territory, but in no case controlling vast areas. The city of Ṣan'ā' was the seat of the governor appointed by the head of the Islamic community, from the Prophet himself to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs in Iraq. On occasions too the areas of al-Janad in the south near Ta'izz and Ḥaḍramawt fell under the control of a governor similarly appointed by the head of the community and who may have been responsible directly to his appointer or alternatively to the senior governor in Ṣan'ā'.

After the rise of the Yu'firids in 232/847, the appointees of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph became weaker until it was no longer possible for them to continue the practice of appointing governors in the area. During this period and those of the Ṣulayhids and the Sultans of Hamdān after the Yu'firids in Ṣan'ā', the pattern of numerous 'city-states' throughout the country continued. The most important of these at the time of the Ayyūbid conquest in 569/1173

¹ Cf G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, E. J. W. Gibb Mem., N. S. XXVI, London, 1973, II, cap. 3.

were as follows. The north of the Tihāmah was controlled by the Sulaymānī sharifs in Ḥarāḍ, while in the southern coastal plain, with its centre in Zabīd, the Mahdids held sway. The southern port of Aden was in the hands of the Ismā'īlī family, Banū Zuray', whose sway extended to include the important fortress of al-Dumluwah as far as the Ta'izz area. Şan'ā' and its surrounding areas lay in the power of yet another Ismā'īlī group of Hamdān and since the arrival of the first Zaydī Imām in 284/897-98 the Zaydīs, usually centred in Şa'dah, though often in the area of al-Jawf, controlled much of the mountainous territory to the north of Şan'ā'.²

It was only with the Ayyūbid conquest that one can begin to talk of the beginnings of the Yemen as an enduring political unit.³ It was they who subjugated or destroyed those local dynasties described above, unifying the whole of the Tihāmah and the south of the Yemen from Aden to Şan'ā'. Only the area north of Şan'ā' was never fully brought under Ayyūbid control.

This political unity of the Tihāmah and the southern part of the Yemen was bequeathed to the Rasūlids by their predecessors, the Ayyūbids, and in turn, it might be said, to the Rasūlids' successors, the Ṭāhirids, and it remained relatively intact until the Turkish occupation of the Yemen in the mid-10th/16th century.

The Religious Factions in the Yemen

There are three main religious groups which will be encountered in any history of early Islamic and medieval Yemen. The inhabitants of those areas which came under the sway of the 'Abbāsīd governors, including the Şan'ā' area, must have been orthodox Sunnīs, presumably originally following the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. We know, however, that about the close of the 4th/9th century, the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* was introduced into the Yemen and gradually those Sunnīs in the area adopted this school of law. The coming to south western Arabia of the Ayyūbids in the 6th/12th century—themselves staunch Shāfi'īs—must have established the school for all time and it remains the Sunnī school to this day.

The beginnings of Shī'ism of the Ismā'īlī brand in the Yemen are shrouded in mystery. We know that 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, who with Maṣṣūr al-Yaman was responsible for bringing vast areas of the Yemen under the Fāṭimid banner in the late 3rd/9th century and who together are called generally by the misnomer, the Qarāmiṭah, was a Shī'ī before his arrival in Iraq, for he was visiting the tomb of al-Ḥusayn when he was introduced into the Ismā'īlī mission (*da'wah*). With the entry into the Yemen of these two *da'īs*, Ismā'īlism thus spread widely and it will be recalled that, by the time of the Ayyūbid conquest in the 6th/12th century, Ismā'īlī dynasties controlled the Aden-Ta'izz areas in the south, as well as the Şan'ā' area. It was rife too in the Ḥarāz area, the mountainous region to the west of Şan'ā' overlooking the coastal plain. With the destruction of the Banū Zuray' by the Ayyūbids in the south and with the gradual weakening of the Banū Ḥātim in the Şan'ā' area in the periods of the Ayyūbids and Rasūlids, Ismā'īlism in the Yemen suffered a serious, though not fatal set-back. Today its followers remain in the Ḥarāz area and Yām; the Ismā'īlī tribal group of whom were the Banū Ḥātim, have now withdrawn into the Najrān area of the Yemeni-Sa'ūdī border.

The third group is the Zaydī, a mild form of Shī'ism not far removed from the Sunnī and often called in the Yemen *al-madhhab al-khāmīs*. From the late 3rd/9th century this group has existed in the north of the country, in the early days centred on Şa'dah, occasionally later on al-Jawf, then from the late 8th/14th century

on Şan'ā'. During this period the town of Dhamār south of Şan'ā' came under Zaydī control and to this day Dhamār and north is reckoned to be Zaydī, while south of the town is Sunnī Shāfi'ī.

It is difficult to generalize on the extent to which the religious feelings of the three groups affected their political decisions. Broadly speaking, however, we might suggest that the Ismā'īlīs were particularly unpopular for their religious views and co-operation between them and either of the other two groups was rare. The important reason for the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen in the 6th/12th century may well have been to rid the area of Ismā'īlīs as the dynasty had done in Egypt in 567/1171. This anti-Ismā'īlī feeling was translated into political animosity with the destruction of the Banū Zuray' in the south by the Ayyūbids on their arrival there.

It is true, however, that Ismā'īlī-Zaydī co-operation did take place on a major scale on at least one occasion as is recounted below.⁴ Also both the Ayyūbids and the Rasūlids adopted a policy of co-operation with the Ismā'īlī Banū Ḥātim in Şan'ā', rather than blatant confrontation, and a number of Ḥātimīs served the Rasūlid administration well in high positions.⁵ All too was far from perfect in Zaydī-Sunnī relations, as will be clear from this historical account of Şan'ā', and the two often fought bitterly. The impression is, however, that, whereas the Ismā'īlīs were often opposed because they were Ismā'īlīs, the Sunnīs and Zaydīs fought together rather for political and territorial reasons.

The Strategic Value of the City of Şan'ā'

Following on the capture of Şan'ā' by the Ayyūbids in 585/1189-90, the city ceased to be the headquarters of a local dynasty. The Ayyūbids preferred the south as their headquarters, particularly Ta'izz. Şan'ā' was a key military centre through which the Zaydīs in the north could be kept in check. It cannot be said, in our opinion, that the Ayyūbids had serious designs on taking and holding vast areas of the country to the north of Şan'ā'. The strength of the Zaydīs and—perhaps more important—the cruel terrain put paid to any such thoughts. For the Zaydīs to move south of Şan'ā', however, was a much easier task, in which case the city denied to them was the sure way of preventing such an advance on the southern area. To look at the situation from the Zaydī side, Şan'ā' was a vital centre for them too, if they were to make territorial gains south of the city. Şan'ā' was therefore fought over as bitterly and desperately as it had been in the days of the local dynasties. We know that buildings were often destroyed, houses, palaces, even mosques. Such a continual battering must have taken its toll therefore on Şan'ā'. One notable exception from the lists of destruction which can be found frequently in the medieval sources is the *sūq*. One can suggest perhaps that business and commerce continued, even if it did not always flourish, in these hard times and that Şan'ā' remained as important in this role as in its military one. It should not be forgotten that the historiography of medieval Yemen was a collection of dates and battles. Periods of peace and stability, administrative organisation and political development did not fall within the scope of the historian. Perhaps it is not venturing too far to suggest also that Şan'ā' remained in some unofficial way a commercially protected town, where, whatever was happening outside the walls, and for the most part within them too, a man might always buy and sell.

² Cf. *Ayyūbids*, II, loc. cit.

³ It is true that, for example, the Yu'firids brought large areas of the country under their sway and some case might be made for making the same statement regarding the so-called Qarāmiṭah and the Sulayhids. None of these, however, controlled as extensive an area as that of the Ayyūbids, nor was their control

as tight and as deep. The proof of this is to be found in the lasting nature of the political area established by the Ayyūbids.

⁴ Cf. below, *The period of the Sultans of Hamdān*, p. 59a-60b.

⁵ e.g. the author of the *Simt*, Amīr Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim.

Ṣan'ā' as a Fief (iqṭā')⁶

Apart from the important change in the situation of the city following on the Ayyūbid conquest and described above, we see for the first time in the Ayyūbid period the appointment of a fief-holder (*muqṭa'*) in Ṣan'ā'. The system of fiefs was not of course invented by the Ayyūbids. Those Ayyūbids in power in Egypt had found a local Fāṭimid brand of feudalism and also they had naturally imported facets of the Zankid *iqṭā'āt* which they had known in Syria. What evolved in Egypt therefore under the Ayyūbids was probably a hybrid form of fief-holdings—a cross between the local Fāṭimid and imported Zankid types.

For the Ayyūbid and Rasūlid periods in the Yemen, we still do not have available the wealth of socio-economic material which the historian of medieval Egypt has at his disposal.⁷ It is only possible here, therefore, to make a few general statements regarding the *iqṭā'* system in medieval Yemen and in particular in Ṣan'ā' itself.

Despite their close political and economic ties with the Fāṭimids in Egypt, it seems that those Ismā'īlī groups in the Yemen before the Ayyūbid conquest—the Ṣulayhids, Banū Zuray' and Banū Ḥātim—had no well ordered feudal system. The institution was imported into the country by the Ayyūbids and is first mentioned in about 598/1202 during the rule of the *atābak*, Sunqur. Prior to their arrival in the area, Ṣan'ā' was occupied by the head of the ruling family or, in his long absence, by a governor, *wālī* or *'āmil*, or, if the absence were brief, by a deputy, *nā'ib*. The *muqṭa'* was appointed by the sultan himself and he was assigned an *iqṭā'*—which he held only during the sultan's pleasure—in keeping with his rank and station. The incumbent of the fief of Ṣan'ā' was certainly an *amīr* of high standing.⁸ With the death of the sultan, his successor would invariably review the fief situation in the country; he may have decided to retain a fief-holder or to shuffle round the available appointments among his *amīrs*. There is no apparent evidence that the *iqṭā'* was hereditary.⁹ In contrast to the situation in Egypt, Yemeni fief-holders appear in the main to have resided in the territory assigned to them.¹⁰

In keeping with his Egyptian counterpart the fief-holder must have had to provide troops when required by the sultan and have been responsible for the efficient and smooth running of the agriculture and economy of his area. In return he would have been permitted to collect certain taxes from the local population.

The Early Islamic History of Ṣan'ā', 1-232/622-847

The sources for this section are naturally predominantly Yemenite, though the major universal history of Ṭabarī has been used as a control on names and dates.¹¹ Being relatively late, these sources lack detail for this crucial early period. In fact almost all we have is a list of the governors sent to the Yemen, firstly by the Prophet, then by the Orthodox, Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. This section must therefore inevitably remain sketchy. At the end for ease of reference a list of the governors of the Yemen resident in Ṣan'ā' has been appended, though even here it is not possible to be entirely confident of the material in places, due to the conflicting nature of the sources from which the list has been drawn up.

The beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era saw south western Arabia torn by the hostilities of the rival monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity. The last king of

the Ḥimyarites, the infamous Dhū Nuwās, had embraced Judaism and in A.D. 523 massacred large numbers of Christians in Najrān in his newly found religious fervour. This appalling slaughter brought into the Yemen a force of Christian Abyssinians and the latter gained victories there in 523 under Aryāt and also in 525 under Abrahah. Thus the Ḥimyarite dynasty was brought to an end and the Abyssinians, introduced as saviours, remained on as conquerors. Some time during the period 525-75, Abrahah, while ruler of Ṣan'ā', built there the famous church named al-Qalīs (pp.41-48). The other notable event of this Abyssinian period was the unsuccessful attempt by Abrahah to conquer Mecca in A.D. 570 or 571.

The Yemenite nationalist movement which strove to free the Yemen from her Abyssinian conquerors had at its head a Ḥimyarī named Sayf b. Dhī Yazan. Failing to find support from Christian Byzantium, the traditional story goes, he turned to Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in) and appealed to the Persian emperor Kīsrā Anūshīrwān, who, in A.D. 575, agreed to despatch a Persian army under Wahriz to the Yemen. Wahriz succeeded in ousting the Abyssinians from the Yemen, but remained in the country, thus replacing one colonial rule for another. About the year 6/628, the fifth Persian governor in the Yemen, Bādhān, embraced Islam together, if we are to believe the Arab historians, with the whole of the population of the country.¹² Bādhān was appointed governor of the whole of the Yemen by the Prophet and he continued in this capacity with his residence in Ṣan'ā' until his death.

Due undoubtedly to its crucial geographical position, Ṣan'ā' had re-emerged as the chief town of the Yemen at the latest by the beginning of the 6th century of the Christian era. It was certainly the capital of Dhū Nuwās and, when the Abyssinians entered the country, it remained their headquarters. It was also the home of the Persian governors and remained the seat of the governors appointed in Islamic times. Throughout the periods of the Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Caliphs to the time of the rise of the Yū'firid dynasty and their involvement in the affairs of Ṣan'ā' in the 3rd/9th century, governors were sent out to the city. These governors were often responsible, at least in theory, for the whole of the country, though other governors were sometimes also appointed for the al-Janad area and Ḥaḍramawt. It is impossible to speculate on the extent of the authority of the Ṣan'ā' governors, though they probably controlled little or nothing outside the walls of the town. They presumably had a force under arms for the day-to-day policing of the urban area, though it seems clear from our sources that they could not impose their will by tyrannical means on the local population; a number tried and complaints to the Caliph, though perhaps slow to receive attention, eventually brought justice either in the form of a reprimand or with the actual dismissal of the governor and his replacement by another.

More important than the daily administration of Ṣan'ā' would have been the task required of the governor to promote Islam and the Islamic way of life. We cannot accept the naive assertion of the historians that Bādhān, the Persian governor, accepted Islam and the whole of the population immediately followed. In this large area where communications are so appallingly difficult the spread of Islam must have been of a gradual nature. It is probably in this context that one should appreciate the appointments of governors in al-Janad and Ḥaḍramawt. Ṣan'ā', apart from its obvious importance as a military centre, was also a centre of commerce and trade, perhaps operating under some kind of special sanctity derived from the *maḥram* institution of pre-Islamic

6 Terms like fief and feudalism should in no way be taken to represent their precise meanings in the medieval European context. They are merely used here for convenience for the Arabic terms, *iqṭā'*, *muqṭa'* etc.

7 As yet no Ibn Mammūti, Qalqashandī or Maqrīzī of the Yemen has come to light. For an excellent study of the Egyptian system of fiefs, cf. Hassanein Rabie, *Financial System*, London, 1972, cap. II. His primary sources are given

in the footnotes and see also his *Bibliography*, especially 200 et seq.

8 e.g. in Ayyūbid times the Rasūlid *Amīr*, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and in Rasūlid times, 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sha'bi.

9 Cf. *Financial System*, 29.

10 Cf. *Financial System*, 63.

11 *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879-81.

12 Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I.4, 1851.

times. There may well have been the agreed regulation that arms were not carried except by the governor's militia and that tribal squabbles were left behind at the gates of the city. There is certainly evidence to suggest that the *sūq* system flourished and economic stability is achieved only in a situation of peace. The city, then, in these early centuries of Islam would have attracted traders, big and small, from an ever increasing area outside and this was how the new religion gradually spread throughout the whole area. We can assume that the centres of al-Janad and Ḥaḍramawt played exactly the same role in the dissemination of Islam in the Yemen.

Although he is credited by some as the builder of the Great Mosque in Šan'ā', there is no indication that Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī was ever formally appointed governor. Wabr b. Yuḥannis al-Kalbī was therefore the first governor appointed by the Prophet.¹³ All our sources list 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as a governor, though the statement that he never reached the Yemen is in all probability correct.¹⁴ Among other well known names to appear in the sources are Mu'ādh b. Jabal, another contender to be the founder of the Great Mosque as well as that of al-Janad, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Khālid b. al-Wālid. At this stage of course we cannot be sure of the exact dates of appointments and the list appears inordinately long, with fifteen names quoted for what must have been a period of ten years or less. The possibility clearly does exist that this is simply a list of all those who might at some time have represented the Prophet in Šan'ā', some, like 'Alī himself, being appointed but never in fact taking up the appointment in person.

It can be assumed that the period of the first three Orthodox Caliphs was one of stability and the steady growth of Islam in the Yemen as a whole, though some sources mention the apostasy of certain Šan'ānis.¹⁵ The names of only three governors are given for this period. With the assumption of the caliphate by 'Alī in 35/656, however, and the resulting civil war between his followers and those of Mu'āwiyah, the repercussions of this struggle were felt in Šan'ā'. In 40/660-61 Mu'āwiyah despatched an army under Busr b. Arṭāh al-Lu'lu'ī with 3,000 men which was to drive out 'Alī's governor in Šan'ā', 'Ubaydullāh b. al-'Abbās, and destroy the 'Alid party in the town. 'Ubaydullāh, hearing of the impending attack of the Syrian army, addressed the inhabitants of Šan'ā' from the *minbar* of the mosque and in an impassioned speech appealed to them to join him to repel the enemy. The response from the populace, the most influential of whom were the Abnā', descendants of the Persian conquerors, was, however, poor and 'Ubaydullāh fled the country for al-Kūfah. Mu'āwiyah's army under Busr entered Šan'ā' to establish Umayyad rule there. When Umayyad control was established over Šan'ā' 'Uthmān b. 'Affān al-Thaqafī¹⁶ was appointed governor by Mu'āwiyah.

It is interesting to note that with the control of the Hijaz

passing to the rebel 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, he was able to appoint his own governors in Šan'ā' for a period of nine years between 64/683 and 73/692. During the last two years of Ibn al-Zubayr's life, however, the town was in a state of turmoil. In 71/690-91, a group of the Ḥarūriyyah, a branch of the Khawārij who had originally come into being by seceding from the followers of 'Alī, arrived in Šan'ā' where the inhabitants, having refused to fight, made peace with the intruders at the price of 100,000 dinars, some of which had to come as assistance from outside the city. Šan'ā' remained in chaos until the death of Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692 and the arrival of the governor of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, the brother of the Caliph's tough governor in Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj.¹⁷ The list of the Umayyad governors continues at the steady rate of one governor per Caliph with the exception of Hishām (105-25/724-43) who found it necessary to appoint two. It will be noted too that no fewer than five out of the nine governors appointed from the time of 'Abd al-Malik until the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate were Thaqafīs.

Of those names of the governors appointed in Šan'ā' by the 'Abbāsid Caliphs listed below only two are worthy of further mention. In 140/757-58, Ma'n b. Zā'idah arrived in the Yemen as governor on behalf of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. He remained for a period of six years in Šan'ā' after which he was recalled by the Caliph to combat the Khawārij in Khurāsān. He left his own son behind to take his place.¹⁸

The year 183/799-800 saw the arrival in Šan'ā' of Muḥammad b. Barmak, the governor of al-Rashīd. It appears that he remained in Šan'ā' for nine or ten years, for the appointment of his successor is recorded for the year 193/809. Muḥammad b. Khālid is credited with the building in Šan'ā' of a palace named Dār al-Barāmīkah as well as the construction of an underground channel of the *qanāt* type, known in the Yemen as *ghayl*, (see pp. 19b-31b) for the local population. This was given the name Ghayl al-Barmakī and is reported to have watered the south and west of the town. Its source near Ghaymān. The governor made the *ghayl* into a *waqf* and swore to spend only his own funds on its upkeep. He also produced drinking places (sing. *sabīl*) in the town for the general public, though whether the form of these was anything like those found to this day in Šan'ā' is not certain (pp. 293, 299). His governorship clearly marked a period of prosperity in the town and we are told in one source that on the appointment of his successor to the governorship there were 85,000 dwelling places in Šan'ā'.¹⁹

Early in the 3rd/9th century, a small local dynasty in Shibām Kawkabān a little to the north west of Šan'ā' looked upon the increasing weakness of the 'Abbāsid governors there and their frequent changes with ever greater alarm. The ambitious head of the family, Yu'fir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥiwālī, began to make plans to include the town in his own territory.

13 This statement leaves aside Bādhān who had to all intents and purposes been confirmed in an appointment already held on behalf of the Persian Emperor.

14 Cf. Ibn Samurah, *Tabaqāt*, 16, who says he got no further than 'Akk in the Tihāmah.

15 Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, Leiden University, ms. 805.

16 Cf. Ibn Samurah, *Tabaqāt*, ed. Fu'ād Sa'id, Cairo, 1957; Janadi, *Sulūk*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, ms. 3110, 33a; Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, 17. Ibn al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, Cairo, 1338 H, 96-97. For the story of the murdered son of 'Ubaydullāh b. al-'Abbās, see below, *The Mosques of*

Šan'ā', Masjid al-Shahīdayn.

17 For the governors of 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr, cf. Ibn Samurah, *Tabaqāt*, 51-52; Ibn al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat*, III. For the entry of the Ḥarūriyyah into Šan'ā', cf. Janadi, *Sulūk*, 34b; Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, 18; Löfgren, *Texte* (Abū Makhramah), Uppsala, 1936-50, II, 100. For origin of the name Ḥarūriyyah, cf. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, *Bāb min akhbār al-Khawārij*, ed. W. Wright, 1864, 540.

18 Ibn al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat*, 130-31.

19 Rāzi, *Tarikh Šan'ā'*, Damascus, 1974, 106-07; Ibn al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat*, 141-44. Ibn al-Qāsim calls the flow *nahr*. He specifically mentions prosperity in Šan'ā' in 186/802-03, putting the number of houses at 120,000.

List of Governors of the Yemen Resident in Ṣan‘ā’

a) in the time of the Prophet

Wabr b. Yuḥannis
 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib
 Mu‘ādh b. Jabal
 Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī
 Khālīd b. al-Walīd
 Khālīd b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ
 al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hālah

Ya‘lā b. Umayyah al-Tamīmī
 ‘Amr b. Ḥaram
 ‘Ukāshah b. (Abī) Thawr
 Mu‘āwiyah b. Kindah
 Jarīr b. ‘Abdullāh al-Bajālī
 ‘Āmir b. Shuhayd
 Shahr b. Bādhān

b) in the time of the Orthodox Caliphs

Abān b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ
 Ya‘lā b. Umayyah al-Tamīmī

al-Mughirah b. Sha‘b
 ‘Ubaydullāh b. al-‘Abbās
 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (35-40/656-61)

c) in the time of the Umayyad Caliphs

‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Thaqafī
 ‘Uqbah b. Abī Sufyān (brother of Mu‘āwiyah)²⁰
 Fayrūz al-Daylamī
 al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī
 Sa‘īd b. Dāwūd
 al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz al-Daylamī
 Baḥīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyarī
 al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz al-Daylamī
 ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd b. al-Walīd
 ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Abī Wad‘ah al-Sahmī
 ‘Ubaydah b. al-Zubayr (brother of ‘Abdullāh)
 Mu‘tab/Muḥsin b. ‘Abdullāh al-Faqīh²¹

Mu‘āwiyah (41-60/661-80)
 Yazīd (60-64/680-83)
 ‘Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr (64-73/683-92)

Qays b. Yazīd al-Sa‘dī al-Tamīmī
 Abu ‘l-Nujūd (*mawla* of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān)²²
 al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Fayrūz al-Daylamī
 Khallād b. al-Sā‘ib
 Abu ‘l-Ḥunūb²³

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (brother of al-Ḥajjāj)
 Ayyūb b. Yaḥyā al-Thaqafī
 ‘Urwah b. Muḥammad al-Sa‘dī
 Mas‘ūd b. ‘Awf al-Kalbī
 Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī
 al-Ṣalt b. Yūsuf b. ‘Umar
 Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī
 al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Faḍīl al-Saksakī
 al-Qāsim b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī

‘Abd al-Malik (65-86/685-705)
 al-Walīd (86-96/705-15)
 Sulaymān (96-99/715-17)
 Yazīd (101-05/720-24)
 Hishām (101-25/724-43)
 al-Walīd (125-26/743-44)
 Yazīd (126/744)
 Marwān (127-32/744-50)

d) in the time of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphs to the death of al-Wāthiq (232/847)

	appointed by	remarks
Dāwūd b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-‘Abbās	al-Saffāh (132-36/750-54)	
‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Majīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Khaṭṭāb al-‘Adwī ²⁴		deputy of above
Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Maddān al-Ḥārithī ²⁵		
‘Abdullāh b. Mālīk al-Ḥarbī/Ḥārithī ²⁶		
‘Alī b. al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abd al-Maddān al-Ḥārithī ²⁷	al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75)	
Ma‘n b. Zā‘idah b. Muḍarras b. Sharīk b. ‘Āmir b. Hammān b. Murrah al-Shaybānī		

Zā‘idah b. Ma‘n
 al-Ḥajjāj b. Manṣūr
 al-Furāt b. Muslim/Sālim al-‘Ansī²⁸
 Yazīd b. al-Manṣūr
 ‘Abd al-Khālīq b. Muḥammad al-Shihābī
 Rajā‘ b. Rawḥ al-Judhāmī
 ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-‘Abbās
 Wāsi‘ b. ‘Iṣmah
 ‘Abdullāh b. Sulaymān

this two different men, ‘Umar and Zayd. He also writes al-Ḥaṭṭāb instead of al-Khaṭṭāb. Both errors are ‘Arshī’s.

25 Sic in Janādī, *Sulūk*, while Khazrajī, *Kifāyah*, has Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ‘Ubaydullāh b. ‘Abd al-Maddān.

26 Janādī, *Sulūk*, al-Ḥārithī; Khazrajī, *Kifāyah*, al-Ḥarbī.

27 Sic in Janādī, *Sulūk*; Khazrajī, *Kifāyah*, Ya‘lā b. al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Abd al-Dār; Bikhazī, ‘Coins’, 15, reads ‘Alī b. al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Ubaydullāh al-Ḥārithī.

28 Janādī, *Sulūk*, Muslim; Khazrajī, *Kifāyah*, Sālim. Both place him after al-Ḥajjāj b. Manṣūr, cf. Bikhazī, ‘Coins’, 16, after Hamdānī, *Ṣifat*, 59.

20 Janādī, *Sulūk*, omits.

21 Janādī, *Sulūk*, has Mu‘tab, *mawla* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Faqīh, and adds what appears to be another governor named Ibn al-Faqīh. Khazrajī, *Kifāyah*, has Muḥsin b. ‘Abdullāh al-Faqīh.

22 *Tashkīl* from Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, *Indices*, personal name index.

23 Janādī, *Sulūk*, clearly reads Abu ‘l-Ḥunūb, though Khazrajī *Kifāyah*, may read Abu ‘l-Ḥubūb.

24 Bikhazī, ‘Coins’, *al-Abḥāth*, on the authority of ‘Arshī, *Bulūgh*, 11, makes

Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī 'Abdullāh b. Sulaymān ²⁹ Sulaymān b. Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Maddān al-Ḥārithī 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādī Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh b. al-'Abbās ³⁰ Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. 'Uqbah b. Muslim al-Bāhili ³¹ al-Ghiṭrīf b. 'Aṭā' al-Kindī al-Rashīd (169-70/785-86) (170-93/786-809) 'Abbād b. Maymūn/Muḥammad al-Sihāmī ³² al-Rabī' b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Maddān 'Āsim b. 'Utbah al-Ghassānī 'Ayyūb b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh b. al-'Abbās ³³ al-Rabī' b. 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥashimī al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm 'Abdullāh b. Muṣ'ab b. Thābit b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh b. Ṭalḥah b. Abī Ṭalḥah Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdullāh b. Ṭalḥah al-Ḥajabī ³⁴ Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. Barmak Ḥammād al-Barbarī ³⁵ Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i al-Amīn (193-98/809-13) Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Kinānī Yazīd b. Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Khālīd b. 'Abdullāh al-Qasrī ³⁶ 'Umar/'Amr b. Ibrāhīm b. Wāqīd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	Ishāq b. Mūsā b. 'Īsā b. Mūsā b. al-Ma'mūn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh (813-33/198-218) b. 'Abbās al-Qāsim b. Ismā'il Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. 'Alid rebel, nicknamed Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Jazzār 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ³⁷ 'Īsā b. Yazīd al-Jalūdi ³⁸ Muḥammad b. Māhān Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ³⁹ Ḥusayn/Ḥiṣn b. (al-)Minhāl Ibrāhīm al-Ifriqī Nu'aym/Na'im b. Waddāḥ al-Azdī joint authority al-Muzaffar b. Yahyā al-Kindī Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh b. mawlā of Muḥriz al-Ma'mūn 'Abbād b. (al-)Umar al-Shihābī Ishāq b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. al-'Abbās 'Abbād b. 'Umar al-Shihābī ⁴⁰ 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ja'far b. al-Mu'tasim Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās (218-27/833-42) al-Ḥashimī ⁴¹ Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān joint authority al-Tanūkhī ⁴² 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Māhān ⁴³ Īrāk al-Turkī ⁴⁴ al-Wāthiq joint authority— Harthamah Shār Bāmiyān (227-32/842-47) Īrāk never came to the Yemen, retained al-Tanūkhī as repre- sentative in Ṣan'ā' before arrival of Harthamah Ja'far b. Dīnār ⁴⁵ Ḥimyar b. al-Ḥārith al-Mutawakkil (232-47/848-61)
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29 Janādī, *Sulūk*, omits.

30 Bikhazī, 'Coins', omits; Janādī, *Sulūk*, reads 'Ubaydullāh.

31 Following Janādī, *Sulūk*, and Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, though Bikhazī, 'Coins', 31 after Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, has Ibrāhīm b. Salm b. Qutaybah. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Indices*, personal name index.

32 Janādī, *Sulūk*, Maymūn; Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, Muḥammad.

33 Janādī, *Sulūk*, omits.

34 Janādī, *Sulūk*, omits.

35 This and the following governor struck coins in their own names. Cf. Bikhazī, 'Coins', 23-24. He may have been appointed by al-Amīn, cf. *Ghāyat*, 146.

36 Janādī, *Sulūk*, has simply Jarīr b. Yazīd b. 'Abdullāh.

37 Cf. Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, 988.

38 Janādī, *Sulūk*, omits.

39 Janādī, *Sulūk*, omits.

40 Janādī, *Sulūk*, gives this governor two periods of office. The first period is not mentioned by Khazraji, *Kifāyah*.

41 Janādī, *Sulūk*, 'Abd al-Rahīm.

42 Janādī, *Sulūk*, Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Rahīm.

43 Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, 'Abdullāh b. Ḥamdawayh.

44 He struck coins in his own name. Cf. Bikhazī, 'Coins', 30.

45 He struck coins in his own name. Cf. Bikhazī, 'Coins', 31.

The Period of the Yu'firids, 232-387/847-998

There can no longer be any discussion regarding the correct vocalisation of the name of the man who gave his name to this dynasty. It was clearly Yu'fir.⁴⁶ The dynasty which Yu'fir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥiwālī founded was to be the first independent native dynasty in the Yemen in Islamic times. Dhū Ḥiwāl, living in the Shibām area at this time, claimed descent right back to Qaḥṭān through Ḥimyar, thus making themselves the successors of the Ḥimyarite *tubba's* of the pre-Islamic era.⁴⁷

The increasing impotence of the 'Abbāsīd governors in Ṣan'ā', then, and their frequent changes stirred Yu'fir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān into action. In 227/841-42 he ordered the attack from Shibām on Ṣan'ā', then under the governorship of Maṣṣūr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tanūkhī. But the attack failed miserably and the Yu'firid army was compelled to return to Shibām. With the arrival of reinforcements from Iraq, al-Tanūkhī attacked Shibām, but found the town too well fortified. His attempts to destroy the Yu'firid house were thwarted.⁴⁸

When news of the Yu'firid rebellion reached Samarra, the 'Abbāsīd capital, al-Wāthiq despatched in 229/843 the Persian general, Harthamah Shār Bāmiyān, with a force to the Yemen, at the same time appointing him co-governor with Īrāk al-Turkī. Shār Bāmiyān reached Ṣan'ā' later that year, 229/844, and proceeded to Shibām. The 'Abbāsīd army, though with superior forces and a large number of horse, was still unable to break the defences of Shibām and the Persian general gave up, returned to Ṣan'ā' and from there made his way back to Iraq.⁴⁹

The Caliph, al-Wāthiq, dismissed the governor, Īrāk al-Turkī, who had in any case never set foot in the Yemen, and appointed Ja'far b. Dīnār. He arrived with his army in Ṣan'ā' in 232/846. He too was making little progress in his attempt to take Shibām when, later that year, 232/847, news arrived of the death of al-Wāthiq. Ja'far lifted the siege, and made peace with the Yu'firids and made off for Ṣan'ā'. He was confirmed in his appointment by the new Caliph, al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), but left his son, Muḥammad, as his deputy in Ṣan'ā' and returned to Iraq. Al-Mutawakkil replaced him by Ḥimyar b. al-Ḥārith who went out from Ṣan'ā' to meet the Yu'firid rebels. By this time, however, the latter were strong enough to leave their fortress and soundly defeated the governor, Ḥimyar, who fled and left the Yemen soon after. This marks the beginning of Yu'firid rule over Ṣan'ā'.⁵⁰

It can be assumed that this was a great propaganda victory for the Yu'firids, the hitherto relatively unknown family from Shibām. We can now read of large areas of the Yemen between Ṣa'dah in the far north and al-Janad in the south coming under their sway. It would seem most unlikely that the later 'Abbāsīd governors in Ṣan'ā' had controlled such vast areas. Ṣan'ā' itself for some time to come was to remain the headquarters of the dynasty.⁵¹

The intentions of the Yu'firids are difficult to gauge exactly, though, if their coinage is a good indication, they planned to remain within the 'Abbāsīd state, for all the coins struck at this time bore the name of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph and not that of their amīrs.⁵² We do not know also whether the Caliphs in Iraq granted the Yu'firids diplomas of authority, as, we are told, they did later. Since the sources are without exception silent on the remainder of the rule of Yu'fir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān over Ṣan'ā'

and the surrounding areas, it can be assumed that it was a period of peace and stability. In 258/872 feeling himself too old and infirm to carry out his duties effectively, Yu'fir handed the reins of government over to his son, Muḥammad, who received a diploma from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph. Muḥammad preferred to use Shibām as his capital, rather than Ṣan'ā' where he is said to have built the city walls. He set about to collect wealth for the state, raising taxes and relying heavily for revenue on the silver mine in Hamdān territory.⁵³

In 262/876 a violent flood swept through Wādī 'l-Sirār in Ṣan'ā', leaving in its wake great devastation. Muḥammad b. Yu'fir could only interpret this as a sign of divine wrath and a warning that his greed should cease. He left on pilgrimage in an attempt to appease his Creator, leaving his son, Ibrāhīm, behind as his deputy. On his return from the pilgrimage he retired to devote himself completely to religion. Ibrāhīm continued as leader of the Yu'firid house. Old Yu'fir, not wishing to see his son, Muḥammad, participate any further in the affairs of state, ordered his grandson, Ibrāhīm, to murder his own father, Muḥammad, and Muḥammad's brother, Aḥmad. The murder was carried out in the minaret of the mosque of Shibām in 269/892.⁵⁴

This callous murder in the mosque was to have far reaching consequences for the Yu'firid dynasty. Rebellions broke out in the outlying areas of the territories held by the Yu'firids, particularly serious was that in al-Jawf, and the silver mine, an important source of wealth, was destroyed. Greatly affected by the troubles and rebellions directed against him, Ibrāhīm withdrew to Shibām and left his son, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, in Ṣan'ā'. In 273/886-87, however, he dismissed him and exercised authority through deputies. The 'Abbāsīd Caliph in Baghdad decided that the hand of the Yu'firids needed strengthening and he despatched his governor, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn to the Yemen. Before his arrival in the country, however, in 279/892, Ṣan'ā' had erupted into violence. Both the Abnā', the descendants of the Persians, and the Banū Shihāb, the tribal group predominant in the town, joined forces and took to the streets. They plundered Ibrāhīm's house, though he himself had escaped to Shibām. He was, however, assassinated there shortly afterwards. His cousin, 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad assumed the little power remaining to the Yu'firids and held on until the arrival of Ibn al-Ḥusayn. The latter proved a just and able governor and he put an end to the street violence in Ṣan'ā'.⁵⁵

Ibn al-Ḥusayn was recalled in 282/895-96. The events of the following years in Ṣan'ā' are not well chronicled and we cannot be sure that the Yu'firids even managed to hang on to the town after the departure of Ibn al-Ḥusayn. They were certainly deserted by their most ardent supporters, Āl Ṭarīf. The governor's Turkish troops—called Khafātīm in the Arabic sources⁵⁶—lacked discipline and committed a number of atrocities in Ṣan'ā'. The government of the town was seized by a Nihmī, Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah 'Abdullāh b. Bishr, but he was unable to control Āl Ṭarīf and the Khafātīm. He called in the first Zaydī Imām in the Yemen, al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq to assume control.⁵⁷

Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn was a Ḥasanī Sharīf born in Medina in 245/859-60. Fired by an ambition to rid the Yemen of all the evil practices perpetrated there and to bring to her people the benefits of his own version of Islam, Yaḥyā paid a brief visit there in 280/893 reaching a place named al-Sharafah somewhere near Ṣan'ā'. However, when he did not find the enthusiastic welcome

46 Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ikhlīl*, II, 71.

47 Geddes, *Yu'firids*, Appendix B, tables 1-3. This is an excellent study of the Yu'firid dynasty which is to be published. Our debt to the author of this unpublished thesis is here acknowledged and the extent to which we have drawn from his material is, we hope, clear from our footnotes.

48 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, *Kanz*, British Library, Ms. OR 4581, 177b; Geddes, 55.

49 *Kanz*, 177b; Geddes, 56.

50 *Kanz*, 177b-178a; Geddes, 57-58.

51 Geddes, 58.

52 Cf. Allan, 'Unpublished coins', *NC*, 194-98; Bikhazi, 'Coins', *al-Abḥāth*, 33-34.

53 *Kanz*, 178a; Geddes, 60-63.

54 *Kanz*, 178a; Ibn al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 162-63; Geddes, 64. Cf. also Lewcock and Smith, 'Two mosques', *AARP*, II, 117b.

55 *Kanz*, 178a; Geddes, 64-71.

56 The editor of al-'Alawī, *Sīrat al-Ḥādī*, Beirut, 1972, 205 etc., reads erroneously Jafātīm. The singular is probably Khuftumī and they are named after Ibn al-Ḥusayn who also bore the name Khuftum.

57 *Kanz*, 178a; *Sīrat al-Ḥādī*, 17; Geddes, 71-73.

from the local population which he had expected, he returned disappointed to the Hijaz.⁵⁸ The north of the Yemen at this time was in a state of strife and bloodshed. Remembering the brief visit of this religious reformer three years earlier, some influential tribal leaders from Ṣa'dah and Khawlān wrote in 283/896 to Yahyā in Medina asking him to return to the country and attempt to bring the terrible tribal feuding to an end. Yahyā agreed and arrived finally in Ṣa'dah in the following year, 284/897.⁵⁹

Meanwhile in Ṣan'ā' Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah found it increasingly difficult to cope with the Āl Ṭarīf, the clients of the Yu'firids, and the Khafātīm, the Turkish soldiery brought by the Abbāsīd governor, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. He began to correspond with Yahyā, who now called himself al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq, and recognised him as Imām. In 286/899-900 Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah wrote to al-Hādī formally offering to hand Ṣan'ā' over to him. The Imām readily agreed, but it was 288/901 before he was able to leave his newly acquired territories in the north and start out for Ṣan'ā'. Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah, in order to clear the town of the troublemakers from Āl Ṭarīf and the Khafātīm, suggested that they ambush the Imām as he approached with the Zaydī army by way of Wādī 'l-Sirr. Āl Ṭarīf and the Khafātīm left hastily for the wādī, while Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah slipped out to Ḥadaqān to meet the Imām there and offer him his oath of allegiance. His advice to al-Hādī was that they should return quickly to Ṣan'ā' before the duped Āl Ṭarīf and the Khafātīm could get back. The Imām arrived in the town and took up residence in Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah's own house.⁶⁰

Āl Ṭarīf and the Khafātīm returned burning with fury at this trick. They joined followers of the Yu'firid house and pro-Yu'firid rioting broke out in Ṣan'ā'. The ringleaders of all three factions were imprisoned by al-Hādī and he began to organise his authority in the city. The coinage was struck and the *khutbah* read in his name. Feeling that his administration in the town was operating smoothly, he left for a hasty tour of the north area of the Yemen, having placed his brother, 'Abdullāh, in charge in Ṣan'ā'. He swept with speed through the highlands leaving behind representatives from his Ṭabarī soldiers in each town captured. He returned to Ṣan'ā', but preferred to set up his headquarters in nearby Shibām and, therefore, appointed his cousin, 'Alī b. Sulaymān, as governor there. A serious revolt by Banū Rabī'ah necessitated the sending by al-Hādī of large bodies of troops away from Shibām and Ṣan'ā' and the Yu'firids and Āl Ṭarīf seized their opportunity. Shibām was besieged and street fighting broke out in Ṣan'ā', the latter directed against the Zaydī governor, 'Alī b. Sulaymān, who was compelled to flee. 'Abd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad, the Yu'firid leader, once more took over the city.⁶¹

With the arrival of reinforcements from the Hijaz, al-Hādī felt strong enough to attempt the recapture of Ṣan'ā'. He entered in triumph in the face of minimal opposition, though the surrounding areas remained in Yu'firid hands and hostile to the Zaydī. On numerous occasions the Yu'firids pressed the city hard, sometimes entering only to be driven out again. A dual blow was struck at the morale of al-Hādī and the Zaydī army when both Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah and 'Alī b. Sulaymān were killed during the Yu'firid incursions. The Imām was deserted more and more by his tribal troops who showed no inclination to sit it out in the beleaguered city with no chances of attacking the enemy and gaining booty. To add to his problems al-Hādī fell ill and could no longer carry out the leadership of the defence of Ṣan'ā'; the inhabitants began to blame him for their misfortunes. In 289/902 he decided to leave the city to its fate and was borne by litter all the way back to Ṣa'dah.⁶²

Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf, the Yu'firid general, now entered Ṣan'ā', seemingly to take it over for his masters. His aim was, however, to throw off his allegiance to the Yu'firids and establish his own

independence. The Yu'firids had no one to turn to for help other than the Imām who at first hesitated, but then agreed to come to the assistance of his erstwhile enemy. In 290/903 he left Ṣa'dah and approached Ṣan'ā' via al-Jawf where he hoped to pick up tribal support. There he was surprised by Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf who in the affray which ensued captured the Imām's son and took him off to Ṣan'ā'. Al-Hādī lost interest in the whole affair. He tried to negotiate the release of his son, but was compelled to return to Ṣa'dah empty handed.⁶³

The Yu'firids under As'ad b. Ibrāhīm were able to regain control of Ṣan'ā' when Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf and the newly arrived Abbāsīd emissary, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, came to blows. Ibrāhīm was forced to flee to the Tihāmah, while 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn was killed by the followers of As'ad who now showed no desire to put up with interference from the Abbāsīd Caliph. As'ad began the long task of restoring the city which had been so badly damaged during the repeated hostilities described above. He undoubtedly shared the authority with his cousin, 'Uthmān, though the two later quarrelled and the latter fled to Kawkabān. As'ad took the town and imprisoned 'Uthmān in Shibām below it. As'ad was now in full control of the Yu'firid house.⁶⁴

The troubles of As'ad b. Ibrāhīm, the Yu'firid leader, were not, however, over. Perhaps an even greater threat than that of the Zaydī Imām was to appear. This was in the form of the two Fāṭimid *dā'īs* who arrived in the Yemen about this time. Although they were referred to as Qarāmiṭah by the non-Fāṭimid, Sunnī and Zaydī, sources—a term which has been used thus also by certain European scholars—they were clearly the official Fāṭimid *dā'īs* in the Yemen and sent there at the express order of the Fāṭimid Imām.

Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Faraj b. Hawshab b. Zādān, who was later given the name Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, was a Kūfan by origin and in 266/879-90 was converted to the Fāṭimid *da'wah* by the Imām, al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ja'far. The death of top-ranking followers of the *da'wah* meant rapid elevation to the office of *dā'ī* and he was earmarked for the Yemen, a remote corner of the Islamic world far from possible Abbāsīd harassment, and a potentially fertile ground for the *da'wah*. In the same year a Yemeni Shī'ī, 'Alī b. al-Faḍl arrived in Kūfah to visit the tomb of al-Ḥusayn. He came from the south of the Yemen, beyond al-Janad, from Jayshān. He too was quickly converted and asked to accompany Abu 'l-Qāsim to the Yemen, both of them bearing the title of *dā'ī*, the former to go to his home territory, Jayshān, and the latter to a place called 'Adan Lā'ah not far to the west of Ṣan'ā'. They arrived in the Yemen in 268/881. Abu 'l-Qāsim within two years of his arrival began to proclaim openly the Fāṭimid *da'wah* in the areas of Ḥajjah and 'Iyān. He then received permission from the Imām to further the cause by force of arms. Ibn al-Faḍl, operating from the Yāfi' area to the north east of Aden, proclaimed the *jihād* against all who refused to join him. He took Abyan and, gradually, the whole of the southern Yemen with al-Mudhaykhirah as his headquarters, lying to the west of Ibb and Dhū Jiblah.⁶⁵

In 292/905 Ibn al-Faḍl left with a large army for the north. He made firstly for Dhamār where he defeated the Yu'firid governor, al-Yāfi'ī, in its fortress, Hīrrān. Hearing of the defeat of his governor in Dhamār, As'ad left Ṣan'ā' and fell upon the Fāṭimid army at a village named Ḍabwah south of his capital. His attack had little effect on so huge a force and the Yu'firids were compelled to retreat within the defences of Ṣan'ā'. Ibn al-Faḍl advanced on the city and led his army to the summit of Nuqum, the mountain overlooking Ṣan'ā' in the east. There he remained inactive for three days. A tribesman from Banū Shihāb, who occupied the southern section of the town, admitted Ibn al-Faḍl and a small

58 *Sīrat*, 36; Arendonk, *Débuts*, 130; Geddes, 74.

59 *Sīrat*, 36; Arendonk, 130-31; Geddes, 75.

60 *Sīrat*, 204-07; *Ghayat*, 178; Arendonk, 161, 209-12; Geddes, 77-79.

61 *Sīrat*, 207-20; Arendonk, 212-20; Geddes, 79-84.

62 *Sīrat*, 224-27, 231-33, 237-42; Arendonk, 222-27; Geddes, 84-87.

63 *Sīrat*, 245-50; Arendonk, 228-31; Geddes, 87-90.

64 *Sīrat*, 252-53, 388-89; Arendonk, 231-33, 236; Geddes, 90-93.

65 *Sīrat*, 389; Nu'mān, *Iftitāh*, 32-54; Kay, *Yaman*, (Janadi) 191-98; Geddes, 98-112.

detachment of his forces into the Shihābī area. He encountered fierce opposition, however, though he eventually reached the area of the Great Mosque and the ruins of Ghumdān. The town was submitted to the most appalling looting and destruction. As'ad fled to Shibām with his cousin, 'Uthmān, and having no confidence in their ability to hold the town, from there into exile in al-Jawf.⁶⁶

The two Yu'firids had been right not to remain in Shibām, for the town fell to Abu 'l-Qāsim, Ibn al-Faḍl's fellow *dā'i*, shortly after the fall of Ṣan'ā'. The two Fātimids met in Shibām—their first meeting since their arrival in the Yemen twenty-four years before. It must have been an emotional meeting, though it is clear that once the greetings were over there were determined efforts on the part of Abu 'l-Qāsim to restrain his colleague and to insist on a more humane approach in spreading the *da'wah*.⁶⁷ His strong words presumably fell on deaf ears.

Confused incidents followed in Ṣan'ā'. Ibn Kabālāh,⁶⁸ previously a staunch Yu'firid supporter, went over to Ibn al-Faḍl after his conquest of the city. He now returned to Ṣan'ā' and was permitted to enter by the Fātimid authorities. No sooner, however, had he set foot in the town, than he began to preach for the return of al-Hādī and Zaydī rule. In the following year, 293/906, al-Hādī accepted an invitation to come to Ṣan'ā' and the Yu'firid, clearly considering the Fātimids the greater enemy, joined forces with the Imām to enter the town. The newly arranged Zaydī-Yu'firid rapprochement soon wore thin and As'ad left again for al-Jawf. Ibn Kabālāh, in 294/906, turned on al-Hādī who refused to be drawn into hostilities and made off for Ṣa'dah. Ibn Kabālāh summoned As'ad to return to Ṣan'ā' and for the next five months the town was again under Yu'firid control.⁶⁹

The ambitious Ibn al-Faḍl could not leave the main town of the Yemen in the hands of the Yu'firids for long. Master of the south and the Tihāmah, he had to take Ṣan'ā' once and for all. He entered the town again with little opposition. He consolidated his authority and was to remain in power there for the next three years. His immense power and recent successes evidently turned his head completely, for he renounced not only the Fātimid *da'wah*, of which he had probably been only a lukewarm supporter anyway, but Islam as well.⁷⁰

In 297/910 al-Hādī determined to resume his authority over Ṣan'ā'. He marched down from Ṣa'dah and entered the town with little opposition. Ibn Kabālāh, who had been in exile in Zabid, arrived at the gates to find that the Zaydī forces had already left. As'ad, the Yu'firid leader, again arrived in Ṣan'ā' and, feeling secure, began to appoint governors in the outlying areas, including Ibn Kabālāh as governor of Dhamār. As'ad also set out to drive Abu 'l-Qāsim, the Fātimid *dā'i*, from Shibām. The town was placed under siege and Abu 'l-Qāsim slipped away, only to return as soon as the Yu'firid army had departed.⁷¹

The death of al-Hādī, the Zaydī Imām in 298/910-11 meant that the Yu'firids could not count on Zaydī assistance to repel the invasion of Ṣan'ā', now threatened by Ibn al-Faḍl. As'ad and Ibn Kabālāh, who appears not to have taken up his governorship, fled as Ibn al-Faḍl advanced. He entered the town in 299/911. His declared intention was to make war on his erstwhile colleague in the *da'wah*, Abu 'l-Qāsim, an intention he had voiced on repudiating the *da'wah* and Islam. With Abu 'l-Qāsim out of the way, the Yu'firids weak and the Zaydīs with a new and less forceful Imām, the whole of the Yemen was the prize which offered itself to Ibn al-Faḍl. The battle between the two, Ibn al-Faḍl and Abu 'l-Qāsim, was indecisive and a truce was agreed. Ibn al-Faḍl passed through Ṣan'ā'—causing much damage to the Great Mosque—on his way to al-Mudhaykhīrah and left the town undefended. As'ad once

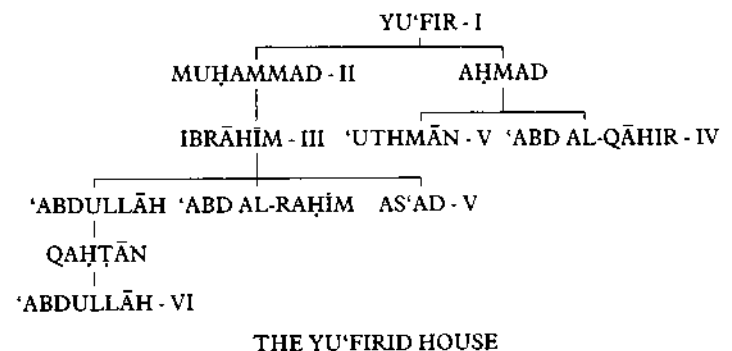
again moved in to assume control for the Yu'firids.⁷²

In 302/915 Abu 'l-Qāsim died. Ibn al-Faḍl died also within a year, though not from natural causes. He was murdered in al-Mudhaykhīrah by two agents of the Fātimid Imām, al-Mahdī, whose *da'wah* he had betrayed.⁷³

With the death of Ibn al-Faḍl, As'ad was able to move to the south of the country where he spent the next two years slowly and persistently taking over the former's positions. After this lengthy campaign he returned in triumph to Ṣan'ā', bringing with him his new bride, one of the daughters of Ibn al-Faḍl. Fātimid prisoners were executed in the city and there was great rejoicing now that Ṣan'ā' was finally, so it was thought, rid of the Fātimids. Abu 'l-Qāsim had made no provision for a successor and the Fātimid *da'wah* temporarily collapsed. What little support remained for the *da'wah* was confined to the area of Jabal Maswar near Hajjah.⁷⁴

With peace established in Ṣan'ā' and the whole of the territory held by the Yu'firids in a state of relative calm, As'ad retired from active participation in the affairs of state and withdrew to Kaḥlān, leaving his brother, 'Abdullāh as governor of Ṣan'ā'. As'ad died in 332/944. These last few years of his life had perhaps been the zenith of Yu'firid power in the Yemen and their like was certainly never to return.⁷⁵

Strangely, he had made no arrangements for his succession. Internal squabbles among the Yu'firid amīrs immediately flared up and we cannot even be sure from our sources which personalities were involved. By 344/955-56 Ṣan'ā' had passed into the hands of one Muḥammad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk. He was followed by a Ṭarīfī acting for the Zaydī Imām. The town sunk ever more deeply into chaos with the brief rule of a Yu'firid client, then Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk again, this time ruling in the name of the Tihāmah dynasty, the Ziyādids. The political troubles of the city caused the tribes to approach 'Abdullāh b. Qaḥṭān b. Abī Yu'fir requesting him to reactivate Yu'firid rule in Ṣan'ā'. 'Abdullāh agreed and left Shibām to enter Ṣan'ā' in 353/964, but having settled in the city he left quickly to return to Shibām. The control of the town reverted to Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, ruling for the Ziyādids. In 369/978 Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā, the nephew of the Zaydī Imām, al-Qāsim, entered Ṣan'ā' and recited the *khuṣbah* in his own name, declaring himself Imām. This again was a temporary arrangement, for Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk fought back. The Yu'firid, 'Abdullāh, watched helplessly from Shibām while the struggle for Ṣan'ā' raged on between the two. Frustrated at his impotence he left for the Tihāmah in 379/989-90 and after successes there, went on to Mikhlāf Ja'far in the south. He died in Ibb in 387/997-98 and with his death the Yu'firid dynasty came to an end. Ṣan'ā' and the rest of the Yu'firid domains remained in anarchy until the arrival of another Fātimid dynasty in the town, the Ṣulayḥids.⁷⁶



66 *Sirat*, 390-91; *Yaman*, 199-200; Geddes, 116-22.

67 *Sirat*, 391; *Yaman*, 200; Geddes, 123-24.

68 The editor of *Sirat al-Hādī* calls him Ibn Kayālāh.

69 *Sirat*, 391-93; Geddes, 124-27.

70 *Sirat*, 394-95; *Yaman*, 203-04; Geddes, 127-32.

71 *Sirat*, 395-96; Geddes, 132-35.

72 *Sirat*, 397-99; Geddes, 135-38.

73 *Sirat*, 402, 403, with the statement that Ibn al-Faḍl contracted some stomach ailment; *Yaman*, 205-07, who has a different account of Ibn al-Faḍl's death; it was, Janādī claims, contrived by *Ṣāhib Baḡhdād*, presumably the 'Abbāsīd caliph and that the poisoner was killed defending himself against Ibn al-Faḍl's men; Geddes, 141-42, giving the more plausible Fātimid account.

74 *Sirat*, 403-04; *Yaman*, 207-12; Geddes, 143-47.

75 Geddes, 149-52.

76 *Sirat*, 409-10; *Kanz*, 180a-180b; Geddes, 153-61.

The Period of the Şulayhids, 439-82/1047-88

Şan'ā' remained the headquarters of the Şulayhid dynasty for less than forty years and for the majority of that period we have almost complete silence in our sources. The zenith of their rule was to follow their period in Şan'ā', after they had moved to Dhū Jiblah in the south and in the days of their queen, Arwā bint Aḥmad.⁷⁷

There are at least two suggestions, to our knowledge, about the origin of the *nisbah*, Şulayhī. In an 8th/14th century Yemenite book of genealogies⁷⁸ we read that it is from a place name Şalāḥah, whereas, with no apparent indication of his authority, a modern author⁷⁹ states that it is the name of a *qabīlah* in Ḥarāz named al-Aşlūḥ.

The father of the founder of the dynasty, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Şulayhī, was a respected leader of the mountainous Ḥarāz region, south west of Şan'ā'. He was a Sunnī, following the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* and he gave his son, 'Alī, destined to be the first leader of the dynasty, a traditional Sunnī education. By this time, the early 5th/11th century, the Fātimid *dā'ī* in the Yemen was one named Sulaymān b. 'Abdullāh al-Zawāḥī who, presumably attracted by his great learning, had sought and won the friendship of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The *dā'ī* may have tried to win over his Sunnī friend, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, without success, but his frequent visits to the house brought him into contact with Muḥammad's brilliant young son, 'Alī. Sulaymān, until the day he died, secretly taught the young 'Alī the doctrines and ideas of the Fātimid cause until he was completely won over. When Sulaymān passed away, all his books, papers and writings were bequeathed to his young convert.⁸¹ The Fātimid sources also indicate that al-Zawāḥī appointed 'Alī *khalīfah* in the *da'wah*.⁸²

Our Sunnī sources suggest⁸³ that in 429/1037-38 'Alī b. Muḥammad raised his standard on the summit of Jabal Masār, the highest peak in the Ḥarāz range, thus implying some kind of official declaration of the Fātimid *da'wah*. The Ismā'īlī sources do not support this and give the impression that 'Alī continued his studies quietly in the area until about ten years later. If we are to accept the Sunnī sources, however, he followed this act with the fortification of the mountain, having with him only about sixty followers. He slowly set out to win over the local population. He wrote to the Fātimid caliph, al-Mustanşir (427-87/1036-94), asking him for permission to proclaim the Fātimid cause openly. The date of this is not clear and it may have been before the raising of his standard on Masār. Alternatively, this may have been a request to expand territorially, by the sword if necessary. The Caliph agreed and 'Alī rapidly overran the southern mountain fortresses and the Tihāmah.⁸⁴ The Fātimid view⁸⁵ appears to be that 'Alī staged his revolution (*thawrah*) in 439/1047-48 and conquered the whole of the Masār area against stiff local opposition. From there he passed on to the Ḥaḍūr region and defeated the ruler of Şan'ā', Abū Ḥāshid, at Şūf, to take control of the city. But 'Alī had to fight to retain Şan'ā', repelling firstly an attack from an allied Zaydī-Najāhid army, the latter from the Tihāmah, and in 448/1056-57 the onslaught of a group of Hamdān allied with a Zaydī Sharīf. All sources are agreed that by 455/1063-64

the whole of the south of the country below Şan'ā', plus Şan'ā' itself, lay in the hands of 'Alī b. Muḥammad and the Şulayhid house. Şan'ā' was set up as the headquarters of the dynasty.

Having settled into his new headquarters, 'Alī b. Muḥammad⁸⁶ built a number of palaces in Şan'ā' and appointed his governors in the provinces. Notable among the latter was As'ad b. Shihāb, the brother of Asmā' bint Shihāb whom 'Alī had married in Ḥarāz, who was appointed to the Tihāmah. This appointment may have been made after the intervention of Asmā' into the affairs of state. Whatever the case, As'ad performed well in the Tihāmah and his reward may well have been the governorship of Şan'ā', when the Şulayhid capital was moved to Dhū Jiblah. His son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, the future second leader of the dynasty, was appointed governor of al-Janad and his brother, 'Abdullāh, governor of al-Ta'kar, from which he founded the town of Dhū Jiblah in 457/1064-65 or 458/1065-66.⁸⁷

All our sources are silent, giving no information of Şulayhid rule in Şan'ā' during the period of 'Alī's rule. This presumably indicates a period of peace and stability. He visited Mecca briefly about 455/1063-64 and left a governor behind in the city. We know that his son Muḥammad died in Zabīd in 458/1065-66 and that the Fātimid caliph appointed al-Mukarram Aḥmad as his successor.⁸⁸ In view of the silence of the sources mentioned above, it may be that 'Alī's death took place at the earlier date of 459/1066-67,⁸⁹ rather than 473/1080-81 as some sources suggest.⁹⁰ Setting out for Mecca to perform the pilgrimage and taking the coastal road, he arrived in al-Mahjam in the northern Tihāmah. He had taken with him the majority of the Şulayhid house, including his mother, Asmā', and he had left his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, in charge of Şan'ā'. While in al-Mahjam he was set upon and killed by the Najāhid, Sa'īd b. Najāh al-Aḥwal, and his mother was taken captive.⁹¹

We know considerably more about the activities of al-Mukarram Aḥmad than about those of his father. With the death of 'Alī b. Muḥammad, the Şulayhids lost much ground in the Yemen. After their killing of 'Alī, the Najāhids stormed the Şulayhid strongholds of al-Ta'kar and Masār and the Fātimid sources suggest that Şulayhid territory was reduced to Şan'ā' and their actual support to about six hundred men. Those Şulayhid generals who had been on 'Alī's fatal expedition, including 'Imrān b. al-Faql al-Yāmī, arrived back in Şan'ā' just in time to stave off an attack on the town by the Zaydī, Ḥamzah b. Abī Ḥāshim at the head of five hundred horse and fifteen thousand infantry, mainly from Hamdān. Al-Mukarram Aḥmad was able to defeat the Zaydī and his tribal force in al-Malwā in Arḥab country. The Şulayhid leader could now get down to the task of winning back the whole of the Şan'ā' region to his cause, while his generals were deputed to recover the key fortresses of al-Ta'kar and Masār. The latter were cleared of Najāhid forces.⁹²

In 460/1067-68 al-Mukarram Aḥmad was able to concentrate on rescuing his mother from the grip of the enemy in the Tihāmah, the Najāhids. He successfully freed her, though he could not linger further in Zabīd to destroy the Najāhids completely, for the news from Şan'ā' that the Zaydis under Sharīf Qāsim b. Ja'far were on the march against the city and that his governor there, Ismā'īl b. Abī Yu'fir, was ill, brought him and his army back to

definite leanings towards the Fātimids and was indeed executed by the Ayyūbids in Egypt in 569/1174 for his part in a pro-Fātimid plot against them. He is also the earliest source we have for this period.

85 *Şulayhiyyūn*, 73-86. The Zaydī chronicle, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 247-50, agrees that 439/1047-48 was the date of the rise of 'Alī on Masār and indicates an early capture of Şan'ā'. 'Umārah, as bad as ever on dates, does not indicate when 'Alī took the town, nor does he mention the two serious attacks on it which followed its capture.

86 The Fātimid sources appear to use the title al-Malik for 'Alī, while 'Umārah calls him al-Dā'ī.

87 *Yaman*, 25; *Kifāyah*, 48, suggesting As'ad's governorship came after his sister's intervention; *Şulayhiyyūn*, 87-88.

88 *Şulayhiyyūn*, 94-96.

89 *Yaman*, 30; *Kifāyah*, 48; *Ghāyat*, 356; *Şulayhiyyūn*, 98.

90 Janadi, *Sulūk*, Paris Ms., f.183 and cf. Kay's comments, *Yaman*, 252, n. 31.

91 *Yaman*, 30; *Kifāyah*, 49; *Şulayhiyyūn*, 98-101.

77 The Sunnī and Zaydī sources nowhere give her name, Arwā, and call her al-Sayyidah (al-Hurrah). Tayyibī Fāṭimī (called Ismā'īlī) sources state that Sayyidah Arwā bint Aḥmad al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah held the grade of *Hujjah* in the *Da'wah* hierarchy, a rank immediately following that of the Imām and, before her death, appointed the *Dā'ī Muṭlaq*, a grade following that of *Hujjah*. Cf. Lewcock and Smith, 'Two mosques', *AARP*, IV.

78 Al-Ashraf, *Turfat*, 114. The place name is not vocalised and Şalāḥah is a conjectural reading.

79 Al-Hamdānī, *Şulayhiyyūn*, 64.

80 *Şulayhiyyūn*, 68, relying on Fātimid Ms. sources to which we have no access. This name is, therefore, accepted here, though 'Umārah (Kay, *Yaman*, 19) and Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, 47, give 'Amir b. 'Abdullāh.

81 *Yaman*, 19; *Kifāyah*, 47; *Şulayhiyyūn*, 64-65, 68-69.

82 *Şulayhiyyūn*, 68.

83 *Yaman*, 23; *Kifāyah*, 47. We are inclined to accept to some extent the version given by 'Umārah, who, although described as a Sunnī source, had

the city. Ismā'il died soon after the arrival of the Ṣulayḥid army in Ṣan'ā' and al-Mukarram Aḥmad appointed his son, 'Abdullāh, in his place. The complete vengeance for the death of his father and humiliating captivity of his mother was only possible for al-Mukarram in 461/1068-69. The Najāhids were destroyed, leaving the Tihāmah once again under the Ṣulayḥid banner.⁹³ The mother of al-Mukarram, Asmā', died in Ṣan'ā' in either 467/1074-75 or 479/1086.⁹⁴

From this point onwards the history of the Ṣulayḥids is difficult to unravel. In 461/1068-69 al-Mukarram Aḥmad had married Arwā bint Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. Mūsā al-Ṣulayḥī. Arwā was born in 444/1052-53. The union produced four children, though none were to play a prominent part in Ṣulayḥid affairs. Probably after his mother's death in 467/1074-75 or 479/1086, al-Mukarram Aḥmad handed over the affairs of state to his wife, Arwā, who, arguing that she could not be wife and mother and head of state into the bargain, left Ṣan'ā', to set up her capital in Dhū Jiblah. This is the version of events as given by 'Umārah, our earliest source for the period. It coincides with that of al-Khazrajī who also gives the date of the transfer of the capital as 480/1087-88.⁹⁵ The Fātimid sources would seem to indicate that affairs were still in the hands of al-Mukarram Aḥmad himself, when the capital was established in Dhū Jiblah, though it is clear that the idea was Arwā's.⁹⁶ The position of Saba' b. Aḥmad, from another branch of the Ṣulayḥid house,⁹⁷ is difficult to explain, unless we have the clue in Abū Makhramah⁹⁸ that he was merely the official *dā'i*, since the new ruler, being a woman, could not carry this title. Whatever the truth of the case, the main Ṣulayḥid administration left Ṣan'ā', probably about 480/1087-88, for Dhū Jiblah, and Ṣan'ā' was left in the hands of two governors, 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl al-Yāmī, and As'ad b. Shihāb.⁹⁹ With the death of the *dā'i*, Saba' b. Aḥmad in 492/1098, Ṣan'ā' was lost to the Ṣulayḥids.

The Period of the Sultans of Hamdān, ca. 481-567/1088-1173

During the period 492-567/1098-1173 Ṣan'ā' was in the control of three distinct families of Hamdān. In a previous publication¹⁰⁰ the names given to these families were Banū Ḥātim (I), Banu 'l-Qubayb and Banū Ḥātim (II). When, in about 480/1088, the second Ṣulayḥid ruler, al-Mukarram Aḥmad transferred the dynasty's capital from Ṣan'ā' to Dhū Jiblah, he left behind as governors his maternal uncle, As'ad b. Shihāb, and a Hamdānī tribal leader named 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl of Yām, an Ismā'īlī like his masters. Ṣan'ā' thus remained a provincial town ruled from Dhū Jiblah until the death of the third Ṣulayḥid ruler, Saba' b. Aḥmad, in 492/1098. In this year another Hamdānī tribal leader, Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm al-Mughallasi, with backing from Hamdān, took over the city and assumed the title of sultan.¹⁰¹ Thus commenced the rule of Banū Ḥātim (I).

Our sources for this early period of the rule of the Hamdānī sultans provide little detailed information. Sultan Ḥātim appears to have relied heavily in controlling the city and fickle Hamdān on his oldest son, Muḥammad, though the latter did not succeed his father when he died in 502/1108-09. His practice of marrying attractive girls and then murdering them had brought about his execution before his father's death. Power in Ṣan'ā', therefore,

passed to the second son, 'Abdullāh. 'Abdullāh was poisoned two years later, probably by the third son, Ma'n, who then took his place.¹⁰²

But Ma'n was not the man to cope with the difficult situation in Ṣan'ā' and the surrounding area. He proved weak and ineffective, totally unable to handle feuding factions within Hamdān. In 510/1116-17 he was formally deposed by Aḥmad b. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl, the son of the former governor of Ṣan'ā' under the Ṣulayḥids, and a tribal gathering elected as leaders Hishām and al-Ḥumās, the two sons of al-Qubayb b. Rusāḥ, a totally different family of Hamdān. The two already held a high reputation for justice and uprightness and were escorted into Ṣan'ā' with great pomp. The deposed Ma'n held out for a time in the citadel of Ṣan'ā', but was finally compelled to submit. He was imprisoned in Birāsh. This marks the end of the rule of Banū Ḥātim (I) and the beginning of that of Banu 'l-Qubayb.¹⁰³

We now get in our sources little more than a list of names. Hishām, being the elder, was in effective control and proved considerably more successful in controlling Ṣan'ā' and Hamdān than previous rulers of this period. He died in 518/1124-25 and al-Ḥumās became sole ruler. He died in 527/1132-33 and his son, Ḥātim, took over the government of Ṣan'ā'. Ḥātim was a tough and able leader and besides exercising effective control over Ṣan'ā' and Hamdān he was able to raid outside the city, particularly to the south into the territory of Janb. He died in 533/1138-39, having left to his four sons instructions for his succession. Before his death the four had sworn to keep one of their number, Abu 'l-Ghārāt as leader of the dynasty, but once their father was dead, three of the sons tried to push the youngest, Muḥammad, into accepting the leadership. Muḥammad declined and died soon after his father. Hamdān stepped in, observing this prevarication on the part of the brothers who were also defying their father's last wishes. A tribal meeting was called which gave its blessing to the appointment of Ḥamid al-Dawlah Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl, the grandson of the Ṣulayḥid governor in Ṣan'ā' in 481/1088-89. Control of Ṣan'ā' thus remained with the new dynasty, Banū Ḥātim (II), down into Ayyūbid times. These latter were of Yām and, in name at least, Ismā'īlīs.¹⁰⁴

The new sultan, Ḥātim, at the head of 700 horse, entered Ṣan'ā' with great ceremony. Our sources again let us down badly at this point, though it is clear Sultan Ḥātim spent all his efforts during the next twelve years on the conquest and pacification of the north of the country. The Zaydīs were pushed back into their traditional capital, Ṣa'dah, and with that exception, the area to the north of Ṣan'ā' by the year 545/1150-51 was ruled from the city by Sultan Ḥātim and his agents.¹⁰⁵

But events changed dramatically in the year 545/1150-51 when the Zaydī Imām, al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān began to push southwards from Ṣa'dah. Thus began the eleven year struggle not only for the northern area but for its chief city, Ṣan'ā'. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān had firstly moved into the areas of Najrān, al-Jawf and al-Zāhir. Having secured the support of the important tribes of Banū Shihāb in Ḥaḍūr, and Madhḥij and Khawlān south of Ṣan'ā', he marched northwards on the city from Dhamār with 8,000 troops. The Zaydī and Ḥātimī forces met near Ṣan'ā' and Hamdān, the mainstay of the Ḥātimī army, proved unable to stand up to the Imām and his powerful tribal support. Many of Hamdān lost their lives and the Sultan was compelled to take refuge in the citadel of Ṣan'ā' where he was

92 *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 113-19.

93 *Yaman*, 35; *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 120-29.

94 The former in *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 135, from Fātimid sources; cf. 'Umārah, *Yaman*, 37.

95 *Yaman*, 38-40; *Kifāyah*, 50-52.

96 *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 136.

97 Cf. *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 335, Ṣulayḥid family tree.

98 Löfgren, *Texte*, II, 9.

99 Hamdānī, *Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 137, says that the second governor must have been Abu 'l-Su'ūd b. As'ad, As'ad's son, since, he says, that As'ad died in 456/1063-64. This date he gives on the authority of his principal Fātimid source.

100 Cf. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen, 567-694/1173/1295*, G.M.S. New Series XXVI, 1974-78, II, cap. 3, iv, *Sultans of Hamdān*. Full genealogical tables are provided there, showing the descent of Banū Ḥātim (II) from Yām.

101 *Kanz*, 186b; *Fākihāt*, 41a; *Kifāyah*, 59; *Qurraṭ*, 279. Cf. also Geddes, 'Hamdānids', *EP*, III, 125a-126a.

102 *Fākihāt*, 41a-41b; *Kifāyah*, 59-60; *Qurraṭ*, 25a-25b; *Ghāyat*, 280, 282.

103 *Ghāyat*, 282, 285.

104 *Kanz*, 186b; *Fākihāt*, 42a; *Kifāyah*, 60-61; *Qurraṭ*, 25b-26a; *Ghāyat*, 285, 294, 297.

105 *Fākihāt*, 42a-42b.

besieged and forced to capitulate. Sultan Ḥātim was granted protection by Imām Aḥmad to come down and meet him. The Imām received him with an outward display of friendship and Ḥātim was allowed to withdraw outside the city with the remnants of his defeated Hamdānī army which dispersed. The Imām too permitted his tribal support to return to their homes.¹⁰⁶

Sultan Ḥātim collected his force of Hamdān with all speed and marched on Ṣan'ā'. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, bereft of his tribal followers, left the city and made for Birāsh. He sent urgent messages to Janb calling upon them to rejoin him against the Ḥātimis. But Hamdān under the command of Sultan Ḥātim fell upon the Zaydī force at Birāsh, many of the latter were killed and the Sultan was able to regain control over Ṣan'ā'. The Imām, realising that his only hope of recapturing the city lay in assistance from Janb, marched southwards to meet them and urge them to fight again with him. But again Sultan Ḥātim was able to forestall the Imām's action. He won the race to Dhamār, headquarters of the Janb, and by persuasive words and generous gifts he made peace among quarrelling factions within the tribe and prevented their giving further aid to the Zaydis.¹⁰⁷

Sultan Ḥātim died in 556/1160-61 and was succeeded by his son, 'Alī. The latter received the oath of allegiance from the whole of Hamdān and then left to take up residence in nearby Wādī Ḍahr. Presumably angered by 'Alī's abandonment of Ṣan'ā' a group of Hamdān set up a rival leader from the al-Qubayb family, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥumās, in the city. 'Alī was thus compelled to march on Ṣan'ā' and many of the rebels fled, though others remained to oppose his advance in the streets. 'Alī's youngest brother, 'Imrān, was killed in the fighting, but the Sultan accepted the peace overtures of the Hamdānī rebels. 'Imrān's funeral thus turned out to be a meeting of reconciliation for the whole of Hamdān.¹⁰⁸

Using Ṣan'ā' as his base, Sultan 'Alī could now turn his mind to expansion. His military activities were to a large extent successful, for he gained much in the north of the country to the detriment of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, the Zaydī Imām. Sultan 'Alī gained control of the Zaydī stronghold of Ṣa'dah. He administered his newly conquered lands by means of fiefs and the appointment of governors.¹⁰⁹

There is nothing further to report concerning the activities of Sultan 'Alī and the Banū Ḥātim (II) in Ṣan'ā'. The city remained their capital and base, but our sources report only their actions outside it. One can assume that they held the city under tight control and the peace that reigned there enabled Sultan 'Alī to turn his attentions elsewhere. Incidents are reported involving

the Zaydis in Ṣa'dah in the extreme north, in the Ḥarāz area south west of Ṣan'ā', and in the Shibām-Kawkabān area to the north west.¹¹⁰ With the advance to the north of Tūrānshāh with his Ayyūbid forces in 570/1174-75 there entered a new contestant for the struggle for the chief city of the Yemen.

The Period of the Ayyūbids, 569-628/1173-1229

The Ayyūbid dynasty took its name from Ayyūb b. Shādhī b. Marwān, a Kurd originally from the town of Dawīn in Armenia. The early history of the family, particularly that of the two brothers, Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, cannot be recounted here.¹¹¹ Suffice it to say that the family moved firstly into Iraq, later into Syria, where the two brothers attained high positions under the Zankids. With the third expedition into Egypt led by Shīrkūh, leading in tow his reluctant nephew, Saladin, in 564/1169, the independent Ayyūb regime was set up there. Following the early death of his uncle, Shīrkūh, Saladin, still young and inexperienced in politics, was thrust into power, first as *wazīr* to the Fātimid caliph, and finally, in 567/1171-72, as ruler in his own right, though theoretically on behalf of the Zankid ruler of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn. Again we cannot argue here at length on the reasons for the expeditions led by the brother of Saladin, Tūrānshāh, firstly in 568/1172 into Nubia, and then in 569/1173 into the Yemen. Possibly the Ayyūbids in Egypt wished to safeguard the southern end of the Red Sea in order to keep the east/west trade route open. The trade between India and beyond in the east and Egypt herself and the Mediterranean in the west was of vital importance to Egypt. Also, the Ayyūbids had two years earlier brought to an end the religiously unacceptable Fātimid Caliphate and had no wish to see Ismā'ilism continue to flourish unabated in the Yemen. There was also the fact of strained relations between Saladin in Egypt and his nominal master in Damascus, Nūr al-Dīn, the latter becoming increasingly anxious at the growing power and independence of the former in Egypt, and, on more than one occasion, threatening to march on Egypt to teach his vassal a lesson. Since they felt somewhat insecure, therefore, the idea of a safe place of refuge if ever the house were threatened from Syria, might well have appealed to the Ayyūbids. Whereas Nubia proved totally inadequate for that role, the Yemen might have been the ideal place. Other factors, of course, entered into their thinking at this time and these have been fully discussed elsewhere.¹¹²

106 *Fakihat*, 42b-43b; *Kifāyah*, 61-62; *Qurrat*, 26a-26b; *Ghāyat*, 301-03.

107 *Fakihat*, 43b-44; *Kifāyah*, 62; *Qurrat*, 26b-27a; *Ghāyat*, 303-06, with a different pro-Zaydī account.

108 *Fakihat*, 45b-46a; *Kifāyah*, 66; *Qurrat*, 27b; *Ghāyat*, 310-11, under the year 557/1161-62 and describing a further clash between the Ḥātimis and the Zaydis.

109 *Fakihat*, 46a; *Kifāyah*, 66; *Qurrat*, 28a; *Ghāyat*, 314-15.

110 Cf. Smith, *Ayyūbids*, cap. 3, iv.

111 A résumé of this, right up to the expedition of Tūrānshāh to the Yemen in 569/1173 is given in Smith, *Ayyūbids*, II, cap. 2. This also contains a detailed discussion of the reasons for the Yemenite expedition in that year with full references.

112 *Ayyūbids*, II, cap. 2, iii, *The reasons* etc.

Saladin's elder brother, Tūrānshāh, entered the Yemen in 569/1173 and marched down through the Tihāmah, passing through Ḥaraḍ to Zabīd. After defeating the Mahdīd forces,¹¹³ he crossed over to the Ta'izz area before turning southwards to Aden. There he put an end to the rule of Banū Zuray'¹¹⁴ and turned north passing through al-Dumluwah and Dhū Jiblah. Approaching Dhamār in 570/1174-75, Tūrānshāh met with stiff tribal resistance from Janb and lost sixty-five men. He remained in Dhamār, still compelled to ward off the tribal forces. Here it was that the Ayyūbid leader had personally to urge his men on to fight the enemy. The next prize was clearly Ṣan'ā', but unfortunately we cannot be absolutely sure exactly what happened as Tūrānshāh arrived there for the first time. The town was in the hands of Banū Ḥātim (II), as described in the previous section, in the person of Sultan 'Alī b. Ḥātim. On his arrival, Tūrānshāh set up his camp at al-Jabūb to the east of the town. Sultan 'Alī, together with his brother, Bishr, slipped out of the town to the fortress of Birāsh. The Ayyūbid camp remained at al-Jabūb and no one came out to it. Perhaps Tūrānshāh entered and remained within the walls for a while, or perhaps he did not enter at all. Whatever the true course of events, the Ayyūbid forces were not long in the area. They left again for the Tihāmah.¹¹⁵

When Sultan 'Alī was sure that the Ayyūbids had departed, he came down from Birāsh in Ṣan'ā'. He immediately dismantled the citadel,¹¹⁶ a task he had begun before the Ayyūbid advance. In order to deny the use of the fortifications to the Ayyūbids, he also broke down the walls over the Sā'ilah or watercourse (*khanādiq*) and the wall (*sūr*).¹¹⁷

Ṣan'ā' thus remained for the time being in the hands of the Banū Ḥātim. The restless Tūrānshāh returned to Syria in 571/1175-76, possibly passing through Ṣan'ā' on his way north, though our main source for the Ayyūbid period makes no mention of this. Before he left he appointed four governors over the territories conquered by his armies, Aden, Ta'izz and al-Janad, al-Ta'kar and Dhū Jiblah and Mikhlāf Ja'far, Zabīd and the Tihāmah. This represents the sum total of the conquests achieved by Tūrānshāh before his departure from the Yemen.¹¹⁸

The second Ayyūbid sultan in the Yemen, al-Malik al-'Azīz Ṭughtakīn, another brother of Saladin, did not reach there until 577/1181-82. In the intervening years, the *nā'ib*s left by his predecessor, Tūrānshāh, had fallen out amongst themselves and the unity brought about in the Tihāmah and the south of the country had been lost. Al-'Azīz Ṭughtakīn, therefore, was compelled to spend five years consolidating Ayyūbid control over those areas. In 582/1186-87, he took Dhamār and Hirrān in Janb territory in preparation for an attack on Ṣan'ā'. Sultan 'Alī and his brother, Bishr, destroyed the citadel¹¹⁹ early in 583/1187 and the city wall, hastily rescuing as much of their possessions as they were able and carrying them off to the safety of outlying forts. They then again took refuge in Birāsh before ordering the burning of the crops to deny food and fodder to the Ayyūbid army now advancing on Ṣan'ā'. Their cousin, Qāḍī Ḥātim b. As'ad, carried a message to al-'Azīz Ṭughtakīn suing for peace. At their meeting near Dhamār, Ṭughtakīn agreed to a peace treaty to be effective for one year on payment of 80,000 dinars and supply of

one hundred horses to the Ayyūbids. Ṭughtakīn, therefore, left Ṣan'ā' in the hands of the Banū Ḥātim and returned to the south.¹²⁰

Ṭughtakīn was fully occupied in the south for the duration of the peace. Immediately on its expiry, however, he set out once again on the northern road, through Dhamār, into the Jahrān plain. There he was met by Qāḍī Ḥātim who requested protection (*dhimmah*) and asked him to call off his advance on Ṣan'ā'. Qāḍī Ḥātim offered 30,000 dinars and thirty horses, handing over hostages while he went to seek the approval for the tribute from Sultan 'Alī in Ṣan'ā'. The latter rejected the terms and Qāḍī Ḥātim returned to Ṭughtakīn in Jahrān fearing for the lives of the hostages. Ṭughtakīn's offer to Qāḍī Ḥātim was that he join the Ayyūbids in order to save the hostages. Qāḍī Ḥātim swore an oath of allegiance to the Ayyūbid sultan and was welcomed into the fold. After a delay while several fortresses were captured by the Ayyūbids, Ṭughtakīn arrived in Ṣan'ā' in 585/1189-90. He remained there a few days and then set out on campaigns in the north, all the time using the town as his base. A number of fortresses were taken, the majority being manned by Ḥātimīs.¹²¹ These campaigns continued until Ṭughtakīn began to run out of funds. He decided to make peace with Sultan 'Alī and had sufficient power to demand from him the tribute of 500 dinars and 500 measures of grain per month. Peace was concluded between the two parties, leaving Ṭughtakīn free to undertake the building of a palace in Ṣan'ā' named Dār al-Sulṭān, built, so it seems, entirely from the gravestones of Hamdān leaders taken from the Ṣan'ā' cemetery.¹²² Ṭughtakīn returned from a visit to Ṣa'dah the following year, 587/1191-92, and pitched against Birāsh and this well-tryed refuge of the Ḥātimīs fell to the Ayyūbids. Intending to leave for the south, Ṭughtakīn made a number of appointments, including placing al-Humām Abū Zabā over Ṣan'ā'. Having no further interest in Ṣan'ā' Ṭughtakīn left for the Ta'izz area.¹²³

In 593/1196-97 Ṭughtakīn died. His son, al-Mu'izz Ismā'il was in the Yemen, but due to some dispute between father and son, he was making his way back to Syria when news of his father's death broke. The news reached him in Ḥaraḍ, so he returned to Ta'izz via Zabīd, publicising his new appointment as he went along. In Ta'izz he was met by the Ṣan'ā' governor, al-Humām Abū Zabā, who offered him his whole-hearted support. The new sultan decided on an immediate expedition to Ṣan'ā' and his governor there accompanied him there from Ta'izz. On their arrival there in 594/1197-98, al-Mu'izz seized al-Humām and killed him. He appointed in his place as governor, Shihāb al-Dīn Yanāl al-Jazarī. Having reinforced the Ṣan'ā' garrison, the sultan left for the south.¹²⁴ Our Zaydī source adds here¹²⁵ that the Ayyūbids attempted to trick the Ḥātimīs, who had since offered their allegiance to the new Imām, al-Manṣūr, by offering them Ṣan'ā'. Sultan 'Alī sent his brother, Bishr, and his son, 'Amr, and both were arrested by the Ayyūbids in the city. Sultan 'Alī reaffirmed his support for the Imām after this incident and an inconclusive battle followed between the Ayyūbids and the Zaydīs. Al-Mu'izz once more turned southwards. An allied force of Zaydīs and Ḥātimīs was defeated in Ḥaḍūr by the governor of Ṣan'ā', al-Jazarī.

113 For full details of the dynasty of Banū Mahdī in the Tihāmah, cf. *Ayyūbids*, II, cap. 3, ii, *B. Mahdī*.

114 For Banū Zuray', cf. *Ayyūbids*, II, iii, Banū Zuray'.

115 Ibn Ḥātim, *Simt*, ed. G. R. Smith, London, 1974-8, 17-19 (*Ayyūbids*, I), giving both versions of the story; *Kifāyah*, 108-10, where the author, Khazraji, says the *mashāyikh* of Ṣan'ā' came out to negotiate his entry with Tūrānshāh who was amazed at their fine clothes; *Ghāyat*, 324.

116 Arabic *darb*, cf. *Ayyūbids*, II, *Glossary*, s.v. *d r b*. this word could mean a citadel or wall. Since Khazraji, *Kifāyah*, 113, also mentions the destruction of the *sūr*, we can take *darb* here in the sense indicated.

117 *Simt*, 19; *Kifāyah*, 113.

118 *Simt*, 20-21; *Kifāyah*, 116; *Ghāyat*, 326.

119 Our sources say he destroyed Ghumdān. The destruction of Ghumdān is mentioned on several different occasions in the Yemenite histories and we

wonder whether the main fortified building of Ṣan'ā', the citadel, was not always by tradition called Ghumdān after the pre-Islamic building. Cf. Chap. 11.

120 *Simt*, 26-27; *Kifāyah*, 118; *Ghāyat*, 329.

121 *Simt*, 32-34; *Kifāyah*, 120-22; *Ghāyat*, 332-34.

122 *Simt*, 37-38; *Kifāyah*, 12; *Ghāyat*, 334-35.

123 *Simt*, 38-39, *thumma nazala 'l-Yaman ghayr mutahammil hamman li-Ṣan'ā'*; for the sense of al-Yaman meaning the area south of Ṣan'ā', cf. *Ayyūbids*, II, *Geographical Index*, s.v. al-Yaman.

124 *Simt*, 45; *Kifāyah*, 126, says al-Mu'izz was heading for Iraq when news of his father's death reached him; he also does not mention the meeting between the new sultan and al-Humām in Ta'izz and suggests al-Mu'izz's expedition to Ṣan'ā' was because of Zaydī activity in the north; *Ghāyat*, 337-41, with much the same version of events as the *Kifāyah*.

125 *Ghāyat*, 341-43.

There followed a serious rift in the Ayyūbid camp in Şan'ā'. The governor, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Jazarī, and a Kurdish amir, Ḥakū b. Muḥammad,¹²⁶ quarrelled and the latter opened up correspondence with the Imām, al-Manşūr 'Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah, with a view to joining him. The Imām agreed and sent a Sharīf to meet with Ḥakū and he took an oath of allegiance to the Zaydī. The affair remained secret and Ḥakū still displayed loyalty to the Ayyūbid sultan. But the news soon reached al-Mu'izz and a general alert was issued to arrest the treacherous amir. Ḥakū was indeed captured, but he managed to slip away from his escort to Jabal Kinan. He finally met the Imām and, after renewing his oath of allegiance to him, was given command of his forces. With great enthusiasm he turned against his erstwhile colleagues, the Ayyūbids. This important defection brought al-Mu'izz in person to Şan'ā'.¹²⁷

Al-Mu'izz was anxious to go to the offensive and planned to attack 'Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah in Shibām, his headquarters at that time. A further blow to the unity of the Ayyūbids came, however, with the disaffection of a *mamlūk* of al-Mu'izz, Shams al-Khawāṣṣ. The latter did not leave alone, for as many, we are told, as six hundred cavalry left with him for 'Aşir, just outside Şan'ā' to the west. Almost deserted thus, al-Mu'izz was forced to abandon his plans to attack the Imām at Shibām. Al-Mu'izz took his family and possessions and retired south from the Şan'ā' area.¹²⁸

From 'Aşir, Shams al-Khawāṣṣ wrote to the Imām in Shibām inviting him to join the rebel Ayyūbid cavalry in an attack on Şan'ā'. Against the advice of his officials, the Imām accepted the invitation and arrived in 'Aşir. The two marched on Şan'ā' and pitched their camp to the north of Masjid al-Harraḥ/Hurrah. The Imām with a detachment of his own forces approached the nearest gate of the city, Bāb al-Khandaq, only to be pelted with stones and arrows by the inhabitants from the wall above. The Imām returned to camp. The inhabitants heard the Shi'ī *adhān* from the camp and realised that it was a force of the Imām's troops. Some of the inhabitants went out to meet the Imām, but in general the town was divided on the question of allowing him to enter or not. 'Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah returned to Şan'ā' with a party of supporters from the city and made for Bāb Ghumdān.

Shams al-Khawāṣṣ entered through Bāb al-Khandaq, further throwing the people into confusion. The Imām was let in through Bāb Ghumdān and made straight for the Great Mosque. People came flocking in to greet him in the mosque and his first order to open the prisons was carried out. Shams al-Khawāṣṣ, having seen the Imām's popularity, became afraid for his own safety and called out the people into the streets under the pretext of a general amnesty (*amān*). He surrounded the Great Mosque where the Imām was. Most of the latter's followers scattered, leaving him with only fifteen. He was compelled to escape from the mosque dressed in black—presumably in woman's garb—and hid in a private house. Following a number of further adventures in the city, the Imām was finally able to get his army inside the walls, after winning sufficient popular support from the locals. He made his peace with Shams al-Khawāṣṣ who left for the Tihāmah. The latter was arrested by al-Mu'izz in Zabīd and exiled to Dahlak island where he died.¹²⁹

Attempting to take advantage of the absence from Şan'ā' of Ḥakū b. Muḥammad with a large force of Zaydī troops, an Ayyūbid army moved north in 595/1198-99, reaching Dhamār. Ḥakū hastily returned to join the Imām and the remainder of the Zaydī army in the town and, before battle was joined, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Jazarī, who had been the Ayyūbid governor in Şan'ā'

before its capture by the Zaydīs, slipped away to lay siege to his former stronghold. The Ayyūbid army was heavily defeated at Dhamār and suffered many casualties. The Imām was thus able to pursue al-Jazarī to Şan'ā' and, although the city had fallen to the latter, he managed to slip inside the gates with a second Zaydī force under Ḥakū close in his wake. Al-Jazarī fled the city to Birāsh which he quickly fortified. The Zaydī armies pressed the fortress hard and a long siege ensued. Al-Jazarī received some support from the Ḥātimī, Bishr b. Ḥātim, but the latter was unable to relieve Birāsh. Al-Jazarī sued for peace and, after the intervention of Ḥakū, the Imām reluctantly granted it. The Ayyūbids were to retire to the south, but they broke their word and began to stir up the tribes against the Imām. Both the latter and Ḥakū were furious at the behaviour of al-Jazarī and the Ayyūbids and a force left to punish them. The Ayyūbid army was pushed south and al-Jazarī captured and taken with the Zaydī army to Şan'ā'. The Ayyūbid attempt to retake Şan'ā' had been a miserable failure and the ex-governor of the city languished in chains in a Zaydī prison.¹³⁰

News of the resounding defeat of his army and the capture of al-Jazarī brought al-Mu'izz up from the south with a large tribal army which he had been able to assemble. Without the knowledge of the Zaydīs in Şan'ā', he reached al-Ḥaql near Naql Şayd, but here a pitched battle took place between the Ayyūbid tribal army and a Zaydī army under Ḥakū, who had by coincidence decided upon an attack on the south, the area well under the control of the Ayyūbid sultan. Despite news of the arrival of the Imām and Zaydī reinforcements, things went badly for them. In the fighting Ḥakū and other rebel Ayyūbid amirs were hacked to death with swords and cudgels. Al-Mu'izz plundered Ḥakū's camp and withdrew to Dhamār. The news was a great blow to the Imām who lost much of the support of the fickle tribesmen. He instructed his governor in Şan'ā' to hold on to the town at the expense of other fortresses held in the north and he himself marched to Shibām. The Ayyūbid cause received a further boost with the escape from prison of al-Jazarī and the Zaydī governor in Şan'ā' capitulated to the advancing Ayyūbid army. Al-Mu'izz once more entered the city to take control and reappointed his governor, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Jazarī. The Imām retired to Thulā, presumably judging that Shibām was too near for comfort to Şan'ā' and the newly arrived Ayyūbid force there.¹³¹

The murder in Zabīd of al-Mu'izz in 598/1201-02, threw the whole of the Yemen into a situation of uncertainty. The sultan had become thoroughly unpopular among his own amirs and *mamlūks*, particularly when he pronounced himself Caliph and fabricated a genealogy going back to the Umayyads! His murder was at the hands of his own *mamlūks*. The younger brother of al-Mu'izz, al-Nāşir Ayyūb, was at the time in Ta'izz, but he was a mere youth and unable to reunite the crumbling Ayyūbid state in such troubled times. His *atābak*, Sayf al-Dīn Sunqur, had openly declared his opposition to his brother, al-Mu'izz, and had approached the Imām with the object of joining him. Of the important Ayyūbid amirs, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Jazarī remained in control in Şan'ā', while the now influential 'Alam al-Dīn Wurdashār b. Sāmī¹³² had already joined the Imām with a group of other Ayyūbids. Sunqur seized power in the name of his protégé, al-Nāşir. He assembled a group of Kurds and took Ta'izz. Al-Jazarī thought his only hope was to join forces with the Imām, particularly as it seemed that Wurdashār was still totally committed to the Zaydī cause. His correspondence with the Imām was followed by a meeting between the two when al-Jazarī offered the oath of allegiance. Al-Jazarī returned to

¹²⁶ The name is a strange one and not, as far as we can ascertain, Kurdish. All the Mss. of the *Simt* have quite clearly Ḥ k w throughout, though an anonymous Zaydī Ms of the period (Ambrosiana, H5) reads in at least one place j k w. The form Ḥakū given in the text is purely conjectural. Cf. *Ayyūbids*, II Cap. 5, note on 45.15.

¹²⁷ *Simt*, 45-48; *Ghāyat*, 344-46.

¹²⁸ *Simt*, 48-50; *Ghāyat*, 346.

¹²⁹ *Simt*, 50-58; *Ghāyat*, 346.

¹³⁰ *Simt*, 58-62; *Ghāyat*, 347-48.

¹³¹ *Simt*, 62-67; *Ghāyat*, 348.

¹³² For a discussion of his name, cf. *Ayyūbids*, II Cap. 5, note on 66.16. There can be no doubt about the name of his father, but cf. Ḥajārī, *Masājīd*, 28, who invents some name like Banāmī!

Ṣan'ā' with the Imām's brother and with the Zaydī *adhān* once more resounding throughout the city, the inhabitants came to know that their nominal overlord was the Zaydī Imām. The Zaydī representative did not stay long, though al-Jazarī remained loyal to his oath. He even wrote to the Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt, al-ʿAdil, informing of what he had done. Al-Jazarī was not to serve the Zaydī Imām for long, however, for during an expedition into the south of the country with the Imām's brother, he fell into the hands of Sayf al-Dīn Sunqur who imprisoned him on Jabal al-Ta'kar.¹³³

The hand of Sunqur was considerably strengthened by the return to the Ayyūbid fold of Wurdashār. The latter was granted Ṣan'ā' as a fief in the absence of the imprisoned governor, al-Jazarī. Wurdashār made his way up to the city arriving there in 598/1201-02.¹³⁴

During one of his absences in the north, the inhabitants of Ṣan'ā' declared themselves against Wurdashār and the Ayyūbid house, calling for support from the Imām. The latter responded to their call, but his troops could not gain access to help the Ṣan'ānīs because of Wurdashār's siege of the city. Wurdashār himself received some support from the tribes, especially Banū Shihāb, and he also sent to inform Sunqur of the situation in and around Ṣan'ā'. Sunqur at the head of 600 horse hastened to his aid. The rebellion was put down and the inhabitants punished.¹³⁵

On his return from the Tihāmah, where he had assisted Sayf al-Dīn Sunqur against some rebellious Kurds, Wurdashār broke completely with the Imām and a struggle ensued between the two for the north of the country. This was brought to an end in 602/1205-06 with the signing of a further peace treaty for ten years. This lasted only about two years, however, with the Ayyūbids and Zaydīs again waging war for territorial gain in the north, on occasions Sunqur taking part in expeditions but all the time using Ṣan'ā' as a base.¹³⁶

The *atābak*, Sayf al-Dīn Sunqur, who had stood in for the young Ayyūbid, al-Nāṣir Ayyūb, died in Ta'izz in 608/1211-12. Al-Nāṣir assumed officially the rule for the Ayyūbid house, but under the influence of the unscrupulous Ghāzī b. Jibrīl. The new sultan confirmed Wurdashār in his position in charge of Ṣan'ā' and the surrounding areas. The governor of Ṣan'ā' was frequently to be found accompanying the sultan in the north of the country. He was not to serve his new master long, however, for he was poisoned in 610/1213-14, probably by Ghāzī b. Jibrīl, who coveted more power and saw in him an obstacle to that aim. Appointed commander-in-chief of al-Nāṣir's army, he accompanied the sultan into Ṣan'ā'. In the following year, 611/1214-15, al-Nāṣir left Ṣan'ā' to combat the Zaydīs in the north, but having fallen ill in al-Jirāf, a little way to the north of the city, he returned to Ṣan'ā' and died some time later.¹³⁷

Ghāzī b. Jibrīl proclaimed himself the new Ayyūbid sultan and gave himself the name of al-Malik al-Zāfir or al-Zāhir. He did not linger in Ṣan'ā' but left for Ta'izz, presumably to win over support there, leaving an amir in charge of the city. He was killed in Ibb by some Ayyūbid *mamlūks*. Ṣan'ā' had meanwhile become the objective once again of the Zaydī Ashraf who were able to enter the town with the aid of the inhabitants. A number of prominent Sharīfs were among those to enter and in the same year the Imām himself arrived. Having appointed Sharīf 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī governor of Ṣan'ā' with a large garrison, the Imām went on his way south to Dhamār.¹³⁸

The newly arrived Ayyūbid, al-Mu'azzam Sulaymān, was accepted as sultan. Having finally reached Ṣan'ā' coming from the Tihāmah via Ta'izz, al-Mu'azzam appointed a *mamlūk* named Abū Shāmah over the town, though this was presumably revoked later when the Rasūlid, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, received the area as a fief and installed himself there. The situation appears confused in the sources, though certainly al-Mu'azzam managed to incur the enmity of the Ayyūbid amirs as well as that of the Zaydī Imām. When the son of the Ayyūbid ruler in Egypt—named al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf—arrived in the Yemen, therefore, the Ayyūbid followers quickly changed their allegiance. Apparently al-Mas'ūd had been prepared to share power with al-Mu'azzam, but certain of his advisers persuaded him to take full command. He too, however, was only a young man and relied much upon his *atābak*, Ibn Fulayt. Al-Mu'azzam was sent back to Egypt.¹³⁹

The familiar pattern of consolidation in the Tihāmah and in the south followed the arrival of the new sultan and his *atābak*. The latter then marched north through Dhamār and on to Ṣan'ā'. It appears that the Zaydīs had again held the town, though they now departed, having destroyed certain buildings and houses, including Dār al-Saḷānah. In 612/1215-16 then, Ibn Fulayt entered Ṣan'ā' with more than six hundred cavalry. From there he took a number of the Zaydī strongholds in the north. In the following year a peace was concluded between Ibn Fulayt and the Imām. Having appointed Jamāl al-Dawlah Kawbaḥ governor of Ṣan'ā', the *atābak* left for the south.¹⁴⁰

Having called in the Banū Ḥātim and Hamdān tribal troops to protect Ṣan'ā', the Ayyūbid forces there left to move against the Imām's forces in the north. The subsequent battles were inconclusive and came to an abrupt end with the death of the Imām in Kawkabān in 614/1217-18. Ibn Fulayt passed away in the same year. He was taken and buried in Ṣan'ā'. The death of his *atābak* brought al-Mas'ūd quickly up to Ṣan'ā'—the first time he had entered the city.¹⁴¹

From Ṣan'ā' al-Mas'ūd took the important fortress of Kawkabān before making peace with the Zaydīs. He retained his governor, Jamāl al-Dawlah Kawbaḥ, in Ṣan'ā' and left for the south. In 615/1218-19 and in the following year 616/1219-20 al-Mas'ūd paid brief visits to Ṣan'ā', on the first occasion for hostilities against the Zaydīs and on the second to conclude another peace. The years 617/1220-21 and 618/1221-22 both saw what were now becoming annual visits by al-Mas'ūd. During the latter he granted Ṣan'ā' to the Rasūlid, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, before leaving for Mecca.¹⁴²

With the Ayyūbids from Ṣan'ā' occupied putting down an uprising instigated by a Sufi, as well as the absence of the sultan in Egypt, the Zaydīs under the Imām's son, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad, moved again on the town. The Zaydī waited until Badr al-Dīn had left the town to go to the aid of his brother, Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, the later first Rasūlid sultan, although Badr al-Dīn was aware of the Zaydī threat.¹⁴³ The brothers met up in the Dhamār area, as news continued to arrive of the threat to Ṣan'ā' from the Imām's son. The Zaydīs encamped at 'Asir, just outside the city to the west, and the Ayyūbids finally fell on them there and routed them. News of the Sufi's uprising and the Zaydī attempt on Ṣan'ā' brought al-Mas'ūd post-haste back from Egypt. He arrived in the country in 624/1226-27.¹⁴⁴

Al-Mas'ūd was met on his return by his *nā'ib* or lieutenant, Ḥusām al-Dīn Lu'lu', who, jealous of the growing influence of the Rasūlid brothers, gave adverse reports of their conduct to the

133 *Simṭ*, 81-93; *Kifāyah*, 128; *Ghāyat*, 357-59. For an account of the effect on the Yemen of the murder of al-Malik al-Mu'izz, cf. *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, I, 398 ff.

134 *Simṭ*, 95-97; *Kifāyah*, 128; *Ghāyat*, 367.

135 *Simṭ*, 100-01; *Kifāyah*, 128-29; *Ghāyat*, 374-75, giving 700 cavalry.

136 *Simṭ*, 105-12; *Kifāyah*, 129-30; *Ghāyat*, 380-89.

137 *Simṭ*, 149-52; *Kifāyah*, 130-31; *Ghāyat*, 395-98, with the suggestions that al-Nāṣir poisoned Wurdashār and Ghāzī poisoned al-Nāṣir.

138 *Simṭ*, 153-55; *Kifāyah*, 131-32; *Ghāyat*, 399-401.

139 *Simṭ*, 159-68; *Kifāyah*, 132; *Ghāyat*, 401-04.

140 *Simṭ*, 168-70; *Kifāyah*, 132-33; *Ghāyat*, 404-05, with Jamāl al-Dawlah Kawbaḥ.

141 *Simṭ*, 170-72; *Kifāyah*, 133; *Ghāyat*, 405-06.

142 *Simṭ*, 173-74; *Kifāyah*, 133-34; *Ghāyat*, 408-09.

143 To those who criticised his decision to leave Ṣan'ā' he replied with the adage: *Unsur akhā-ka aw mut ma'a-hu*; cf. *Simṭ*, 179.

144 *Simṭ*, 179-88; *Kifāyah*, 134-37; *Ghāyat*, 410-16.

sultan. With the exception of Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, the Rasūlid brothers were sent back to Egypt. In 626/1228-29 al-Mas'ūd left the Yemen to take up the governorship of Damascus. Before leaving the Yemen he cast around among his senior amīrs to find a suitable *nā'ib* but found no one willing to keep the Ayyūbid banner flying in the Yemen except Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar. He was charged with the task of ruling the country until a member of the Ayyūbid house might reach the Yemen. Al-Mas'ūd died in Mecca on his way north. No Ayyūbid arrived to take over from Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar. After a period of feigned loyalty to the Ayyūbid house, he declared an independent Rasūlid state.¹⁴⁵

The Period of the Rasūlids, 628-723/1228-1323

Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, the Rasūlid amīr left in power in the Yemen, feigned loyalty at first to the Ayyūbids in Egypt. He found it necessary to pitch against a number of fortresses in the south in order to consolidate his position there, before he moved north. In Ṣan'ā' he granted the city and its surroundings as a fief to his nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the son of Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan. The governor of the last Ayyūbid sultan, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, hastily left the city.¹⁴⁶

The real beginning of the Rasūlid regime as an independent power in the Yemen can probably be dated to the year 628/1228, when Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar from Ṣan'ā' arranged a peace with the Zaydī Ashraf. On the surface there seems to have been little of any great importance in this act, but it is clear from our two main sources that the agreement included a declaration of intent to exclude any representative of the Ayyūbid house from the country. At any rate, an official letter confirming the position of Nūr al-Dīn as the independent ruler of the Yemen arrived in 632/1234-35 from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph in Baghdad. This arrived with the Iraqi pilgrim caravan which carried also the *kiswah* covering for the Ka'bah. Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar was thus officially al-Malik al-Manṣūr, Sultan of the Yemen.¹⁴⁷

Ṣan'ā' under Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad flourished for a time, though in 645/1247-48 things began to go wrong between the sultan and his fief-holder. Some of our sources suggest that the troubles started because of the behaviour of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad, which did not meet with the approval of his master, al-Manṣūr 'Umar. However, it seems that a wife of the sultan, called simply Umm Quṭb al-Dīn in the sources, began in this year to press her husband to grant Ṣan'ā' as a fief to her son, Quṭb al-Dīn.¹⁴⁸ When al-Manṣūr suggested this to Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad, offering him in lieu the fiefs of Abyan, Lahj, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Shiḥr and, after his refusal, to release him from service with an annual stipend of a thousand dinars, the latter left in an angry mood for Ṣan'ā'. Al-Manṣūr 'Umar was unable to deal with the problem of the Ṣan'ā' fief until the following year, for matters in the south and in the Tihāmāh held his attention. The news of the rise of the new Zaydī Imām, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn in Thulā in 646/1248-49 stirred him into action. Fearing that his angry fief-holder might join forces with the Zaydī with the result that Ṣan'ā' would be lost to the Rasūlids, al-Manṣūr hastened northwards. He finally met up with his nephew, Asad al-Dīn, in Dhamār, where the quarrel was patched up and the two rode in company to Ṣan'ā'. This was not the end of the affair of Asad al-Dīn, however, as we shall see. Perhaps still suspecting his nephew of disloyalty, the sultan remained in Ṣan'ā' for a whole year.¹⁴⁹

In 647/1247-50 al-Manṣūr 'Umar was murdered in al-Janād by a group of *mamlūks*. The Rasūlid court historian, al-Khazrajī, had no hesitation in laying the blame at the door of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad, his disloyal fief-holder (*muqṭa'*) in Ṣan'ā'. The troubles arising from the latter's treachery and the constant pressure from the Zaydīs in the north had kept the sultan frequently for lengthy periods in Ṣan'ā'. After his murder, the Zaydīs were able to seize their opportunity. The city was taken by the Imām and Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad fled for his life.¹⁵⁰

The new sultan, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, the son of al-Manṣūr 'Umar, was compelled to spend all his time establishing himself in the south and in the Tihāmāh during the early period of his rule. In the north the Zaydī Imām, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, entered Ṣan'ā' with his Ashraf and began to bring the whole of Ṣan'ā' and Dhamār areas under his control. Asad al-Dīn, who had installed himself in the stronghold of Birāsh, found himself hard pressed by the Zaydī force from Ṣan'ā'. He made approaches to a group of rebel Zaydīs of Banū Ḥamzah who were at first plotting to overthrow Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. Possibly since they saw little or no chance of succeeding in ousting the Imām, they arranged an agreement between him and Asad al-Dīn, whereby the latter would join with the Imām and be responsible for leading an army against al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf in the south. Matters did not go according to plan, however, for after he had left to fight the sultan, the Banū Ḥatīm were able to reunite him with his uncle, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. Once more the unreliable Asad al-Dīn had succeeded in making peace with the Rasūlid house. After much ceremony and pomp to celebrate the reunion Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad returned north. When the Zaydī Imām found himself unable to stem the advance of Asad al-Dīn's army—the latter much reinforced by troops supplied by al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf destroyed the citadel (al-Qaṣr) and left the city to the Rasūlid army under Asad al-Dīn.¹⁵¹

In 649/1251-52 the Rasūlids, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and his brother, Abū Bakr, returned to the Yemen. At first received with hospitality, they were later arrested by al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf who could not afford the presence in the country of other ambitious Rasūlids striving for power. The arrest of his father and uncle at once produced further opposition from Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad in Ṣan'ā'. Although there was another brief reunion between him and al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, Asad al-Dīn fled to the east of the country.¹⁵²

Continuing his opposition to the Rasūlid house, Asad al-Dīn sold the fortress of Birāsh to the Zaydī Imām for one thousand dinars, thus breaking a Rasūlid-Zaydī peace. Asad al-Dīn, despite aid from the Imām, fled before the Rasūlid army sent northward by al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. Then seeing the tremendous tribal assembly which the Imām was able to put under arms and fearing for the fate of the Rasūlids, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad sent to their leader warning them and advising them to return south. This advice they hastily followed.¹⁵³

Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf had all this time been delayed in al-Dumluwah in the south by the troubles there. Asad al-Dīn had quarrelled with the Imām over the price of Birāsh and other territorial matters. A Rasūlid army left the south and the Imām fled from Ṣan'ā' before its arrival. Asad al-Dīn was thus able to return to the city. The sultan reached Ṣan'ā' and confirmed the fickle Asad al-Dīn as fief-holder of the area in 651/1253-54. For a while Asad al-Dīn proved a more reliable representative and was

145 *Simṭ*, 188-94; *Kifāyah*, 137-38; *Ghāyat*, 416-17. For a full discussion of the rule of al-Mas'ūd and the role of the Rasūlid brothers during this period, as well as the different historical treatment of the events, cf. Smith, 'Ayyūbids and Rasūlids', *JC*, 180-88.

146 *Simṭ*, 201-02; *Uqūd*, IV, 46-47; *Ghāyat*, 418-19.

147 *Simṭ*, 203; *Uqūd*, IV, 47, 51 (mentioning the striking of coins by Nūr al-Dīn in 630/1232-33), 54-55; *Ghāyat*, 419, 421-22.

148 The identification of Umm Quṭb al-Dīn and Quṭb al-Dīn required a little detective work at first, cf. Smith 'Tha'bat', *Arabian Studies*, I, 130-31.

149 *Simṭ*, 223-227; *Uqūd*, IV, 74, 76; *Ghāyat*, 427, 430.

150 *Simṭ*, 234-36; *Uqūd*, IV, 82, 95-6; *Ghāyat*, 433-35.

151 *Simṭ*, 276-80; *Uqūd*, IV, 96-7; Yajima, *Chronicle*, 9-10; *Ghāyat*, 435.

152 *Simṭ*, 284-87; *Uqūd*, IV, 97-99; *Ghāyat*, 436.

153 *Simṭ*, 301-03; *Uqūd*, IV, 100-01.

engaged in a number of military assignments for the Rasūlid house in the north.¹⁵⁴

In 656/1258 in what must have been a periodic reshuffle of the Rasūlid fiefs, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf confirmed Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad in the Ṣan'ā' area. Arrogantly declaring that the area was his and not his fief, Asad al-Dīn was dismissed and the fief given to his son, Aḥmad.¹⁵⁵

In the same year after the murder of an ally of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, Asad al-Dīn seized his fortress without the sultan's permission. Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf wrote to him castigating him and prepared to march north. Passing through the Dhamār area and retaking his ally's stronghold, the sultan pushed on towards Ṣan'ā', while Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad fled to Dhamarmar. The former entered the city in 658/1260 and not long after appointed a new fief-holder for Ṣan'ā', Shams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Yaḥyā. Asad al-Dīn lurked in the area, attempting to raid the town. These raids clearly aroused some concern amongst the Rasūlids, for 'Alam al-Dīn Sinjar al-Sha'bi was sent north with an army to assist in combatting Asad al-Dīn. His stay in the north was brief, however, and he returned south. He went back to Ṣan'ā' the same year as its official fief-holder.¹⁵⁶

The appointment of 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sha'bi as *muqta'* of Ṣan'ā' opened an important chapter of relative peace and stability in the area. He was a gifted man and as much at home as a politician as a military commander. Although the Zaydī Ashraf briefly took Ṣan'ā' not long after his appointment there and al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf was compelled to march north,¹⁵⁷ the city was generally firmly under al-Sha'bi's control until his tragic death in 682/1283-84.

We are now entering into the period—until the death of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf—which marks the high-water mark of the Rasūlid regime in the Yemen. The territory under their control covered the whole of the Yemen, even extensive areas to the north of Ṣan'ā', and stretched across to Ḥaḍramawt and the port of Zafār in the east. This was apart from the south and the Tihāmah. The land was administered by means of a series of fiefs, all held by trusty *muqta'*s, plus a cadre of roving ambassadors despatched by the sultan as their services were required throughout the Rasūlid area, perhaps to assist the local *muqta'* in a military campaign, perhaps to conduct delicate negotiations with tribal leaders who had quarrelled with the fief-holder. Apart from his responsibilities for the fief of Ṣan'ā', 'Alam al-Dīn was also the head of this cadre. We find him, therefore, much engaged in the north of the country, dealing with tribal affairs and maintaining a rigid policy of denying Ṣan'ā' to the Zaydī Ashraf. In 674/1275-76, however, during al-Sha'bi's absence from the city, the Zaydis took Ṣan'ā' and were able to hold on to it until the following year.¹⁵⁸

In 682/1283-84 al-Sha'bi died tragically when his house in Ṣan'ā' collapsed on him and his assembled guests.¹⁵⁹ He was succeeded there by al-Malik al-Wāthiq, the sultan's son. Al-Sha'bi was to be greatly missed, both as holder of the fief of Ṣan'ā' and as roving ambassador. Al-Wāthiq continued for some time as *muqta'* of Ṣan'ā', though he could not match the qualities which his predecessor had brought to the position. He was removed from office in 687/1288-89.¹⁶⁰

In 694/1294-95 al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, feeling himself weak and too infirm to carry on the affairs of state, handed over then to his son, al-Ashraf 'Umar. The old man died just over four months later.¹⁶¹ His reign had been a long and prosperous one—one

which saw the greatest territorial gains for the Rasūlids and relative stability throughout their lands. One wonders, it is true, why al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf permitted Ṣan'ā' to remain so long in the hands of the thoroughly untrustworthy Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad. Although he had inherited him from his father, al-Manṣūr 'Umar, and he was his close relative, in fact his nephew, it is uncharacteristic of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf to put up with anything less than complete loyalty for such a length of time. His choice of 'Alam al-Dīn al-Sha'bi in Ṣan'ā' after the disgrace of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad, however, was entirely vindicated. Until his untimely death, al-Sha'bi served the city and his Rasūlid masters well. It was to him and other officials of high calibre that the Rasūlids owed the brilliance of their rule in the Yemen.

Little is now heard of Ṣan'ā' in the primary sources for some time, with the exception of the occasional references to the fief-holder. In 696/1296-97, al-Ashraf 'Umar died and was succeeded by al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd.¹⁶² The following are recorded as holding the fief of Ṣan'ā' during this period. At the time of the assumption of power of al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd, it was al-'Ādil Abū Bakr, a son of al-Ashraf.¹⁶³ In 698/1299, we find al-Muẓaffar Hasan b. Dāwūd taking the fief.¹⁶⁴ In 700/1301, the sultan's son, al-Zāfir, is mentioned proceeding to Ṣan'ā' as *muqta'*.¹⁶⁵ In contrast to the above list of members of the Rasūlid family, the fief was taken over in 702/1302 by Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuḡhril,¹⁶⁶ though he resigned two years later when he quarrelled with a high-ranking state official. Al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd appointed his own son, al-Muẓaffar, to the area, though the latter appears to have remained absent and sent a lieutenant in 704/1305.¹⁶⁷ Later that year, however, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuḡhril returned to the fief after the resignation of al-Muẓaffar.¹⁶⁸ The author of the Zaydī *Ghāyat al-amānī* makes mention on two occasions of the deputy/governor of al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd—he uses the verb *istakhlaḥa* and the word *āmīl*—Amīr Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Nūr al-Dīn, though he does not appear in Khazraji's *Uqūd*.¹⁶⁹ Al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd died in 721/1321 and al-Mujāhid 'Alī followed him into power.¹⁷⁰ In the following year, 722/1322-23, the Zaydī Imām attacked Ṣan'ā' with a large force. The siege which ensued dragged on and the Rasūlid representative in the city was forced to sue for peace.¹⁷¹

In 723/1323-24, the governor of al-Mujāhid 'Alī in Ṣan'ā', Asad al-Dīn b. Nūr al-Dīn, died. Seizing the opportunity when the Rasūlid administration in the city was in confusion over the death, the Imām Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar, took the city.¹⁷² This event marks the beginning of important territorial losses for the Rasūlids in the north. As for Ṣan'ā', the Rasūlids were never to have effective control there again. From this period for over a century until 858/1455, they survived in their traditional strongholds in the south and the Tihāmah. In this year, after disastrous family squabbles amongst the Rasūlids, their remaining territories fell to the Banū Ṭāhir, led at first by the brothers, 'Alī and 'Amīr b. Ṭāhir. The Ṭāhirids, however, impinged only occasionally on the history of Ṣan'ā' and from now until the entry of the Turks into the Yemen in the mid 10th/16th century, the city remained mainly under the control of one Zaydī group or another.

One cannot write of the Rasūlids without being compelled to stress two facets of their rule in the Yemen. The early Islamic history of the country is that of a series of petty states rising, flourishing for a time, declining and passing away into oblivion.

154 *Simṭ*, 303-05; *Uqūd*, IV, 103-06.

155 *Simṭ*, 334-36.

156 *Simṭ*, 336-42, 346; *Uqūd*, IV, 130-01; *Chronicle*, 12, 13.

157 *Simṭ*, 413-15; *Uqūd*, IV, 133.

158 *Simṭ*, 467, 497; *Uqūd*, IV, 189-90. Cf. also Smith, *Ayyūbids*, II, cap. 1.

159 The best description of this tragic event is to be found in the *Simṭ*, 538-40, whose author, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, was in the house and himself buried for several hours under the rubble. Cf. also *Uqūd*, IV, 226-27; *Chronicle*, 18; *Ghāyat*, 467-68.

160 *Simṭ*, 541, 543, 555; *Uqūd*, IV, 235; *Chronicle*, 19; *Ghāyat*, 468.

161 *Simṭ*, 566-67; *Uqūd*, IV, 273-75; *Ghāyat*, 476.

162 *Uqūd*, IV, 286; *Ghāyat*, 477-78.

163 *Uqūd*, IV, 301; *Ghāyat*, 478.

164 *Uqūd*, IV, 318; *Ghāyat*, loc. cit., stating al-Muẓaffar was appointed in 696/1296-97.

165 *Uqūd*, IV, 328.

166 *Uqūd*, IV, 338; *Ghāyat*, 482-83.

167 *Uqūd*, IV, 361; *Ghāyat*, 485.

168 *Uqūd*, IV, 367; *Ghāyat*, loc. cit.

169 *Ghāyat*, 488-89, 490.

170 *Uqūd*, IV, 440; *Ghāyat*, 494.

171 *Ibid*, 497.

172 *Ibid*, 499.

It was only with the coming of the Ayyūbid house to the Yemen in the 6th/12th century that we can discern a definite and concerted effort to extend control over the whole of the country. The Ayyūbids did not, through force of circumstances, have the opportunity to complete this task. But their successors, the Rasūlids, who, it must be recalled, took over bloodlessly, continued to build on the legacy bequeathed to them by the Ayyūbids. During the reign of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (647-94/1249-94), Rasūlid power reached its high-water mark and it can be safely said that they effectively controlled the whole area of south western Arabia and Ḥaḍramawt and the south coast as far as Ẓafār too. Only parts of the country to the north of Šan'ā' were in Zaydī hands and not under Rasūlid control.

This period meant more than the establishment of the unity of the Yemen, however, for it produced also a peace and stability hitherto unknown in the country's history and one, one might venture to suggest, not repeated down to the present day. This peace and stability in its turn led to economic prosperity, when imports and exports passed freely through Rasūlid ports such as Aden and an elaborate fiscal policy pertained throughout the country.¹⁷³ An intellectual flowering took place also and certainly much literature relevant to culture of the Yemen was written, not least by the members of the Rasūlid house themselves.

The Period of the Zaydī Imāms, 732-953/1323-1515

The difficulties of writing an account—even an introductory account—of a period of Yemenite history which demands extensive use of primary Zaydī sources has already been noted. After the loss of Šan'ā' to the Zaydīs in 723/1323, all but these Zaydī histories forget the very existence of the city—at least during the Rasūlid period. The name figures again in the Sunnī sources on the occasions on which the Ṭāhirids appeared in the history of Šan'ā'. We are therefore compelled here to draw extensively on the work of the 11th/17th century Zaydī writer, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, whose chronicle, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, was published in Cairo in 1968. The following account, therefore, is based in the main on that work and is thus brief and tentative. The pattern which emerges, once the power of the Rasūlids in the north was spent, is one of effective control of Šan'ā' by the Zaydīs with only internal quarrels and tribal opposition until the mid 9th/15th century, when the Ṭāhirids, the new masters of the south, contested the city for a time.

In 723/1323, following the death of the governor of al-Mu'ayyad 'Alī and the confusion which reigned, Šan'ā' was taken by the Zaydī Imām, Muḥammad b. al-Muṭaḥhar. This was a grave blow to the morale of the Rasūlids and this event, coupled with that of internal squabbles between the Rasūlid troops and the inhabitants of Ta'izz, brought an end to Rasūlid activities in the north. We can assume that the Imām established his position in Šan'ā' and remained for the most part in the city. He died in 729/1328-29 in Dhamarmar, but was brought to Šan'ā' for burial in the Great Mosque. He was interred in the rear prayer hall of the mosque (*mu'akkkhar*) and the inhabitants themselves bore the cost of transporting his body from Dhamarmar. Following his death, Šan'ā' was seized by the Zaydī Ashraf of Banū Ḥamzah.¹⁷⁴

In the following year, 730/1329-30, however, after no fewer than four Imāms had attempted unsuccessfully to establish themselves at the head of the Zaydī community, Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah emerged in the supreme position. He moved quickly into Šan'ā'. From there he was able to wage war on certain Ismā'īlī groups of

Hamdān in the Wādī Ḍahr. He died in 747/1346-47 and the city fell into the hands of two brothers, Zaydī amīrs named Ibrāhīm and Dāwūd b. 'Abdullāh. The two amīrs with strong Hamdān support held on to their control of Šan'ā' despite the pressure upon the city in 750/1349-50 from the new Imām, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, who had just risen in Thulā. The city held fast in the face of a six months' siege and the Imām was finally compelled to return to Thulā.¹⁷⁵

Power within Šan'ā' passed to Dāwūd b. 'Abdullāh's son, 'Abdullāh, who was again able to resist the legitimate Zaydī Imām in 775/1373-74. Imām Šalāḥ al-Dīn marched with a strong army from Dhamār, though he was unable to make any impression on the defences. He withdrew with heavy losses to Dhamār. The Imām was forced to wait until 778/1376-77 before he was again able to turn his attention to Šan'ā'. He negotiated a peace treaty with Hamdān, stipulating that the latter abandon their support for the Banū 'Abdullāh in the city. He then set in motion a carefully laid plot. He asked for the hand of the mother of Idrīs b. 'Abdullāh b. Dāwūd in marriage and her son agreed, despite opposition from Idrīs's cousin, Dāwūd b. Muḥammad. The marriage was consummated just outside Šan'ā', after which the Imām returned to Dhamār, his new bride to Šan'ā'. In 783/1381-82, the Imām marched on the city in full force and, as he drew near, his wife, the mother of Idrīs, ordered her son to go out to meet him. Again despite the opposition of his cousin, Dāwūd b. Muḥammad, Idrīs left the citadel, which he held with his mother, to meet the Imām. The latter promptly on his arrival, threw him into irons. Dāwūd, realising his cousin had been thoroughly tricked by the Imām fled with all his family and possessions. He was eventually to join the Rasūlid sultan, al-Ashraf, with whom he remained until his death in 788/1386-87. The Zaydī Imām, Šalāḥ al-Dīn, entered Šan'ā' and took the citadel. His wife and her son, Idrīs, were permitted to live in the city, though he had no further contact with them. Once again Šan'ā' was in the hands of the recognised Imām.¹⁷⁶

Imām Šalāḥ al-Dīn died in 793/1390-91 from injuries after he had been thrown and dragged along by a mule which had shied at a bird. The assumption of power by his young son, 'Alī, coincided with unrest throughout the Zaydī area. Although Šan'ā' itself was not in danger, 'Alī was compelled to travel frequently in person to trouble spots and we know that on these occasions he appointed a deputy (*istakhlafa*) over Šan'ā'. It is recorded also that in 798/1395-96 he dismissed his *qāḍī* in the city, since the latter had been corresponding with the Rasūlid sultan—called simply Sulṭān al-Yaman al-Asfal in the *Ghāyat*.¹⁷⁷

It can be noted in passing that the security of the Zaydīs in Šan'ā' was threatened for a time in 806/1403-04, when a force of Hamdān moved on the city. They were, however, repelled and lost a number of their leaders. Shortly afterwards Imām 'Alī concluded a truce with the Rasūlid sultan.¹⁷⁸

From the year 828/1424-25 there followed three Rasūlid sultans in rapid succession and it was evident that the edifice of their power in the Yemen was beginning to crumble. In 839/1435-36 serious internal squabbles plunged them further on the road down to ruin. Again two more young and mediocre members of the family assumed what remained of Rasūlid power between the years 842-45/1438-42 and there were serious tribal uprisings in the Tihāmah in 843/1439-40. We find the brief appearance of a Rasūlid usurper in 847/1443-44 and finally the conflict between al-Muẓaffar and al-Mas'ūd brought an end to the dynasty in 858/1454, when the latter left the Yemen for Mecca. What was left of the Rasūlid territories in the south was taken over by the Banū Ṭāhir, whose two leaders, the brothers 'Alī and

173 Cf. Cahen & Serjeant, 'Fiscal Survey', *Arabica*, IV, 1, 23-33. The authors of this article are engaged in editing and translating the work described therein *Mulakkhaḥ al-fījan wa-'l-'albāb wa-miṣbāḥ al-hudā li-'l-kutub* by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī (early 9th/15th century). The work clearly describes economic activity in Rasūlid Yemen, as it was taking place from about the time of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (mid 7th/13th century) to the author's own day.

174 *Ghāyat*, 499-506. For the term *mu'akkkhar*, cf. Lewcock and Smith, 'Two mosques', *AARP*, IV, 117-30.

175 *Ghāyat*, 511-15.

176 *Ibid*, 524-29.

177 *Ibid*, 536-51.

178 *Ibid*, 561-62.

ʿĀmir b. Ṭāhir, declared themselves independent rulers and began to consolidate the south. Meanwhile, ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, the Zaydī Imām, had died in 840/1436-37 in *Ṣanʿāʾ* of the plague.¹⁷⁹

With the Ṭāhirids busy in the south, the Zaydīs in *Ṣanʿāʾ* could feel reasonably secure, though tribal opposition from Hamdān posed a serious threat to the city in 860/1456. Sooner or later, however, clashes were inevitable between the two powers in the land and it is clear that from the start, the Ṭāhirids had done all they could to discomfit the Imām. After Zaydī-Ṭāhirid skirmishes in the south in the years 862-63/1457-59 the Ṭāhirids took Dhamār—an obvious prelude to an attack on *Ṣanʿāʾ*—in 865/1460-61, though they were unable to hold on to the town and had to retake it in the following year. From there, with the aid of a Zaydī rebel, they were able to gain access to *Ṣanʿāʾ* in 866/1461-62.¹⁸⁰

The next few years saw a fierce struggle for the city of *Ṣanʿāʾ* between the Zaydīs and the Ṭāhirids. Although the Ṭāhirid sultan, al-Mujāhid ʿAlī, felt confident enough to leave the city soon after its capture and to appoint a deputy in his absence, it was back in Zaydī hands by 869/1464-65. Two attempts by the Ṭāhirids to re-enter *Ṣanʿāʾ* in 870/1465-66 were both unsuccessful and during the second ʿĀmir b. Ṭāhir and many of his followers

were killed. The situation in *Ṣanʿāʾ* at this time truthfully reflected that in the whole of the country—the Ṭāhirids generally weak and in retreat, the Zaydīs strong.¹⁸¹

The power of the Ṭāhirids was however not yet spent. In 907/1501-02 the sultan, ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, moved into Dhamār with a large force. He marched on *Ṣanʿāʾ* and began a total siege of the city. The siege dragged on and, despite the use of mangonels, the Ṭāhirid attack was repelled in the following year. ʿĀmir's efforts in 910/1504-05 were rewarded, however, and his siege engines proved too much for the city's defences. The Imām, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Washālī, hastened to relieve *Ṣanʿāʾ*, but he fell into the arms of the waiting Ṭāhirid army and was taken back as a prisoner to ʿĀmir's camp. The sultan entered the city. If we can rely on our Zaydī—and probably therefore here a little biased—source, a reign of terror followed, ʿĀmir killing off the Zaydī Ashrāf within *Ṣanʿāʾ*, plundering, interfering with their womenfolk and confiscating horses and weapons. In the following year, 911/1505-6, the sultan left *Ṣanʿāʾ* for the south, having appointed one of his military leaders as deputy. With the Ṭāhirids in the city, we get little information about events there. We have mention of the Ṭāhirid governor (*ʿāmil*) there in 917/1511-2 and news of the sultan's visit to the city in 920/1514-15.¹⁸²

179 Ibid, 567-85.

180 Ibid, 586-94.

181 Ibid, 594-604.

182 Ibid, 628-41.

Chapter 8

The Post Medieval and Modern History of Ṣan'ā' and the Yemen, ca. 953-1382/1515-1962

The Mamlūks in the Yemen

From remote ages the Red Sea has been an artery of East-West commerce and the rich documentation now coming to light demonstrates that this commerce flourished with ever greater vigour during the Middle Ages. The revenues derived from the Yemeni ports enabled the Rasūlids and their Ṭāhirid successors to maintain the splendour of their rule from the southern capital, Ta'izz—the customs revenue from Aden and lesser ports, amounting to over 2,300,000 dinars per annum, was remitted as treasure (*khizānah*) despatched in four instalments to Ta'izz and escorted with the pomp and ceremony of the *ṭabl-khānah*.¹ In the first decade of the 15th century the Rasūlids estimated to draw from Balad Ṣan'ā', al-Sirr, al-Rahabah, the regions of Hamdān, Janb, Dhayfān and al-Bawnayn 150,000 dinars and 3,000 dinars worth of raisins; these are the flat upland areas controllable from Ṣan'ā'.² On the contrary the Zaydī Imāms of Ṣa'dah and, intermittently, of Ṣan'ā', enjoyed no such sources of revenue mulcted largely from strangers not native to the country. Though the Imāms could call on the valour of the northern tribes for support tribal loyalties were ever inconstant and fickle, while attempts to collect taxes were an ever present cause of friction, often leading to the casting off of Imāmic suzerainty.

Outside the Yemen, in the closing years of the 16th century, had commenced a train of mighty events that were yet to involve not only land-locked Ṣan'ā' in its high mountain plain, but even the tribal areas lying beyond it. During the years AD 1497-9 the Portuguese Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, struck across the sea to India, and returned to Lisbon. Swift to follow up the first voyage, the Portuguese soon established a maritime commercial empire on the seaboard of the Indian Ocean. By blockading the Islamic lands of the Middle East from the rear as it were, they created a kind of economic crisis in Mamlūk Egypt and other countries including, probably, the Yemen. This in turn precipitated a Muslim reaction and the Mamlūk ruler came to an agreement with the Sultan of Gujerat and other Muslim potentates but including also the Hindu Sāmīrī of Calicut to make common cause against the Portuguese who had upset the even tenor of international commerce. The Mamlūk naval expedition to India was however routed by

the Portuguese at Diu and a Portuguese naval force probing into the Red Sea in 1513, mounted an attack on Aden but failed to take it.

Mamlūk rulers had followed the traditional Egyptian expansionist policy in moments of power, of extending the Egyptian sphere of influence down the Red Sea. At an earlier period the Fāṭimid dynasty had, by propagandist techniques, acquired adherents in the Yemen even before coming into power in Egypt, and later the headquarters of the Fāṭimī Ṭayyibī Da'wah,³ usually referred to as Ismā'īlīs, had been transferred there. In later centuries both Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha and Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir were to attempt to take the Yemen by force of arms but their armies found it too tough a nut to crack. The Mamlūks, already controlling the Hijaz and their influence extending almost to Sawākin on the west bank of the Red Sea, seem to have decided it imperative to conquer the Yemen and use it as a base to counter the Portuguese menace.

Mamlūk troops arrived by sea at Kamarān island in 1515. As the last Ṭāhirid Sultan, 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, refused to provision them, they resolved to attack him, being supported herein by the mountain Zaydīs who promised supplies and horses. The Egyptians defeated 'Amir outside Zabīd and he retired on Ta'izz—the Yemenis for the first time had met with a new weapon, the *bunduq*⁴ or arquebus, which was mainly responsible for their losing the battle. The Mamlūks went on to attack Aden but it successfully withstood their bombardment so they retired, leaving behind them a reputation for cruelty and rapacity.

Egyptian forces now turned to Ta'izz which they took, and then al-Maqrānah where 'Amir's treasure was kept—it was revealed to them by a *faqīh*, a close companion (*samīr*) of his whom they then killed. Chinese porcelain and metal vessels are among items of booty mentioned by the historians.⁵ The tribes of the middle region of the Yemen opposed their advance northwards to Ṣan'ā', but were badly defeated.

The Mamlūks—usually called by the historians al-Jarākisah, i.e., Circassians, entered Qā' Ṣan'ā' where they defeated the Ṭāhirid forces. Sultan 'Amir attempting to flee to the celebrated fortress Dhū Marmar, in Ṭāhirid hands at that time, was

in the Yemen under a local Dā'ī Muḥlaq broke away from the main branch in India. The are called Sulaymānis after their first schismatic Dā'ī, Sulaymān b. Hasan and the Indian branch is known as Dāwūdīs.

⁴ For a naive description of the *bunduq* see *Qur'at al-'ayūn*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa', II, 226.

⁵ L. O. Schuman, *Political history of the Yemen at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, Gröningen, 1962, 86.

¹ See p. 44, n. 30. Though so far no description of the Yemeni *ṭabl-khānah*'s composition is known, it would probably be something along the lines of that of the Mamlūks (cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, *Fahāris*, Cairo, 1972, 406).

² *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fīṭan*, my transcript, f. 13r. Royal estates of the Rasūlids in Ṣan'ā' and Dhamār produced 750 (dinars).

³ Al-Dā'ī 'I-Muḥlaq, the head of the Da'wah, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, moved the headquarters of the movement to India in 946/1539. After 999/1589 a group

captured near Jabal Nuqum and his head struck off. The Mamlūks then advanced on the city with the heads of 'Amir and his brother impaled on their spears, and its governor, al-Ba'dānī, in fear, asked them for safeguard (*amān*)—which they granted and he opened the gates to them. Yet this in no way saved it, for they killed some 500 or 1,500 of its defenders and troops and exacted crushing levies from the merchants (*tujjār*)⁶ as they had done at Zabīd and other towns—for instance the little Bandar al-Buq'ah of Zabīd had been forced to pay the large sum of 10,000 *Ashrafis*, its revenue at the beginning of the 9th/15th century under Rasūlīd rule had been 50,000 dinars. The Mamlūks are said to have made the Ṣan'ānīs carry wine-jars (*dinān*) for them from al-Sā'ilah to the Qaṣr—which for the Muslim porters of the city would probably be a humiliation. This would indicate that the Jews who made the wine were established near al-Sā'ilah at the time. Nor did al-Ba'dānī's surrender preserve his own life and fortune, for when they later decided to leave Ṣan'ā' they strangled him. The chronicler compares them to the Tatars at the sack of 'Abbāsīd Baghdad!

The Zaydī Imām, Sharaf al-Dīn, took up his position near the fortress of Thulā which was still held by a Ṭāhirid governor. This alarmed the Mamlūks so they proposed to him that they leave him in peace there and he should not molest them in Ṣan'ā'. The Imām, now thoroughly awake to the treachery and cruelty of the Mamlūks, and the governor of Thulā, refused, and they set to fighting.

The Ottomans, Mamlūks and Zaydis

At this juncture now befell that decisive turn in affairs that was to affect the history of the Arabic-speaking countries for four centuries to come. The Ottoman Sultan of Turkey, Salīm I, defeated the Mamlūks in the year 1517 and went on to conquer Egypt. The Hijaz was proclaimed part of the Ottoman Empire and such Mamlūks as escaped the vengeance of the local people at Jeddah fled to join the Egyptian garrisons in Zabīd and Ta'izz.

At Ṣan'ā' the Mamlūk commander delivered the address from the *minbar* of the Jāmi' Mosque in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, thereby admitting his overlordship. He then departed, leaving behind a small garrison bottled up in the Qaṣr under siege by the Ṣan'ānīs. These latter sent to the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn, inviting him to enter Ṣan'ā'—which he did late in 923/1517. The Mamlūk garrison after much intrigue was permitted to leave for 'Amrān north of Ṣan'ā', the Imām playing an honourable part in restraining the townsfolk from breaking the agreement and attacking the retreating Mamlūks from whom they had suffered so much.

Once he had taken up residence in Ṣan'ā', the Imām pursued his wars with the Ṭāhirids now that their power had been broken by the Mamlūks and he commenced to build up a Zaydī state on the ruins of the Ṭāhirid sultanate. The Zaydis took Ta'izz and its citadel al-Qāhirah in 941/1534-5. Khanfar, Lahej and Abyan fell to them and in 942/1535-6 the Imām ordered Aden to be besieged, its ruler being one of the last Ṭāhirids, 'Amir b. Dāwūd. In 944/1537-8 the Imām turned to campaign against the Bāṭinis or Ṭayyibī-Fāṭimis of Ḥarāz, a district also containing Shāfi'ī and Zaydī elements. A number of Bāṭinī books, regarded by Zaydis

and Shāfi'īs as heretical, were taken—once small volume was said to contain a declaration that the marriage of persons within the forbidden degrees (*nikāḥ al-maḥārim*) prohibited by God is lawful.⁷

Periodic plagues and famines are described by the chroniclers throughout Yemeni history, and though these cannot be treated and analysed in detail as they should be, in this short survey, statistics of deaths in the plague of 933/1527 at Ṣan'ā' show how severely the population could be affected. From the first day of Sha'bān (May) over one hundred corpses were removed daily from the city to Khuzaymah cemetery—this rising to 1,700 on the last day of Ramaḍān, and on the two days of the Feast following it. The gates of the city were closed and herbage grew in the streets. Some of the dead were left unburied for lack of grave-diggers. Assuming these figures are not grossly exaggerated they indicate a mortality of over 11,000 souls.

The Arrival of the Ottomans

Zaydī progress in establishing control by the Imāmate over south western Arabia was now to be brought to an abrupt check. As long ago as 1525 a report, probably written by the commander of the Ottoman fleet in the Red Sea at that time, Salmān Ra'īs, was made, presumably, to the governor of Egypt, concerning the Red Sea and the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.⁸ The author of the report indicates the potential Portuguese danger to the Ottomans, and points out the extent to which they were capturing the trade in spices and other goods, as well as trying to cut off the trade between the Red Sea ports and the Indian coast. 'The province of Yemen', he says, 'is more flourishing than the province of Egypt, and it has no ruler. Its revenue is abundant. In this province Ḥusayn Bey with five hundred soldiers has been appointed governor (*mutaṣarrif*) of the district (*nāhiyah*) of Zabīd with the status of a *sanjak*. Zabīd yields per annum a hundred and eighty thousand gold pieces.'⁹ Ta'izz is highly spoken of, and the report says Ṣan'ā' (Ṣan'ān) has the status of a *sanjak*. The Yemen, he adds, would be easy and possible to conquer. 'Should it be conquered it would be possible to master the lands of India.'

In 945/1538-9 the mighty Ottoman naval expedition, so long in preparation, to contest Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean, commanded by Bāshā Sulaymān al-Ṭawāshī, had at last put to sea—and arrived at Kamarān island. The last of the Ṭāhirids, Dāwūd of Aden, sought support of the Ottomans against Imām Sharaf al-Dīn¹⁰—to which they agreed—but after Dāwūd had been so injudicious as to allow them to enter Aden, they hung him from the yard-arm of one of their grabs, seized the port and established a garrison there under a Turkish governor.

Sulaymān's expedition achieved nothing against the Portuguese in India and he returned in vengeful mood to the Arabian coast. At Zabīd he matched the treacherous behaviour of the Jarākisah Mamlūks by executing their Amīr of Zabīd, Aḥmad known as al-Nākhūdhah, the Ship's Captain, after he had come to meet him under his safe-conduct. This act he followed up by executing all the remaining Jarākisah in Zabīd. Sulaymān on departing for Jeddah and Istanbul, left instructions with the Ottoman Amīr, Muṣṭafā 'Izzat, whom he had placed in charge at Zabīd, to look for the opportunity to acquire the Imām's territory.

⁶ *Qurrat al-'uyūn*, II, 232.

⁷ Al-Qāsim, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, Cairo, 1388, II, 683. If this accusation should have any truth in it, the likelihood would be that it was a local aberration.

⁸ Michel Lesure, 'Un document ottoman de 1525 sur l'Inde portugaise et les pays de la Mer Rouge', *Mare Luso-Indicum*, Paris, 1976, III, 137-60; Salih Özbaran, 'A Turkish report on the Red Sea and the Portuguese in the

Indian Ocean (1525)', *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1978, IV, 81-88.

⁹ The *Mulakhkhaṣ* gives a figure several times this for the Zabīd area but perhaps the Report only means the little port of Zabīd, al-Buq'ah.

¹⁰ The Sharaf al-Dīn family try to play down this family quarrel which lost them the Imāmate. Cf. Clive Smith, 'Kawkabān: some of its history', *Arabian Studies*, 1982, VI.

The First Ottoman Conquest and Occupation

In pursuance of their expansionist policy the Turks were already besieging Ta'izz by 946/1539-40, and in 951/1544-5 they even attempted to reach Ṣan'ā' via the Wādī Sihām, a route taken by the post (*barīd*) from the Tihāmah to Ṣan'ā', the surprisingly short journey of two days only. These manoeuvres were abortive. What in actual fact made possible, or at least facilitated Ottoman penetration of the Upper Yemen was dissension with the Imāmic House, a disastrous pattern so frequently recurring in Yemeni history.

Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, in the declining years of his long life, grew envious of his son al-Muṭahhar, a valiant warrior who had played a leading role in Zaydī victories over the weakened Ṭāhirids. One of the Imām's sons attempted to imprison Muṭahhar but he retired to the lofty fortress of Thulā and the Imām sent another son of his to attack him there. Muṭahhar retaliated by writing to Uways Bāshā, the Ottoman general in Zabīd, urging him to attack Imāmic territory. At the same time he entered into correspondence with the tribes who, true to character, on perceiving the split between him and his father, at once stopped paying their dues (*ḥuqūq*) but, apprehensive of attack from Muṭahhar, took his brother's side instead.

Uways, far from loath to snatch the opportunity presented to the Ottoman forces, advanced from Zabīd to Ta'izz, taking large cannon with him. This seems to have been the first time cannon were used inside the Yemen and, as can be seen from the illustration from Rumūzi's *Fath-nāmah*,¹¹ they were to be employed all over the Yemen to reduce its otherwise virtually impregnable fortresses to surrender. Ta'izz nevertheless fell to Uways because the tribal soldiers garrisoning the city, mostly Shāfi'is, deserted to him and others followed. The *Ghāyat al-amānī*¹² remarks that news of this disaster took only four hours to reach Ṣan'ā', normally a journey of six to eight days. Evidently some system of signals was in operation, possibly a series of beacons.¹³ The news threw Ṣan'ā' into a state of fear. Some left the city with their families, but the preacher (*khaṭīb*) of Ṣan'ā', one of the Banū Ḥulayfah *faqīhs*, composed an address in which he quoted what the author of *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*¹⁴ states, namely that it is protected (*maḥmiyyah*), and that 'whosoever intends evil to it God will throw face downwards on the ground.' 'Perhaps this came from the afore-mentioned *faqīh* by way of setting the people of Ṣan'ā' at ease (about the Ottomans), for otherwise, such mighty calamities, far from unknown to anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with history, have befallen it, and were it only what befell it in the days of Wurdasān and those of the Jarākisah that had been affliction and tribulation enough.'¹⁵

The new crisis drove the Imām and his son to seek Muṭahhar's aid. Such was their weakness that they acceded to his terms—to hand over to him Ṣan'ā' with forts, weapons and supplies. He now moved into Ṣan'ā' and even struck coins in his own name there. The Turks meanwhile had brought most of the Lower Yemen under their heel and certain Arab quarters were urging them to go on and take the Upper Yemen.

In 954/1547 Uzdimir Pasha advanced on Ṣan'ā'. Earlier Muṭahhar had wished to carry out a spoiling raid on the Turks at Dhamār but was frustrated by family intrigues, so he retired to near-by Wādī Ḍahr from which he would be able to raid on Ṣan'ā' without being bottled up in the city. In it he left 300 arquebusiers (*bunduqānī*), so evidently the Zaydīs could by now

dispose of some firearms. Uzdimir camped outside Ṣan'ā'. Muṭahhar's efforts to combat the Ottoman army were repulsed so he retired once more on Thulā. One of his brothers moved to the defensible fort of Kawkabān on the escarpment west of Thulā and another made his headquarters at Dhū Marmar commanding the eastern flank of Ṣan'ā' plain and the route to the Jawf. These three forts with local tribal support could form a defensive line north of Ṣan'ā', and, had the Imāmic House been united, a base from which to harass the Turks.

Uzdimir pressed on with the siege of Ṣan'ā', but it was treachery that let him enter it, for a man of al-Raḥabah (the village north of Ṣan'ā') in charge of the Khandaq of Bāb al-Shu'ūb, the fortified wall set on arches over the northern part of the flood-course, let the Turks in from that side. So, on the seventh day from their arrival outside the city, its citizens woke up to see Turkish flags planted on the wall (*dāyir*) and spears brandished in front of them. Terror, panic, cries for help were the order of the day. Some 1,200 persons were slain, houses looted, honours ravished. Women were sold publicly in the market, some lost their reason, others killed themselves. A number of notables perished in the confusion. At the beginning of the day a grandson of the Imām took what troops he had to the Sā'ilah to fight the Turks, but was almost immediately routed and retired to the Qaṣr—which he swiftly left through Bāb al-Sitrān, the Turks distracted by the sack of the city, paying him no heed. Once established inside Ṣan'ā', Uzdimir issued orders to sheath the swords and end the looting.

Squabbles within the Imāmic House continued to weaken it severely in face of the Turks. Furthermore, on their eastern flank, the Ḥamzī Ashrāf of the Jawf, so often hostile to the Zaydī Imāms, linked up with the Turks. Uzdimir waged war with the Zaydī princes, mostly against Muṭahhar, employing his cannon against the mountain-top castles¹⁶ towering above his troops. During the periodic truces Muṭahhar had the further problem of suppressing troubles in the territory he controlled. Yet Turkish brutality and treachery alienated tribes who might have joined the Ottoman side, for no reliance could be placed on treaties the Ottomans contracted but immediately broke when they saw the moment opportune.

Uzdimir took up residence in Ṣan'ā' as capital of the Ottoman Yemen. In 961/1554 he was replaced, but left as his memorial the *qubbah* near Bāb al-Shu'ūb to which he assigned a generous *waqf*. A few years later, in 965/1557-8, another generous benefactor to Ṣan'ā' died, the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā, who built al-Azhar Mosque and extended al-Ajdham—to which, as to other buildings, he assigned extensive *wuqūfāt*. He also constructed fine buildings around which he laid out gardens in al-Jirāf and al-Rawḍah.

Arrangements for the Qaṣr of Ṣan'ā' are noted briefly by al-Nahrawālī¹⁷ round about the year 977/1569. The Governor-General (*Biklarbikiyyah/Beylerbeyi*) resides in it, for it is extremely strong and because of its impregnability it has in it an armoury (*bayt al-silāḥ*) and powder (*barūd*) magazine. At the side of it is a prison in which criminals are confined. When the Wazīr (Sinān Pasha) came to take Ṣan'ā' he appointed a constable (*dizdār*) in this castle in command of about seventy soldiers whose duty was to guard this castle with all the stores (*khazā'in*) of weapons, powder and prisoners it contained. He made governor over them an *āghā* called Khidr Bey, but he found it irksome to live in the Qaṣr because it was the residence of the Governor-General, so he resided outside the Qaṣr. So the Qaṣr became administered like a fortress (*qal'ah*), with an *āghā* constable (*dizdār*) of the garrison, and a *kedkhudā*, according to the custom of fortresses,

11 Plate 101. See Fehmi Edhem and I Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits orientaux illustres de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul*, Paris, 1933, 11.

12 Op. cit., II, 695.

13 Beacons have been used till at least very recently in the Yemen to communicate news. See Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, Ta'izz, 1372 H, (2), II, 134.

14 Cf. p. 40a.

15 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 694.

16 Rumūzi has several pictures of fighting at Kawkabān when later it was held against Sinān. The Yemenis are shown as dark and the Turks as light coloured. The Yemenis are generally shown as wearing green, but in point of fact probably wore indigo-dyed clothing.

17 *Al-Barq al-Yamānī fi'l-fath al-'Uthmānī*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, al-Riyād, 1387/1967, 389.

but the *āghā* (Khidr) and the rest of the soldiers lived outside the town (*balad*). This Khidr treated the townsfolk unjustly and oppressively so they complained to the Wazir and he dismissed him, appointing as governor over them Yaḥyā Jāwūsh of the Jāwūshīyyah of the Sublime Porte (al-Bāb al-‘Ālī). Ṣan‘ā’ wall itself had at this time towers (*abrāḥ*)¹⁸ as of course one would expect, and the Turkish Dīwān or Government Offices, was located there.

A measure which would have had its effect on commerce in the Yemen was taken by the governor Maḥmūd Bāshā as a first action when he came into office in 967/1560—he is described as a great blood-shedder. He executed the *faqīh* ‘Abd al-Malik al-Yamanī, the Amīr of the Mint (*Dār al-Ḍarb*)—all of whose property he sequestered—and along with him the *kaykhiyā* Kaywān, both of whom had adulterated the coinage (*sikkah*) with copper.

The First Zaydī Attempt to Liberate the Yemen from the Ottomans

Some twenty years after the sack of Ṣan‘ā’, by 974/1566, Muṭahhar had regained enough power to advance on the city during the absence of the Turkish Governor in Istanbul. His nephew, at the same time, entered al-Ḥaymah and Banū Maṭar, Ḥarāz having been taken from the Turks. The Ismā‘īlīs of Hamdān, though inveterate foes of the Zaydis, had been alienated by Turkish harshness. Al-Nahrawālī¹⁹ provides an interesting if violently hostile account of Muṭahhar’s propaganda to the Yemeni tribes in asking for their support, accusing him of telling the tribes that he had received commands in dreams from the Prophet and advice to relieve the *ra‘ayā* cultivators of the *kharāj*-tax for three years, that he should not punish them for past lapses but pardon them for ‘following others than yourself in the past’. The Prophet has promised him a sign ‘to my people (*ummatī*)’ that there would be an eclipse of the moon on Shawwāl 14 which, as al-Nahrawālī points out, Muṭahhar would be able to predict from the almanacs (*taqāwīm*).

In Ṣan‘ā’, when he commenced to lay siege to it, were sixteen Turkish Amīrs, some of whom were clearly Yemenis—they included the Ismā‘īlī Dā‘ī and his son. Muṭahhar’s success in repulsing a relieving column from the south brought out the tribes against the Turks, and the Governor, Murād Bāshā, was slain in flight from Dhamār where he had abandoned his stores and possessions. The Ṣan‘ā’ garrison now surrendered to Muṭahhar, camped at ‘Aṣīr village to the west—about 600 Ottoman horse and 2,000 infantry etc.—whom, in contradistinction to Turkish cruelty, he treated well. Muṭahhar entered Ṣan‘ā’, going first to al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr, his sons then taking over the Qaṣr. He now put his own representatives into many districts of the Yemen to collect taxes and he despatched an Amīr to Aden. Zaydī forces attacked Zabīd, but in the flat

Tibamah they were no match for the Turks and were routed.

The Amīrs in the Ottoman service still in Ṣan‘ā’ opened a secret correspondence with the new Turkish governor at Zabīd, urging him to march on Ṣan‘ā’. This Muṭahhar intercepted and taxed them with breaking their pact with him, punishing them by seizing their property.

Istanbul was now obviously disturbed at events in the Yemen for a *mühimme* dated 975/1567-8 records that the Beylerbeyi of the Yemen was ordered not to plunder Arab property, nor to oppress the people but to overcome ‘the rebellious Shaykh Muṭahhar’.²⁰ From Egypt were to be taken 2,000 Janissaries, 2,500 arquebuses (*tüfenk*), 7,000 cannon balls (*darbzān yuvalaḡı*), heavy firing stones (*aḡır top güllesi*) and other necessities—to be sent from Suez.²¹ Another *hüküm*²² relates that Sinān Pasha, Beylerbeyi of Egypt was appointed Commander-in-Chief (*Serasker*) in the Yemen with 700,000 *akçes* salary (*sālyāne*) as replacement for Muṣṭafā Pasha.

Sinān took vigorous counter-action against the Zaydis. Arriving at Zabīd with much treasure and large reinforcements, and bringing up large guns with him, he advanced by the central route on Ṣan‘ā’ via Ta‘izz and Dhamār. Once again Muṭahhar had no option but to withdraw from Ṣan‘ā’, but he took with him the treasure he had acquired and the guns captured in the forts. He permitted the Ṣan‘ānīs to get in touch with Sinān, probably to preserve them from Turkish retaliation, but took into his service about 500 of the notable soldiers (*a‘yān al-‘askar*) from Ṣan‘ā’.

Sinān adopted a more clement policy than that at the earlier Ottoman siege of Ṣan‘ā’,²³ despatching a rescript (*marṣūm*) promising the townsfolk security (*amān*) and, when his troops did enter, he assigned a Shāwush to stop them molesting private houses.

Using his Ismā‘īlī allies, he sent the Dā‘ī ‘Abdullāh b. Muḥammad with men to re-take Ḥaymah and Ḥarāz. In person he launched an attack on the line of forts north of Ṣan‘ā’, principally Kawkabān and Thulā, artillery bombardment playing a large part in operations. At the attack on Muṭahhar’s son Luṭf Allāh at Dhū Marmar and Wādī ‘l-Sirr the Turkish soldiers were ordered by Ḥasan Bāshā to take men, women, children and infants prisoner but not to kill them, the males to be sent to join the galley slaves (*al-kūrkaḡiyyah*) of whom the Turks were greatly in need.²⁴ The Zaydis now had some guns in their castles and Muṭahhar more treasure at his disposal. Nevertheless it is to be remarked that in local wars the Arabs were still using mangonels (*manjanīq*)²⁵ as late as 988/1580. Muṭahhar spurred on his supporters to resist by reminding them of the ‘looting, slaying, imprisonment, violation of honour (*intihāk al-ḥaram*) that would befall them from the troops of Rūm and Egypt’.²⁶ In the heavy fighting the Yemenis put up a stout resistance and eventually Sinān was obliged to come to a truce with Muṭahhar at Kawkabān.

Sinān, after he had settled the affairs of the Ottoman troops²⁷ at Ṣan‘ā’ and increased their pay-and-rations (*nafaqāt*), made preparations to return to Egypt. He doubled the *kharāj*-tax on

18 Ibid, 391.

19 Ibid, 377.

20 The same *mühimme* or *defter* requires two *beylerbeyliks* of Ṣan‘ā’ and the Yemen be again united and given to Uzdimir (976-7/1568-9). An earlier *ferman* of 973/1565-6 had ordered the Yemen to be divided into two *beylerbeyliks*—this was the result of an intrigue by a governor, Maḥmūd Bāshā, against his successor Rīdwan Bāshā who was trying to expose Maḥmūd’s shortcomings. Maḥmūd managed to persuade the Porte that so large an area as the Yemen could not be properly managed unless divided into two (*al-Barq al-Yamānī*, 159).

21 Salih Özbaran, ‘The importance of the Turkish archives for the history of Arabia in the sixteenth century’, *First International Symposium on studies in the history of Arabia: sources of the history of Arabia*, University of Riyāḍ, 1977.

22 Ibid. Turkish spellings are retained here.

23 Nevertheless in A. Tietze, ‘Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s description of Cairo of 1599’, *Öst. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften*, 120 Bd.

Forschungen zur islamischen Philologie u. Kulturgeschichte, Bd. v. Wien, 1975, 75, he is described by a hostile source as ‘a revengeful uneducated Albanian’! For further information on Pashas who had served in the Yemen, see *ibid*, 72.

J. Richard Blackburn, ‘The collapse of Ottoman authority in the Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568’, *Die Welt des Islams*, Berlin, 1980, XIX, i-iv, 119-76, is an important study but appeared too recently to have been used.

24 *Al-Barq al-Yamānī*, 289.

25 A Rasulid account (about two pages) of the *manjanīq* and its construction is now at my disposal.

26 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 740.

27 *Al-Barq al-Yamānī*, 297, alludes to the use of *Shafāḡī* (sing. *Shaffūt*), Arabs, composed of all tribes who eat the Sultan’s rations (*‘alūfah*)—it seems to mean to take the Sultan’s pay, and serve the soldiers (*al-‘askar*) whether travelling or at home, and perfume (*yarubbūn*) their hair—perhaps he simply means they oil it. The Wazir set an Amīr over them. These *Shafāḡī* are noted before Ottoman times, but seem to have been auxiliaries employed by them also.

the Yemen, levied for remission to the Sultan at Istanbul, now standing at 200,000 dinars.

When Muṭahhar died of blood in the urine (*ḥawl al-dam*), it was a great calamity (*muṣībah*) felt, as the chronicler relates, throughout the whole country. Yet again the divisive tendency of the Yemen served it ill, for each of Muṭahhar's sons stuck to the district which he happened to control. In the ensuing dissensions the Ottomans were able to play politics in the north. They attacked or intrigued with the princes, turning their rivalries to their own advantage, but accepting their *de facto* local authority by granting them recognition as Ottoman officials. By 1000/1591 all turmoil (*fitnah*) in the Yemen had abated—the quiet was to continue some five years.

The Governor regarded as the most just of the Turks during this century was Murād Bāshā (984-88/1576-80) who relieved Ṣan'ā' of many unjust customs (*rusūm*, often meaning taxes) including forced billeting of troops. Nevertheless the two Jesuits brought captive to Ṣan'ā' in 1590, where they were detained for five years, say of it: 'It was a very great city in ancient times but after the Turks had taken it the population declined so that there remained not more than about 2,500 houses, of which 500 belonged to Jews. Within the walls, which are of thick mud with many towers, there are numerous gardens and orchards with many of the fruits there are in Portugal. All are watered from wells, for there is no spring within the city.'²⁸ The Ottomans left some fine buildings in Ṣan'ā' including al-Murādiyyah, and especially the Bakīriyyah Mosque completed by the Governor Ḥasan Bāshā in 1005/1596-7. They promoted the Ḥanafī rite of Islam in the city and there is recorded the death of the Muftī of the Ḥanafīyyah at Ṣan'ā', an Ahnūmī, originally a Zaydī, who had adopted this rite.

The Imām al-Qāsim the Great Rises against the Ottomans

Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, known as the Great (al-Kabīr), is justly regarded as the founder of the Zaydī Yemen.²⁹ As al-Ḥādī is the heroic personality who brought Zaydism to the Yemen, so al-Qāsim is the first hero of the later Zaydī era. His Odyssey of adventurous wanderings is set forth in its confusing detail in A. S. Tritton's account of the *Rise of the [Zaydī] Imāms of Ṣan'ā'*.³⁰ His career, typical of that of more than one Zaydī Imām, merits tracing in outline.

Al-Qāsim was engaged in teaching at Masjid Dāwūd of Ṣan'ā' when a pupil of his suggested he declare a claim to the Imāmate. In view of the Ottoman domination he at first regarded this as absurd but when the Turks began to show suspicions of him he left for Shibām-Kawkabān and then Bilād al-Sharaf—since his father had supported the redoubtable Muṭahhar it was natural he should seek refuge in what had been Muṭahhar's territory. In 1006/1597-8 he proclaimed publicly summons (*da'wah*) to himself in Ḥajūr district in the north west, with a following of 400 tribesmen. He was further joined by the Ahnūmīs, known for their loyalty to the Zaydī Imāms up to the present time. The Turks responded by the despatch of troops to attack Ahnūm and al-Qāsim had to take refuge in the high defensible table-land of Baraṭ to the east, territory of the powerful Dhū Ḥusayn and Dhū Muḥammad tribes.

Strong action by the Ottoman general Sinān Bāshā al-Kaykhiyā in 1008/1599-60, coupled with cruelties or bribery, overawed the tribes. When he invested al-Qāsim in Sūdāh the Imām had to abandon it in haste, carrying only his personal weapons and a

Qur'ān, accompanied by a handful of followers with only three firearms between them, to take refuge in faithful Ahnūm. In the confused fighting of the next few years in the north the son of Muṭahhar's brother and rival Shams al-Dīn who generally held some forts on the escarpment of Kawkabān, usually supported the Turks.

By 1013/1604-5, the year in which General Sinān was appointed Ottoman Governor, the Imām was in Baraṭ again. Negotiating through Muṭahhar's nephew Ibn Shams al-Dīn, the Governor tried to induce al-Qāsim to accept the office of fief-holder. When he refused, the Baraṭ tribes in fear of Turkish reprisals, dissolved their agreements with the Imām and he had to leave.

Al-Qāsim was by now almost in despair and contemplated leaving the Yemen altogether, when the Amīr of Ḥajjah, the strong town and fortress in the western mountains that commands several important routes, offered him his support. This proved to be the turn of the tide. To quell the insurgent districts the Turks despatched Yemeni Amīrs attached to their service, but without avail. The Zaydī tribes captured from Ottoman forces such fortified centres as lofty Shahārah and broke out in a general rising. Sinān reacted by ill-treating the hostages or prisoners in his hands, men, women and boys, till some died. Early in 1016/1607, hearing he was to be superseded by a new Governor, Ja'far Pasha, Sinān tried to arrange a truce with the Imām through the intermediary of Ibn Mu'āfā, Lord of Sūdāh. After some false starts the Imām did agree with the new Governor, Ja'far, that he should retain the territories he had won independently of Ottoman control, and the Arab hostages (*rahā'in*) were released from Ṣan'ā' prison.

Sinān betook himself to Mocha but died there and is buried beside al-Shādhilī, the saint with whose name coffee is associated, and his successor seized his vast treasure. He had executed some remarkable public works. One of these was the causeway (*Mudarraḥ*) to Shahārah from Rakham to its West Gate along which I travelled in 1964. In Ṣan'ā' alone he constructed the court (*ṣarḥ*) of the Great Mosque which he paved, and the domed building in the centre of it, as well as restoring the ablution places (*maṭāhir*). The tallest minaret in Ṣan'ā', that of the Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mosque was also built by him, and the Public Bath Hammām al-Maydān. His important *daftar* or *waqf* properties is discussed on p. 153a. It was furthermore Sinān who built the fort on top of Jabal Nuqum after destroying Birāsh fort east of it, because the Khawlān tribes used to raid right up to Qā' Ṣan'ā', then take refuge in Nuqum without being noticed by the Birāsh garrison. The Nuqum garrison, when the tribes made for the Qā', would fire arbalests (*zayārīḥ/ziyārāt*) to warn the Ṣan'ānis.

An evil thing Sinān did, the chronicler tells us, was to change the coin (*sikkah*), entirely abolishing the former currency (*al-ḍarbat al-ūlā*) and establish a new currency. This brought great loss to the people in their trading (*tijarah*) and debts (*duyūn*),³¹ the merchants suffering detriment (*taḍarrur*) through it. One of them said, 'It does not benefit those in power to alter the coinage (*sikkah*), nor introduce a decrease (*nuṣṣān*) in the measure and weight standards (*al-mikayāl wa-l-mizān*) since loss is thereby occasioned to many of the people of the time.'³² Ottoman Governors were indeed notorious for the amount of debased coinage they issued. It is in 1022/1613 that the *Ghāyat al-amānī*³³ alludes to the *qirsh* for the first time but it was obviously in circulation before that date. A curious titbit of information is that in Sinān's governorship the substance called *mūmiyā* appeared in Jabal Nuqum, not being known there previously; it

28 C. F. Beckingham and R. B. Serjeant, 'A journey by two Jesuits from Dhufār to Ṣan'ā' in 1590', *Georg. Journal*, London, 1950, CXV, 203.

29 Al-Qāsim was descended from a 4th/10th century Imām, al-Manṣūr Yahyā (325-66/934-76).

30 Oxford-Madras 1925.

31 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 792.

32 This would mean sums owed to merchants.

33 *Ibid*, II, 753.

34 *Ibid*, II, 797.

was dark red in colour and more efficacious (*ablagh*) than that which comes from Egypt.

The chronicler says of Sinān that he spied on the people, keeping his ears open to hear of their hidden affairs, and meted out punishment on the slightest evidence. Rarely could anyone persuade him to turn back once he had decided on anything.

The new Governor, Ja'far Bāshā, took the severe measure in 1016/1607-8 of executing the intendant (*nāzir*) of *waqfs*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bawnī because the Ṣan'ānīs had complained of his taking their property for the *waqf*. This item of information is unusual for, although many *waqf* intendants are recorded as acting corruptly, it is because they converted *waqf* revenues to their own use.

Ja'far Bāshā on his recall in 1021/1612-13, went down to Zabīd preparatory to quitting the Yemen, but his successor died en route for Ṣan'ā'. Ja'far then started back to Ṣan'ā', but the Turkish commander there, Chelebi, along with the Arab Amīrs in Ottoman service, decided to fight him and left the city to do so. The north now lay undefended apart from some castle garrisons that soon fell to the tribes who went on to take Ṣa'dah. The Ṣa'dah garrison agreed to evacuate the town under a safe-conduct from the Yemenis. They set out accompanied by the tribal chiefs who had guaranteed their safety but they had not gone far when the tribes fell upon them, slaying and plundering. It is characteristic of the Yemen that the Imām's army, small as it was, attempted to protect them, but was helpless in the face of the large tribal contingents involved. The tribesmen were likely enough motivated in part by their resentment of past Turkish cruelties. To have the surrender conditions honoured the Imām had to send one of his sons whom the tribes would respect and fear. In more than one case the Imām's officers contracted agreements which the tribes then broke, for at the best of times Imāmī authority over the Yemeni tribes has always been uncertain.

Ja'far meanwhile had overcome his opponents under Chelebi and entered Ṣan'ā' by the Khandaq. He despatched a force of 9,000 men to re-take Ṣa'dah. Al-Qāsim now found himself in a situation close to that of the Imām al-Badr about mid-1664, for the Ottomans initiated a pincer movement against his position in the central highlands, despatching a force from the west through Abū 'Arīsh in the Tihāmah plain to attack Jabal Rāzīh which can also be approached from the Qā' of Ṣa'dah in the east. The Imām's men routed the Tihāmah column, its commander losing his tents, copper, carpets, treasure, clothes and cattle!

A deal of fighting ensued, with much changing of sides by the tribes and treachery by both tribes and Turks. The tribes feared the Turks but were unscrupulous looters of Yemenis or Turks to their own selfish advantage. The Turks suffered some signal defeats in which they lost many prisoners to the Imām whom he distributed among the tribes as agricultural labourers. Yet he still remained unable to capture Ṣa'dah and one of his sons was actually slain there and his head taken to Ṣan'ā'. His power nevertheless continued to grow and his position in the central highlands became firmly established.

At this juncture Ja'far Bāshā, hearing he was to be superseded, came to a truce with the Imām on the basis that al-Qāsim should retain the districts he now held and Yemeni prisoners in Ottoman hands should be sent from Ṣan'ā'—for it was feared that the Imām's son imprisoned there might be sent to Europe. Ja'far departed with the great fortune he had amassed from the estates of Turks deceased during his term of office. The chronicler³⁵ remarks that the best thing he did was to remove the *kharāj*-tax

from lands deserted by their inhabitants; previously a district would be taxed according to former assessments, regardless of whether land had continued under cultivation or not. The new Governor, Muḥammad Bāshā, entered Ṣan'ā' in 1026/1617 and set up in al-Bustān near Bāb al-Sabaḥah.

Ṣa'dah now fell to the Imām and support for him continued to grow, though not without reverses from time to time. An instructive appreciation of the politico-military situation following the truce concluded between the Imām and Muḥammad Bāshā in 1028/1619 emerges at a conference to which he summoned the Amīrs and the Aghās.

'You know,' (said the Governor), 'how troubles (*fitnah*) have gone on between us and the Imām despite our doubling the number of soldiers, increasing their pay and allowances (*madaḍ*)³⁶ and extending their role (*madār*) yet they have shown no efficiency to conquer the Imām's territory but remain stationed on the frontiers.' They made a reply to him, the gist of which is, 'There is no good moving against the Imām at this time, nor any result but loss of men, for the Imām and his companions are not now as they used to be in times past. On the contrary, they have become owners of weapons and equipment (*'uddah*) from what they have won from the soldiers of the (Ottoman) Sultanate during this period—beside which the Imām receives from them only what they themselves (are prepared to) concede of the obligatory dues (*al-ḥaqq al-wājib*) and he does not set out to collect (*qabḍ*) any of the rest of the claims (*maḥālīb*) for tax. In this way their wish for him has redoubled and they have spent themselves freely in the *jihād* in front of him—whereas in this gang (*'iṣbah*) with you there is not a single man of the redoubtable and courageous Ottoman (Arwām) troops of yore—except a pitiful few. God has placed abundant weal in this land under your domination. (Proper) ordering of it and study of its conditions are matters of the utmost importance of which no intelligent man is unaware.'³⁷

Muṣṭafā 'Alī's³⁸ description of recruitment in Egypt of soldiers for the Yemen and Ethiopia bears out what the Amīrs told the Governor at Ṣan'ā', which he calls a calamity for the Egyptian Turks (Rūmīler) and the Muslims.

As soon as the noble order arrives from the capital, in which the recruitment of 300 or 500 soldiers of Turkish origin is decreed, at once the illustrious *beglerbegi* appoints two conspicuous good-for-nothings for this service. One of them becomes the *āghā*, the other one the steward (*ketkhudā*). He goes to the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque and sits there every day until noon with one or two bags of gold coins. After this has been publicly proclaimed, a countless number of wretches that have never in their life seen five gold pieces together hear of this windfall and sell themselves for five or ten gold pieces. . . . They have their names entered in the register, whatever the circumstances may be. At once they find a cock's feather and stick it on their heads. They even swell with pride, saying 'We have become the Sultan's servants'. All they possess is a short under-vest reaching to the waist and a hatchet. That is also all the baggage that is going to be theirs. When they come to the Yemen they see neither the *beglerbegi* nor the capital. They are distributed to forts out in the wilderness. [There] they live among the *fellāḥin* until their end comes from a rifle [sic] or arrow.

That the Yemenis were now well armed is confirmed by the Pasha's construction of the star-shaped fort on top of Jabal Kibrit near Dhamār³⁹ to prevent supplies of sulphur for the manufacture

35 Ibid, II, 806.

36 Ja'far Bāshā had begun to pay Arab troops at the same rate as Turks.

37 Ibid, II, 811-2.

38 Op. cit., 52.

39 Reference is made to Dhamār sulphur by Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir*, Leiden, 1951-54, II, 191 and C. Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, trans. R. Heron, Edinburgh, 1792, I, 363. Indeed a *mühimme* of 975/1565-6 states that by that date the Yemen was producing a good quality gunpowder.

of gun-powder reaching Imāmic territory. The open hint that the Ottomans had endangered their position by extortionate taxation doubtless reflects the views of the Arab Amīrs attending the Governor's conference.

Even Ma'āfir of the Lower Yemen had for a time rebelled, so, in view of Ottoman difficulties in so many places, it is hardly surprising that they concluded a treaty on the basis of the *status quo* with the Zaydis in 1028/1619. This was renewed after al-Qāsim's death in the following year by his son al-Mu'ayyad, destined to play a major part in recovering his country from the Ottomans.

Imām al-Mu'ayyad and the Final Expulsion of the Ottomans

During their brief terms of office Muḥammad Bāshā and his successor like many of their predecessors accumulated vast fortunes. A new Pasha, Ḥaydar, was appointed in 1034/1624 with whom Mu'ayyad, conscious of the fickle loyalties of the tribes and their impatience, even of his own rule, renewed the earlier truce. However, by the close of 1035/1626 he decided to break with the Ottomans. He was joined in a widespread rising by the northern tribes. Victories all over the north brought out ever more tribes against the Turks; they took much booty and rendered the roads unsafe for caravans taking them supplies. Most of the Tihāmāh fell to the Zaydis but the Turks, counter-attacking, managed to hold onto Zabīd.

Meanwhile the Imām's men were besieging Ṣan'ā'. They captured the Jabal Nuqum fort, but since the Turks within the city were still strong, the Yemeni garrison posted on Nuqum were given orders to fire the *zayārīṭ/ziyyārāt*⁴⁰ twice if they saw Ḥaydar's men make a foray on Ḥaddah, thrice if they raided in al-Rawḍah direction. To the south, Sinḥān tribal district had opted for the Imām—this made the situation the more difficult for the Turks. Ḥaydar asked for a truce so he could leave Ṣan'ā' for the Lower Yemen taking all his effects with him—this the Imām's son refused. To show their teeth the Turks mounted an armed demonstration with a display (*zīnah*) around the city, and their cavalry routed assaults by the Imām's men—but the parade was ineffective and they retired back into Ṣan'ā'. A cavalry sortie to al-Ḥaddah frightened the Zaydī headquarters out of the village into the hills and it moved round the encircling mountains to al-Rawḍah. Zaydī contingents seem to have been unable to cope with mounted troops.

The Dā'i and Hamdān, sympathetic to the Turks, tried to intervene, but the Zaydis punished Hamdān and entered the well known Ismā'īlī centre, Ṭaybah, above Wādī Ḍahr. The princes of the Imāmic house were prominent in the fighting. The Imām for his part was busy reducing strongholds in the north most of which were probably held by the Turks' Arab allies—'Amrān with its treasury (*khizānah*) fell into Zaydī hands, and the key fortress of Dhū Marmar was taken in 1037/1627-8. The Lower Yemen was now also falling away from the Ottomans. News arrived that Shāh 'Abbās of Persia was pressing hard upon the Ottomans in Iraq and this diverted the Porte's attention from what was happening in the Yemen. Disaster overtook a reinforcement of 1,500 Turks despatched from Egypt which was lost at sea almost to a man, though a Turkish expedition from Sawākin did land at Mocha and put its walls in order.

As the siege of Ṣan'ā' continued Ḥaydar soon turned to force demands on persons of means and many citizens asked permission

⁴⁰ *Ziyyārāt/ziyyārāt*, apparently a type of arbalest, possibly the same name as *zabārīt* of *Ṭabaq al-halwā*, 62b, annals for 1077/1666. Perhaps *zabārīt*, should be read here.

⁴¹ *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 830, seems to imply Ṣan'ā' was surrendered to Ḥusayn.

⁴² See n. 22.

to leave the city. As conditions grew severer he rounded on his allies and robbed them. The Imām, seeing his soldiers needed rest, wrote to Ḥaydar in December 1037/1629 proposing a truce with the release of hostages from Ṣan'ā'—this was agreed and extended to Dhu 'l-Qa'dah 1038/1629. Famine in the capital and the tremendous prices paid for grain had been an incentive for people to run the gauntlet with provisions for Ṣan'ā', Hamdān seemingly being the main suppliers. Food was now freely allowed in, but jewels were converted into cash and cannon turned into bronze coins (*dawāris*) to pay for it.

As the truce drew towards its end, Ḥaydar prepared to leave Ṣan'ā' for Zabīd. On Friday, 14 Rajab 1038/9 March 1629 the Imām's son 'Alī⁴¹ met Ḥaydar in al-Bustān and Ḥaydar delivered over to him the keys of the city. The Imām sent a contingent of his own men under 'Alī to protect Ḥaydar's camp as the local people had collected to plunder everything even up to the edge of the camp; another son, Ḥusayn, sent troops to protect Ḥaydar on his journey to the coast via Bāb al-Aḥjur and Jabal Tays. His treasure, 10,000 (gold pieces) which he had deposited in the Qaṣr was given by the Imām to his envoy. Mu'ayyad appointed his son Yaḥyā governor (*'amīl*) over Ṣan'ā' liberated from Ottoman rule.

Ta'izz fell to the Zaydis the same year. The Ottomans remained a potential danger to the Zaydī Imāms in parts of the Tihāmāh for a number of years to come, especially in Zabīd and Mocha, but the surrender under agreement to the Zaydis and occupation of Zabīd, Mocha and Kamarān in 1045/1636 removed the last trace of the first Ottoman occupation.

Turkish Administration during the First Ottoman Occupation

Any account of Turkish administration which does not embody the abundant information contained in the Ottoman archives is by this token defective—Dr. Salih Özbaran⁴² has re-emphasized their value and the preliminary outline of data he has provided is so important that some must be quoted here as an indication of what these archives can contribute to the history of Ṣan'ā'.

The Ru'ūs Defterler (957-1326/1550-1908) that cover parts of both Ottoman occupations, show, *inter alia*, that in the administration of the Beylerbeylik of the Yemen a portion of the revenue was not distributed in the form of *timār* (a sort of fief) but collected directly by the Treasury. In the Yemen *eyālet* or province the salaries (*sālyāne*) of beylerbeys, soldiers and other officials came from the annual taxes collected in the provinces—as in fact the document *infra* confirms.

Dr. Özbaran remarks that 'as far as we know, no cadastral survey has survived to the present for sixteenth century Arabia.' Some of the Maliye Defterleri contain accounts of revenues and expenditures of the Imperial Treasury (Hazine-i amire) of the Yemen. Some cover customs duties, regulation of trade and industry or expenditures, i.e. the salaries (*sālyāne*) of high officials, pay (*mevācib*, Ar. *marwājib*) of soldiers, etc. One dated 1003/1594-5 has a special character as an *ijmāl* type—it shows various revenues totalling 608,479 *āltūns*, the salaries of the Vezir Hasan Pasha, *defterdar* and *umera* at 92,837 *āltūns*, wages of various officials at 344,916 *āltūns*. Two documents in the Topkapı Palace Archives dated 968/1560 and 983/1575-6 contain accounts of the revenues and expenditure of the Beylerbeylik of the Yemen.

The document in Arabic that follows was found for me by Mademoiselle Nigār Anafarta⁴³ of the Topkapı Saray in 1963 along with several others which must await publication mean-

⁴³ In addition to my debt to Mlle. Anafarta I am indebted to Professor Dr. Halil Sabillioglu of the Economics Faculty of Istanbul University who, in spare moments at the Riyāḍ Symposium enlightened me on numerous difficult readings of these documents, and to Dr. Susan Skilliter for her constant willingness to be consulted on difficulties with Turkish.

while. In several places my reading of the text is uncertain but these accounts, rendered from Mocha when Ḥasan Bāshā al-Wazīr (988-1031/1581-1604) was Governor of the Yemen, are so illustrative of the Ottoman rule that it seems appropriate to include them here. Mocha by this time had become the principal supply port of the Turks replacing Aden which they had by mismanagement allowed to fall into a sorry state as a note dated 1000/1591-2 on the fly-leaf of the Istanbul Ms. of Ibn al-Mujāwir's *Tārīkh al-Mustabshir* informs us. In 990/1582 and the previous year 989/1581 there was much confused fighting in the north. The document provides details on military supplies of lead, cannon-ball, brass/copper and cloth, this last perhaps for the troops, sent up to Ṣan'ā'.

Praise is to God

A Blessed Daftar

Containing a list of the expenditures expended on Sultanic affairs (*muhimmāt*)⁴⁴ and what pertains to [the expenditure of] the Presence of our lord His Excellency,⁴⁵ God aid him with His support, i.e., the Sultanic revenue accruing from Bandar Mocha over a period of eight months, from the new moon of Muḥarram al-Ḥarām at the beginning of the year 990/January 26 1582, until the close of the month of Sha'bān al-Karīm/September 18 of the afore-said year. God, far is He from imperfection, is He who brings success.

Principal (*al-Aṣl*)

Gold, good coin (*dhahab*,⁴⁶ *sikkah ḥasanah*) 32,731

Expenditure on account of the Honourable Sultanate, God Exalted strengthen it

Expenditure on the two cannon (*midfa'*) despatched to al-Ḥujariyyah to the military camp (*maḥaṭṭah*) against 'Ayn,⁴⁷ that being on account of the work on the wheeled carriages (*'ajal*), cost of charcoal and wage of blacksmiths and carpenters good coin 16 silver 19 *pārahs*

The blessed grabs⁴⁸ when they set out for Bāb al-Mandab:

Captain⁴⁹ persons 2 good coin 7

Purchase of yard-pieces and twisted cord for the *jalabah*-dhows (?)⁵⁰ gold, good coin 2

Honourable revenue despatched to the Imperial Treasury (*al-Khizānat al-'Amirah*) by the hand of the al-Sharīf Ḥusayn . . . gold, good coin 4,000

Revenue despatched by the hand of Yaḥyā Jāwush⁵¹ good coin 1,800

Salary (*sāliyān*) of our lord, His Excellency, God aid him with His support good coin 4,288

Purchase of lead from the Āghawāt of His Excellency in Egypt the Preserved. *buhārs*⁵² 100 at good (coin) 10

good coin 1,000

Hire of camels to send up cannon-ball (*funduq*) by the hand of Muḥammad Jāwush. good coin 3

Purchase of pieces⁵³ of Mecca Indian *lafif* (cloth ?)⁵⁴ *kawrajah*⁵⁵ 25 *kawrajah* by good coin 18

good coin 450

Purchase of pieces of Indian *lafif* also *kawrajah* 20 by 19

good coin 380

Purchase of *lātī*⁵⁶—cloth, first lot/issue (*daf'ah*) *kawrajah* 20 by 13 good coin 260

Purchase of *lātī*-cloth (second) lot/issue *kawrajah* 11 by 13

good coin 143

Purchase of *lātī*-cloth, small. . . . *kawrajah* 10 by 9 good coin 90

⁴⁴ Turkish *mühimme*.

⁴⁵ The Governor of the Yemen ?

⁴⁶ The *ḥarf dhahab aḥmar* or *dhahab* is to be identified with the *ashrafi* (*The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, 145).

⁴⁷ Unidentified and reading not quite certain.

⁴⁸ The *ghurāb* is a well known type of vessel.

⁴⁹ *Rubbān*, might also mean 'pilot'.

⁵⁰ My reading here is conjectural—*qurā* (plur. of *qarya*) a ship's yard, *dafār*, possibly 'cord' but dubious, *ajlibah* perhaps a plural of *jalabah*, but so far I have not found this attested.

⁵¹ Identified in *al-Barq al-Yamānī*, 389, but other persons mentioned here have not yet been traced.

⁵² The *buhār* is usually 300 lbs (*The Portuguese*, 151).

⁵³ *Fiṣāl* may be an unattested plural of *faṣlah*, the latter known to Dozy, *Supplément*, but in this and other cases below the reading may be *faṣālah*.

⁵⁴ *Lafif*—cloth has not been traced.

⁵⁵ A score.

⁵⁶ *Lātī* and *dūṭī* (dhoti) are mentioned on the fly-leaf to the Aya Sofia Ms. of Ibn al-Mujāwir, dated 1005/1596-7. Gazetteers of India show several places called Lat—perhaps this is a cloth made at one of them.

Purchase of brass (*nahās*)⁵⁷ from the afore-mentioned Āghawāt of Egypt *buhārs farāsilaḥs* per the *buhār* good coin 44 12, manns 45 4 good coin 2017 silver *pārahs* 8

Purchase of brass from Khawjah 'Abbās Jawsaqī⁵⁸ per the *buhār* good coin 40 *buhārs farāsilaḥs* manns 4 9 8 good coin 186 silver *pārahs* 6

Hire of camels for the afore-mentioned brass and despatching cannon-ball (*funduq*) loads 44 good coin 20

Draft (*ḥawālah*) of al-Khawājā Ṣafar b. Ibrāhīm according to the honourable certificate/billet⁵⁹ good coin 151 silver *pārahs* 20

Collection (*qabḍ*)⁶⁰ of the Bāniyān arriving from Şan'ā' according to an honourable certificate/billet good coin, 15

Collection of the group (*jamā'ah*)⁶¹ of Sa'd 'Alī by way of the loan (*qarḍah*) good coin 200

Sent to Jāzān⁶² according to the honourable command good coin 500

Collection of the Amīr 'Alī al-Qabūdān⁶³ good coin 225

Expense of the galliot (*qilyāṭah*) in which Ja'far Jāwush set out to the Sublime Porte (Darjāh-i 'Alī) good coin 90 silver *pārahs* 32

Purchase of *lāti*-cloth *kawrajah* 20 by 14 good coin 280

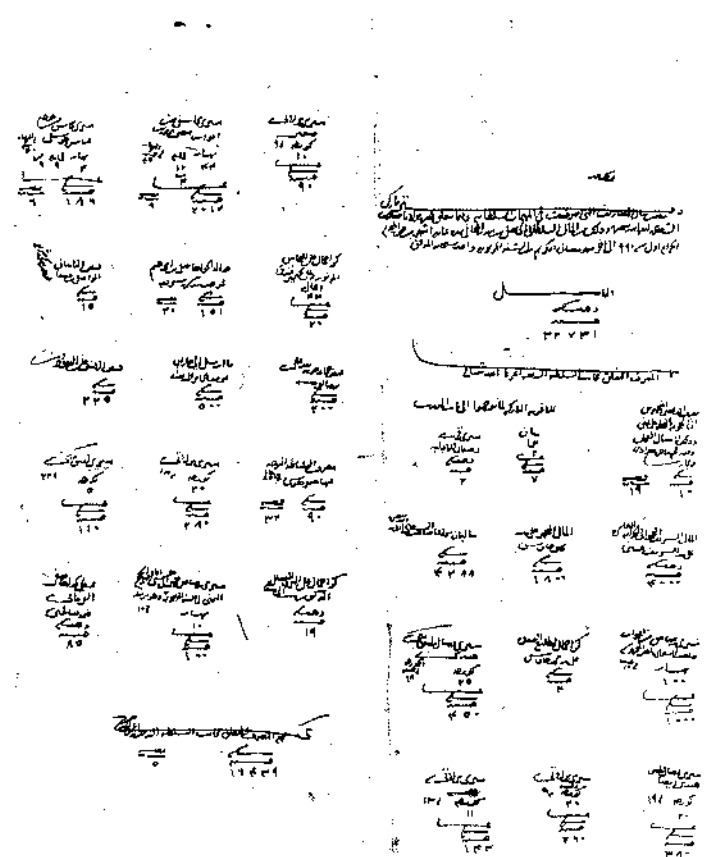
Purchase of Mecca *lafif* (cloth ?) *kawrajah* 5 by 22 good coin 110

Hire of camels for the afore-mentioned cloth and pieces (*fiṣāl*) [of cloth] to Şan'ā' gold (*dhahab*) 19 good coin

Purchase of lead despatched to Ḥusayn Aghā, Commander of the Yemeni Pilgrimage in the afore-mentioned year while he was in Zabid. *buhārs* 10 by 10 good coin 100

Collection of al-Khawājā Ṣafar al-Qaramānī,⁶⁴ cost of robes (*qafāṭīn*)⁶⁵ gold (*dhahab*) 85 good coin

Total⁶⁶ of the expenditure on account of the Honourable Sultanate, God strengthen it by His support good coin 16,439 silver *pārahs* 5



8.1

57 For *nahās* = brass, see p.226b.

58 Reading uncertain.

59 *Tadhkirah* seems to mean an official note or chit.

60 It seems to mean that the Bāniyān received the money.

61 Unidentified.

62 Jāzān/Jizān/Qizān the well-known port just north of the present Sa'udi-

Yemeni frontier.

63 The Turkish admiral based on Mocha.

64 Of Qaramān, Cilicia, presumably of Turkish descent at least.

65 The *qafāṭīn* probably means a robe of honour of a type sent to chiefs or notables.

66 I have not been able to make the various entries tally with this total.

The Zaydī Imāmate of the Yemen

For political reasons the traditional tribal society of the northern and eastern Yemen mountains requires the spiritually superior overlord such as the Imām, as indicated on p. 68a. For the Lower Yemen temporal dynasties have been able to rule successfully. In Ḥaḍramawt the power or influence of the Shāfi'ī Sayyids may occasionally have brought them near the position of Imāms but the institution of an Imāmate was never established. The Zaydī Imāms claim authority to rule as descendants of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭimah. Their descent is through the Imām Zayd b. 'Alī whose school maintains the positive and warlike principle of commanding the right and prohibition of what is wrong (*al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'anī l-munkar*) which is the complete antithesis of the Imāmī Shī'ah principle of *taqiyyah*, religious dissimulation. The fourteen qualifications—*al-ashriḡah al-arba'at-ashr*—of eligibility for the office of Imām make a formidable list of requirements.

It is the duty of the Muslims by law (*shar'*) to appoint an Imām (*naṣb Imām*) who must be:

Mukallaf, an adult, major,

Dhakar, male,

Hurr, free,

'Alawī, a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib,

Fāṭimī, by the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah (*wa-law 'atiq-an*, even if he be the son of a freed slave-woman (*muḥarrarah*)),

Salīm al-ḥawāss, sound in his senses,

Wa-l-aṭrāf, and ends (hands, legs, etc.),

Mujtahid, qualified to form a legal opinion,

'Adl, just,

Sakhiyy li-waḍ' al-ḥuqūq fī mawāḍi'i-hā, generous in such a way as to place things in the places appropriate to them, *Mudabbir, aktharu ra'yi-hi al-iṣābah*, competent (as a ruler), most of his independent judgement hitting the mark, *Miqdām, ḥaythu tajūz al-salāmah*, courageous without being fool-hardy.

Lam yataqaddam-hu mujāb, no Imām whose *da'wah* has been already responded to preceding him (*imām ustujiba li-da'wati-hi*),

Wa-ṭarīqu-hā al-da'wah, the way of the Imāmate is the *da'wah*, and it is not valid with two Imāms (*wa-lā yaṣiḥḥ imāmayn* (sic)), and he makes his *da'wah* in accordance with what is best (*wa-'idda'a bi-'illatī hiya aḥsan*).

It is not possible to render *da'wah* in a word or two into English, but for practical purposes it is the proclamation of oneself as the Imām of the age and the summons to the Believers to join one. The above list⁶⁷ is what has been laid down by the Ḥadawī school, i.e. the followers of the first Yemeni Imām, al-Ḥadī ila 'l-Ḥaqq.

Geo-political and Social Considerations affecting Yemeni History

At this point some rationalisation needs be assayed of the confused aspect of Yemeni history, with an appreciation of the factors which force it into well defined patterns. This history is recorded as an insufferably tedious meaningless to and fro of battles and campaigns often scarcely possible to trace, at least

till recently, on inadequate maps,⁶⁸ over remote and obscure places inhabited by multifarious tribes with unfamiliar names and unknown affiliations.

One broad pattern easily discerned is the entry of foreign conquerors from the lowlands, their initial success but ultimate inability to conquer the northern highlands, and their eventual retreat. There is a close similarity between the first Ottoman occupation, the second Ottoman occupation over two centuries later, and the Nasserite occupation of 1962-67. Initial success in each case came through possession of superior weapons and organisation. This doubtless accounts also for Ayyūbid victories in the 6th/12th century on which Rex Smith's fine edition of *al-Simṭ al-ghālī* can now be readily consulted.

Local patterns are still less easy to distinguish but foremost is centralisation around a member of the Aḥl al-Bayt of government over the tribes, alternating with tribal anarchy when internal weaknesses of the House bring decay of its moral and physical ascendancy, or when its rule is brought down by such external causes as invasion. Purely temporal dynasties like the Rasūlids and Tāhirids have flourished in the Lower Yemen, but it is Ṣan'a', capital of the Upper Yemen that concerns us.

Geographical and population factors naturally affect the course of Yemeni history. While the Tihāmah coastal plains can be dominated from the mountainous spine of the Yemen its ports can be held or attacked by outsiders enjoying sea-power in the Red Sea—with results detrimental to the highlands. The Tihāmah is the spring-board from which the invader can reach the southern capital Ta'izz, fairly accessible from Zabid and Mocha via the low foothills. Ta'izz is the base for penetrating the quite formidable mountain barriers between it and Ṣan'a'.⁶⁹ Ṣan'a' is the obvious base in attempting to dominate the north, divided, approximately, by the Ṣan'a'-Ṣa'dah road into al-Maghrib (the West) and al-Mashriq (the East) provinces. The Ṣan'a' Plain (Qā') can be held through its fortified villages. Both the Maghrib and the Mashriq, the latter including the steppe land of the Jawf, have always shown themselves highly defensible against intruders. In the Yemen as a whole the struggle for power is concentrated on gaining control by force of arms, but more frequently by political guile, of celebrated forts or castles such as those in Bilād al-Ḥuṣūn, the Country of the Fortresses, or Dhū Marmar, Thulā/Thilā, Kawkabān and others, which control main routes.

The Upper and Lower Yemen adhere to the Zaydī and Shāfi'ī schools of Islam respectively, but this denominational distinction to some extent disguises the real difference between the two. Upper Yemen of the northern mountains and steppes is a congerie of highly warlike tribes. Lower Yemen is largely organised by villages rather than tribes, without the same degree of ardent fighting spirit, though southern tribes like the mountain Yāfi', and the Zarānīq are noted for their toughness—Yāfi' has for centuries provided mercenaries. The Tihāmah, Shāfi'ī in rite, of mixed Arab, African and other non-Arab elements is generally fairly tractable. Zaydī tribesmen are contemptuous of Shāfi'is.

The Yemen is mostly a land of cultivators living in villages, but though the Shāfi'ī districts can, without too much difficulty, be directly administered from centres like Ta'izz, Zabid and Hodeidah, the northern tribes, on the contrary, as often as not at war, have usually only an indirect relation with a central government through their own shaykhs. A tribesman, as Aḥmad al-Shāmī says, is first an Arḡabī, a Khawlānī, etc., then, only after that, a supporter of an Imām. Tribes may even support a foreign ruler if there is 'something in it' for them. The chronicles abound in cases of tribes swiftly changing allegiance—there seems to be no reproach for past 'disloyalties', possibly no

67 This list has been provided by Ḥusayn al-'Amrī from al-Wāsi'ī, *al-Azhār*, K. al-Siyar, 178.

68 The situation is now much improved by the production of a British series of maps produced for the Yemen Arab Republic by the Director of Military Survey, Ministry of Defence, United Kingdom, 1974, 1:250,000, and the

1975 Photomaps of Hans Steffen and Veikko Jantunen 1:25'000 maps, and U. Geiser and H. Steffen, *Administrative division and land use in the Yemen Arab republic 1:500,000 map*, Berne, 1977, etc.

69 The second Ottoman and Nasserite invasions were however both by way of Hodeidah.

retaliation for them. In my 1964 and 1966 journeys in the highlands I frequently came across such switches of loyalties.

In facing the task of government an Imām must combine the qualities of a courageous and resolute warrior with those of a scholar, diplomat and administrator. He must be an arbiter of upright character, and he must have an almost encyclopaedic knowledge of people, especially of the tribes and families with the intricacies of their relationships. The fourteen qualifications for the Zaydī Imāmate are not mere theory. From personal observation of members of the Imamic House, let it be said that an Imām, or even a prince, must also be an extremely hard worker, rarely able to devote time to relaxation—and he has constantly to be on the outlook for intrigues of one sort or another, against himself.

The House of al-Qāsim the Great has produced some outstanding men who worked to the Yemen's advantage, despite having to act through officials rarely, to a greater or lesser degree, not corrupt, and to rely on military contingents furnished by tribes whose loyalty may be described as permanently inconstant. There are a few exceptions. The soldiery themselves, as the writer has personally observed, are difficult to control, and largely inspired by hope of a subsidy from the Imām, or failing that, extortion and plunder, often of their fellow-citizens. To keep his tribal soldiery happy an Imām must be able to pay them, sometimes to bribe them handsomely, so he cannot slacken in his efforts to raise money—the situation has been well summed up by al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il.⁷⁰ An Imām is indeed aided by the tribesman's extraordinary credulity in his supernatural powers which include the ability to slay by a curse or other such means. Yet, on occasion, I have heard tribesmen speak out in harshest frankness to princes of the revered House of the Prophet.

It is a misfortune when a strong Imām is followed by a weak one. Sometimes there are several claimants from the House itself to the Imāmate—often the deceased Imām's sons. A scrutiny of Zaydī history reveals that, notwithstanding the theoretical principle that any holder with the appropriate qualifications may be elected to the office, it is most frequently a son who succeeds his father. Each pretender has a following from some tribal group he has cosseted—anyway it is not in tribal sectional interests to have a strong centralised government that will 'clip their nails' and make them pay taxes. So brother fights brother, nephew fights uncle, order and security vanish, and the unarmed of the craftsmen and farmers suffer.

There is no Imām who has not had to quell tribal lawlessness—often using one tribe to plunder another by way of reward. Occasionally some extravagant heretic finds himself a following—like the notorious al-Maḥaḥwārī, the 'Magician'. The histories reveal how interested even learned Yemenis are in magic in all its forms—the Jinn, familiar spirits, necromancy etcetera, as among the prisoners of al-Ḥajjah in 1948. Pretenders to the Imāmate have arisen from other Sayyid houses than that of al-Qāsim, and even a sort of caretaker Imām, known technically as *muḥtasib*, may co-exist with the Imām of the day.

For the next three and more centuries the Zaydī Imāmate veers between centralisation under strong Imāms and anarchic disorder under weak successors.

In the following account of the Imāms attention is paid only to notable reigns with emphasis on the social history of Ṣan'ā' and on plain narrative rather than critical assessment. Printed histories are mostly uncritical and brief, Ms. histories, those few used here apart, still remain to be ransacked; most, regrettably, concentrate on wars. Few of the many documents in private hands in the Yemen have been brought to light, but a rich mine of information on social life, economic history, administration etcetera awaits exploration in Zaydī lawbooks, only a few of which have so far been published.

The Zaydīs have a highly developed idiosyncratic religious culture of their own—yet it is still Islamic in the most orthodox sense and Zaydīs can fairly claim to constitute a 'Fifth School' of Islam. During both Ottoman occupations they were offended that the Turks should regard them as heretics—which they felt the more insulting, given the open profligacy, as they saw it, of Turkish personnel in the Yemen. They are far removed from the Imāmi Shī'ah and the Ismā'ilīs (Fāṭimī Tayyibīs) with whom they have ever been at the bitterest enmity. As Mu'tazilīs the Zaydīs are fairly liberal, sometimes surprisingly so.

As already indicated the Zaydī-Shāfi'i rift is one of socio-political difference even if expressed in religious slogans. Al-Imām al-Shāfi'i revered the Prophet's House and Zaydīs accept the same fundamental tenets and jurists as Shāfi'īs. The accusation has frequently been levied by the more partisan ulema and officials against the Shāfi'īs that they are *nāṣibīs*, i.e., opponents of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ancestor of Sayyids and Sharīfs, be this justified or not. In Ḥaḍramawt Shāfi'i Sayyids would be no less disapproving than Zaydīs of anti-Sayyid sentiment.

The strong conviction of the rightness of the Zaydī Imāmate and special privileges enjoyed by members of the Prophet's house by birth has of recent years been shaken to some extent by the secular education to which Zaydī Sayyids have been exposed, as for instance in the case of the young Ḥamīd al-Dīn princes who were at school in Egypt prior to September 1962.

In the period which enters, the Zaydī Imām is carried to power on the flood of tribal assault upon the resented foreign occupier, a flood he unleashed but could barely control. In the creative effort to build up a strong centralised government determined on peace and security, the Imām's main obstacle will be those very tribes with whom he was swept into power. Few Imāms ever came near bringing all the Yemen under their control—al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il and his immediate successors made a sort of empire, but the two most nearly successful in this were the Ḥamīd al-Dīn Imāms, Yaḥyā and his son Aḥmad.

Historical Background to the 17th, 18th and Early 19th Centuries

The 17th-19th centuries witnessed the long slow decline of the Ottoman Empire (punctuated by occasional bursts of energy) accompanied by European expansion into every quarter of the Indian Ocean and the growth of British ascendancy in India. The Napoleonic wars and French occupation of Egypt impinged a little on the Yemen, but it was far more deeply affected by Muḥammad 'Alī's penetration of Arabia. The British capture of Aden at first seems to have made little impression on the northern Yemen, but the new 'forward' Ottoman policy of the 19th century has left lasting changes.

During the era of Western merchantile and colonial expansion Mocha was the point of contact—it had begun in Ottoman times in the 16th century to supplant Aden as it declined under extortionate Turkish taxation that ruined this once prosperous port. To this day Mocha still has impressive ruins of its former grandeur. European vessels began to put in there in the early 17th century. The East India Company sent the *Ascension* there in 1609 with a cargo of iron, tin, lead and cloth—the first English caller at Mocha. Its Ottoman Governor made difficulties with the Captain, Sharpie, so his chief factor, John Jourdain, was sent up to Ṣan'ā' to negotiate with Ja'far Pasha. The following year the Company sent Sir Henry Middleton who was treacherously imprisoned by the local Aghā but escaped—he was eventually

⁷⁰ See p.420b.

summoned by Ja'far to Ṣan'ā'. He comments that the mountainous regions of the Yemen were unsubdued and ruled by Arab chiefs; the Turks were held in great abhorrence on account of their proud and insolent behaviour so that no Turk could travel up and down without a safe-conduct from the chief through whose regions he passed.

By 1616 the Dutch Pieter Van den Broecke arrived at Mocha and opened a rather wavering trade with the Yemen. His compatriot, Job Grijp, in 1628 bought 40 bales of coffee, but the Arab revolt against the Turks made it almost impossible for him to sell his own merchandise. Coffee is not shown in the East India Company's lists until 1660, by which time it had become far the most important of Mocha's exports.⁷¹ It was not until 1709 that the first French vessels under de la Roque visited Mocha, made a commercial treaty and opened a factory. In 1737, offended by the Yemeni practice of paying for the goods they purchased by remitting future customs dues, the French bombarded Mocha port. It is noteworthy that, a little earlier, the Imām had refused a Turkish request that he stop trading with Europe.

Though the coffee trade produced revenue there is scant reference in the Arabic sources consulted to European traders at Mocha or Aden. Zaydī Yemen seems not greatly interested in events beyond its own territory, except possibly in the Hijaz. Sayyid 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Wazīr in his *Tabaq al-ḥalwā* does indicate that during the latter part of the 11th/17th century, Yemeni circles in Ṣan'ā' were informed on important current events outside the Yemen. Ṣan'ā' of the 17th-18th centuries was remote and difficult of access, but the Yemen was not closed—otherwise it could not have been visited by the worthy Carsten Niebuhr and many other Europeans of lesser fame. From the Ṣan'ā' province and the north there appears to have been little emigration abroad, though northerners sometimes emigrated to Shāfi'ī districts and even turned Shāfi'ī (*tashaffa'u*)—on the other hand the Hadā tribe turned Zaydī during this period. However preoccupied Ṣan'ā' was with internal affairs over these centuries there are many indications, in the histories and the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* itself, that merchandise was imported from abroad and was certainly not in economic isolation from the rest of Arabia and countries overseas.

The era was not one of a state of intellectual decline that many other Islamic states witnessed—one has only to recall the names of al-Badr Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī (1099-1182/1688-1768-9) and Muḥammad al-Shawkānī (1173-1250/1760-1823)—Yemenis also claim al-Zabīdī, though he actually compiled his major Arabic dictionary, *Tāj al-'arūs*, in Cairo. There was much debate on matters of law and religion, albeit along traditional lines. Belles-lettres flourished and the Yemen would not be an Arab country had it not a great outpouring of verse. Historiography is well represented—al-Jarmūzī's *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, so much consulted in this study, is an outstandingly good piece of writing in respect of coverage, selection and presentation of material, not so often matched by Arabic histories of any period.

In the three and a half centuries of the later Zaydī Imāmate few Imāms actually resided in Ṣan'ā'. The *Reconquista* Imāms, al-Qāsim and al-Mu'ayyad, in the first decades of the 11th/17th century had their capital at Shahārah north of Ṣan'ā'—today it is little more than a village located on the peak of a high mountain,

fortified and difficult of access, up long steep masonry causeways. Though nearly impregnable as a fortress it is vulnerable to air attack from which it suffered badly after 1962. Politically it would be a well placed centre for communicating with the northern mountain tribes and indeed Imām Aḥmad used it in his campaigns against the Turks. It is the *hijrah* of the Mutawakkil Sayyids. Al-Mutawakkil in whose reign the Imāmate achieved its greatest territorial expansion through conquest, resided in Ḍawrān, a defensible village on a mountain side south of Ṣan'ā', readily accessible from Qā' Jāhrān plain, about two days' journey from Ṣan'ā'. His son, al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, made his centre at Ma'bar quite near Ḍawrān. Of the other Imāms, al-Mahdī Aḥmad resided at al-Ghīrās north east of Ṣan'ā', dominated by Dhū Marmar fort; al-Mahdī Muḥammad is known as Šāhib al-Mawāhib because of his headquarters there near Dhamār, and al-Manṣūr was born in Shahārah.

Al-Mutawakkil, born in Ṣan'ā' in 1128/1716, made the city his residence as did all succeeding Imāms until the departure of al-Hādī Ghālib in 1266/1852.⁷² In the anarchy and second Ottoman occupation no Imām resided in Ṣan'ā', until Imām Yaḥyā entered it in triumph in 1918. Imām Aḥmad resided at the southern capital, Ta'izz, but as Heir-Apparent Imām al-Badr resided in his mansion, Dār al-Bashā'ir in Bīr al-'Azab where he was paid allegiance on his father's death, until the coup d'état of September 26th, 1962.

Probably the Imāms chose different places of residence where they could make a strong defensible base in an area where they commanded tribal allegiance.

The Zaydī Imāms (1009-1251/1602-1835)⁷³

Al-Mu'ayyad billāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (1009-1054/1602-1644)

The greater part of al-Mu'ayyad's reign was spent fighting the Turks and he is as much the hero of the *Reconquista* as his father al-Qāsim the Great. He had also to deal with recalcitrant Yemeni tribes. Despite his preoccupation with wars and politics he found time, as did all Zaydī Imāms, to write. The *Tabaq al-ḥalwā*⁷⁴ remarks that he followed the school of the first Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī, but with certain *ikhtiyārāt* of his own—that is exercise of his own individual preference on points of law. He did not make female relations (*dhawu 'l-arḥām*) inherit⁷⁵—this probably means that in tribal areas where resistance to women inheriting land has always been strong he did not try to force *sharī'ah*-law in this issue. It is likely that he could not afford to alienate his tribal supporters by insistence on strict adherence to *sharī'ah*. In his reign also the *ḥākim* of Ṣan'ā', Qaḍī Ibrāhīm al-Saḥūlī,⁷⁶ permitted the spending of the *zakāt* on needy Hāshimīs, and even, where advantage lay, to rich Hāshimīs⁷⁷—a measure which Mu'ayyad himself 'preferred', an issue which in following reigns was to give rise to acute controversy.

Mu'ayyad rebuilt the *samsarah* at al-Qubbatayn after it had been destroyed, so the present roofless building there is to be assigned to this date, and he constructed the paved road (*mudarraḡ*)⁷⁸ to Shahārah from the south side.

71 *Tabaq al-ḥalwā*, 105a, notes the arrival of four English (Inqiriz) and a Khawājā Hindī in 1086/1675.

72 Though he did return to Ṣan'ā' several times later.

73 The dates given for reigns of Imāms are taken from Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tarīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1974.

74 Of Sayyid 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ilāh al-Wazīr, Chester Beatty ms. 4097, 16a, Arberry notes that it is transcribed from the author's autograph.

75 On actual practice today in this important matter, see Martha Mundy, 'Notes on women's inheritance in Highland Yemen', *Arabian studies*, 1978, V, 161-87.

76 *Tabaq al-ḥalwā*, 24 a. Al-Saḥūlī died in 1060/1650.

77 The phrase is '*ṣarf al-zakāt ilā fuḡarā' Bani Hāshim, wa-li-maṣlahah ila 'l-aghniyā'*', not quite the same as al-Mu'ayyad's action in '*ṣarf zakāt al-Hāshimī fi 'l-Hāshimīyyin al-faḡirah*' which was one of his '*mukhtārāt*'.

78 The *mudarraḡ* on the north side was constructed by the Turks (p.72b). In 1964 I was told the southern causeway was rebuilt or extensively repaired by Imām Yaḥyā.

Al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim (1054-1087/1644-1676)

Al-Mutawakkil's reign of 33 years is the most brilliant era of Zaydī Imāmī rule and marks the furthest extent of their dominion—yet Mutawakkil had to contest with his brothers who declared themselves Imāms, though they ultimately assented to submit to him. Al-Jarmūzī's biography, *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*⁷⁹ has been extensively drawn upon throughout this study. Mutawakkil took the village of Ḍawrān, south of Ṣan'ā', as his capital, but moved round from place to place accompanied by ulema and students (*murīd*), supported from the Treasury, who learned from him.⁸⁰ Al-Shawkānī tells us that, in Mutawakkil's day, the country was restored to prosperity, the farmers (*ra'ayā*) had excellent harvests and became wealthy. 'Everyone was secure in what was in his hands, for he knew the Imām's justice would restrain him from meddling with any of his property, while others than the Imām would be restrained by respect for the Imām from venturing on anything unlawful (*ḥarām*), for the people had recent experience of the oppression of the Turks and the wars that had taken place between them over a long period had exhausted them.'

Mutawakkil was much concerned with the affairs of the *ra'ayā*.⁸¹ In his day roads were safe, prices cheap, and nobody could ill-treat (*ḡalama*) another, even if the latter were an infidel (*kāfir*), so merchants came from all countries. He was an enquirer (*baḥḥāth*) and scrutiniser (*munāẓir*)⁸² respecting the *shar'*-law, not deviating from its verdict (*ḥukm*). He used to respect scholars (*ahl al-'ilm*).⁸³ Fortune seems to have smiled on him for in Ṣan'ā' and the neighbouring villages in the year 1058/1648, the underground water (*baḥr*) greatly increased and came nearer the surface so that people were enabled to irrigate their land more easily.⁸⁴

The Diwān or administration was located in the interior part of the Ṣan'ā' Qaṣr where the Pasha's 'chair' (*kursiyy*) was.⁸⁵ There seem to have been Turkish officers in his army and indeed from various sources it is evident that some Turks stayed on in the Yemen.

In 1057/1647 Mutawakkil ordered that pasture-land held as property should be de-restricted (*ibāḥat al-marā'i min al-amlāk*) and that land-owners should be prevented from restricting it (*taḥajjur-hā*).⁸⁶ In the previous year he had commanded that the *zakāt*-tax on pasturing beasts (*sawā'im*) was not to be taken unless the complete legal minimum liable to taxation (*al-niṣāb al-tāmm*) was reached. This order was carried out in some districts but not in others.

Controversies (*muṣāraḥāt*) flared up in 1058/1648 between the Imām and the 'ulema of the age' over such questions as market-taxes/customs (*mukūs*), imposts (*maḡābi*), *zakawāt* and others, the Imām defending his taxation policy. Among the treatises he composed on legal matters is recorded one on taxation (*Mā*

yu'khdh min al-jibāyāt), presumably a counter-blast to the same ulema.⁸⁷ Mutawakkil's relatives also queried his monthly demands (*maḡālib*) on Lower Yemen territory. The argument and counter-argument of the ulema and Imām are reported *in extenso* in *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*⁸⁸ but although the theory and practice of Zaydī Imāms and ulema is far from lacking in interest it cannot be examined here. Towards the end of Mutawakkil's life a learned Qāḍī, Aḥmad b. Jābir al-'Ayzārī, ceased attending (*i'tazala*) the Friday Prayer in the Ṣan'ā' Jāmi' Mosque because he had heard of the Imām's attempt to annul his verdicts (*aḥkām*) and his ordering his governors to turn away from his depositions.⁸⁹

A sign of Mutawakkil's growing power was the arrival of an embassy from Abyssinia in 1056/1646-7 with a present of slaves, civet (*zabād*) and weapons of Abyssinia. The 'King of the Christians' who had earlier sent an envoy to Mu'ayyad, now invited the Imām to send him a return mission. This resulted in the famous visit to Abyssinia of al-Ḥaymī.⁹⁰

A further manifestation of the Imām's ambitions or claims to Caliphial functions was his decision in 1058/1648 to appoint an Amīr over the Yemeni pilgrimage (*Ḥājj al-Yaman*) to be escorted by a cavalry detachment (*jarīdah*) and infantry. The pilgrims were accompanied by Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ of Jizān⁹¹ and Abū 'Arīsh as an escort. In Mu'ayyad's reign there was no such office as Amīr al-Ḥājj though in the Rasūlid period there had been a Yemeni Ḥājj which on one occasion clashed with the Mamlūks who captured and imprisoned the Rasūlid Sultan who was with it.

The Conquest of Ḥaḍramawt

The Zaydī conquest of Ḥaḍramawt has a special interest as a long range strategic operation over difficult terrain. The Kathīrī Sultan, Badr b. 'Umar had been deposed by his relatives and Mutawakkil took this as a pretext for despatching an expedition (*tajhīz*) against them.⁹² Letters were sent to Ḥusayn al-Raṣṣās, 'the first lock (*quff*)⁹³ of these cages', controlling the country from Bilād Banī 'l-Ard to al-Bayḍā—next to him was al-Ḥaythamī of Dathinah, then the 'Awlaqī to the east, then the Wāḥidī; south west of Dathinah was the Faḡlī.⁹⁴

The Imām's brother assembled about 10,000 foot warriors and 1,000 rein (*inān*) of cavalry in 1065/1654-5 and in the initial campaign defeated Ṣalāḥ al-Raṣṣāsī and his allies at Najd al-Salaf.⁹⁵ The Raṣṣāsī fled to al-Bayḍā and the Zaydis looted the furniture, goods, weapons, sheep-and-goats of the country.

A campaign was now mounted against Yāfi'. Their leader, Sultan 'Abdullāh b. Harharah, had with the standards of the Shaykh, the Ḥabīb of the famous Bū Bakr b. Ṣalīm Sayyids⁹⁶ of Ḥaḍramawt in whom they had great faith (*i'tiqād 'azīm*).⁹⁷ Notwithstanding, though there was heavy fighting in the steep high Yāfi' mountains, the Zaydis were victorious; they also

79 For this section however *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā* has mainly been used. For the *Sīrah* see *The Portuguese*, 112.

80 Niebuhr, *Travels*, trans. R. Heron, II, 73, says he made caps to earn his livelihood, as is often recorded of Yemeni notables.

81 *Al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 146-9.

82 *Munāẓir* = celui qui examine et décide les questions de théologie et de jurisprudence (Dozy, *Supplément*).

83 Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-aḥar*, Cairo, 1284, I, 411. He used to receive 'ilm from both Shāfi'ī and Zaydī ulema.

84 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 22b. See p.

85 Ibid, 45b. During his reign about 1071/1660-1, 'Imād al-Dawlah Yahyā b. Muḥammad, ordered the re-introduction of the band (*nawbah*) which had been left off from the days of the dawlah of al-Ḥasan b. al-Manṣūr. Its instruments were made ready 'and its drums (*pūbūl*) made the hearts of the contumacious quake'.

86 Ibid, loc. cit.

87 *Al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 147.

88 Cf. *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 102 a.

89 Ibid, 102 a.

90 This took place in 1057/1647-8. Cf. *Sīrat al-Ḥabashah*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo, 1958, 12. The editor, quoting *Anbā' al-zaman*, says the Imām was eager for a route for merchants (*tujjār*) other than the Turkish *bandars* in the Red Sea.

91 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 101 a, records the death of Aḥmad b. Ṣalāḥ, Ṣāhib Jizān, called Amīr Ḥājj al-Yaman, at al-Qunfudah, whose house was in good relations with the Imām. At a later period the Kibsi Sayyids were in charge of the Yemen pilgrim caravan. It is to be remarked that in 1078/1668 there was no general security (*amān*) in the Hijaz and that as many as four *maḥāmīl* (empty litters sent as a sign of independence with a contingent going on pilgrimage) took the road to Mecca, those from the Yemen, Shām, Maghrib and Iraq. In 1080/1670 *maḥāmīl* went from Iraq, Shām, Miṣr and the Yemen.

92 The Sultan had made the address (*khutbah*) in the name of the Imām in 1064/1653-4. For the Ḥaḍramawt episode see Muḥammad b. Ḥāshim, *Tārīkh al-Dawlat al-Kathiriyyah*, no place or date of publication (1948 ?), 105.

93 *Quff* is often used of a fortress that 'locks' a route.

94 All these are well known tribes of the former Aden Protectorates, even al-Bayḍā' once being regarded as British protected.

95 This is to be identified with Najd al-Aṣṭāf, south of Yarim, a flat-topped eminence overlooking the main road which I visited with 'Alī al-Ṣabāḥī in 1974, at al-'Id al-Kabīr—tribesmen were dancing the *bara'* there with daggers.

96 An arms-bearing house of Sayyids with 'spiritual influence' in Yāfi', their centre at 'Inat in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. See the writer's *Sayyids of Ḥaḍramawt*, London, 1957, 17. 'Great faith' (*Ṭabaq*, 29 a) is an understatement.

97 *Ṭabaq*, 29 a.

fought the Ibn 'Afif Sultans and the Nākhībīs, but Ibn Harharah was later allowed to return to his country.⁹⁸ The Kathīrī Sultan Badr b. 'Abdullāh, now thoroughly alarmed, released his uncle Badr b. 'Umar and notified the Imām of his obedience and that the Imām's name was being mentioned at the Friday address.⁹⁹

In 1069/1658-9 the Kathīrī, Badr b. 'Umar arrived in the Yemen complaining that his brother had driven him out of Zafār, so the Imām decided on the invasion of Ḥaḍramawt, al-Shiḥr and Zafār. Šafiyy al-Islām Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, Mutawakkil's nephew, was chosen as general and, started out by Wādī 'l-Sirr to Khawlān, Q ḥwān and Raghwān where he stayed till the latter half of September when he proceeded to Ma'rib and Bayḥān, staying there at a place called al-Ḥimā, Wāsiṭ and Wādī Ḥajr.¹⁰⁰ His troops suffered great hardship and hunger. Šafiyy al-Islām had posted a garrison at coastal Aḥwar of Lower 'Awlaqī territory to ensure that supplies reached him from this direction, but Aḥwarīs refused to hire their animals to transport them and resisted the Zaydis. About mid-March 1070/1660 the Imām took action by sending money and clothing (*akṣiyah*) to the Duhmah of Baraṭ to induce them to raid the edges of Bilād al-Ramal,¹⁰¹ east of Baraṭ, and the flood courses (*masāqīṭ*) of the Jawf. They did in fact raid the Badū al-Ma'iqḍah and loot their camels but that was all. By this the Imām had hoped to arrange supplies for the troops in Ḥaḍramawt, but as the chronicler observes, it was no use on account of the distance. This reveals a certain ignorance of geography on the part of Mutawakkil.

Šafiyy in Ḥajr found it difficult to move and his operations were held up at Anṣāb for lack of camels. His army's morale was low so the Imām sent men of al-Ḥaymah to al-Bayḍā' to encourage the army. However Šafiyy managed to extricate himself after sending out scouts to reconnoitre the country. He now took the route up the 'aqabah or pass (perhaps al-Madillāh ?) to al-Khuraybah of the Wādī Daw'an, and Raydat Bā Masdūs, and thence to al-Hajarayn and the Kathīrī Sultan's capital only two days further on. The Sultan retired to Shibām, then to Shanāfir. Šafiyy entered Shibām which the chronicler calls 'an eye among the towns of Islam'. The Sultan now 'returned to obedience'.¹⁰²

Omani Maritime Attacks on the Zaydī held Coasts

The conquest of Ḥaḍramawt soon brought the Zaydis into confrontation with the rising maritime power of Oman.

Ja'far, the Kathīrī, had in 1070/1660 induced the Imām of Oman, Sulṭān b. Sayf,¹⁰³ to take Zafār—it was however re-taken by Mutawakkil's own Kathīrī protégé. A Zaydī *nā'ib* was appointed to al-Shiḥr. He was replaced in 1079/1668 by a new *nā'ib* sent by Mutawakkil to take over the governorship (*wilāyah*) of Zafār of Ḥaḍramawt'. The new *nā'ib* took over al-Shiḥr, sending his son to Zafār in his stead.

Since they commanded the sea-power the Omanis could raid the south Arabian coasts as they willed and in 1079/1669, in May, the chronicler records that they came to plunder the coast of Aden and Mocha. The Omanis fell in with three barques (*jilāb*) of the Franks at the very entrance to Mocha port (*bāb al-furḍah*). The Franks defended their property but the *nā'ib* of Mocha was helpless to repel the Omani raiders because of their greatly superior numbers and their seven galliots (*birāsh*)¹⁰⁴—large vessels. Reinforcements arrived too late to prevent some looting, and so a number of vessels went on to Jeddah. On their return voyage to Muscat, the Omanis plundered the Mahrah coast.

98 *Tabaq*, 29b.

99 *Ithbāt al-khubrah wa-'l-jamā'ah*.

100 Wādī Ḥajr is well known, the chief town being Sidārah, but there is a Wādī Hījir near Wāsiṭ which might be intended at this point.

101 Ramlat Saba'tayn? *Masāqīṭ* means *majrā suyūl al-Jawf*, the flood-courses of the Jawf.

102 The full account of the operation is in *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah* but only the summary of *Tabaq al-ḥalwā* has been used.

103 He ruled from 1050-1091/1640-1680.

Some years later, in 1084/1673-4 the Socotran Mahrah and the coastal Mahrah west of Zafār wrote to the Imām to protect them against the Omani marauders—so presumably the attacks continued. Yet, in the following year, Omani raiders sailed by way of Socotra where they killed some people, their *barshahs* following the Bāniyān¹⁰⁵ to the Gate (Bāb) of Mocha, plundering them and throwing them into the sea. At Širah Island and Aden the people drove them off with arquebus and zebratana, but the Omanis joined up with the rest of their ships and blockaded Bāb al-Mandab Strait until driven off by Šafiyy al-Islām commissioned by the Imām to deal with them. In 1085/1674 the Imām despatched a force, 300 strong, to defend al-Shiḥr from Omani attack from the sea. There was good cause for apprehension, and when news arrived about April of the following year that Omani vessels had put to sea from Muscat with the 'Wind of the East', the Imām and his son suspected their intention was to raid the Yemeni coast.

Insecurity at sea could not but affect the Šan'ā' markets importing goods from abroad as when, for instance, in 1073/1662-3 'only a little cloth (*bazz*) entered Mocha *bandar* because of the afore-mentioned trouble from the Frank'¹⁰⁶ in the previous year.' A glimpse of how commerce was carried out by vessels plying the trade-route from the Gulf and India is afforded us by Jarmūzi in describing the treatment meted out by the Kathīrī Ja'far b. 'Abdullāh at Zafār to people from al-Kunj (Kung)¹⁰⁷ a little north east of Lingeh.

Insecurity on the caravan routes from Ḥaḍramawt via the Jawf to Šan'ā' would affect inland trade along the relatively easy route along the steppe bordering Ramlat Saba'tayn. In 1075/1664 for example, the Ma'iqḍah Badū robbed the Kathīrī Badr b. 'Abdullāh of a present he was bringing Mutawakkil. More serious politically perhaps was the trouble from the country of the 'Awlaqīs and other tribes, each wanting independence for itself (*istiqlāl la-hu bi-naḥsi-hi*)—the Arabic has an oddly modern ring!

Foreign Relations

In general the Yemeni chroniclers are well informed on events in India. Mutawakkil was in touch with Aurangzib. He was brought a gift of horses (*birdhawn*) from India in 1071/1660-1 and next year Šafiyy al-Islām, established in Aden, despatched to the 'King of India' a gift of noble Arab horses and horses of the Yemen—a present of double the value came back in return. Again in 1087/1676-7 ships arrived at Mocha *bandar* bearing a present from Sultan Aurangzib to the Imām and *ṣadaqah* to the Ashraf of the Yemen.

Relations with the Hijaz were close and the exchange of views in questions of law and religion frequent and continuous. The Yemen was well aware of events in the Ottoman dominions, be they in the Hijaz, Sawākin/Suakin, or even Istanbul, and visits were made from time to time by Turkish diplomats. The Ottoman Sultan in fact decided to attack the Yemen in 1085/1674-5 but the project was abandoned for fear of the Portuguese. The activities of the Portuguese and other Europeans are recorded and in 1074/1663-4 the chronicler notes that the English had plundered Surat. The attack of the Hollanders and English (though probably the latter were not involved, only the pirate Hubert Hugo) on Mocha in 1659-60 has already been translated into English.¹⁰⁸

104 For these types of vessel see the writer's *Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, index.

105 This must be the Indian trading vessels arriving with the monsoon.

106 The attack by the Hollanders and Hugo.

107 Al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-a'yān*, no place of publication, 1332 H, II, 57, in a letter from the Omani Sultan to Imam Ismā'īl of the Yemen, Kunj and Jirūn are described as the two *bandars* of the Shāh. Kung is described by J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, II B, 1040-05. It was once fairly important. Jirūn is Hormuz island (Portuguese Gombroon).

108 Cf. *Portuguese*, op. cit., 117.

Mutawakkil and Taxation

There are two aspects to Mutawakkil's fiscal policy—if it can be called a policy—his treatment of the tribes, probably at least the northern and Zaydī tribes, and his taxation of towns, imposts of various types, customs duties, etcetera.

That he did not directly tax certain tribes is evident from a passage in the *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*.¹⁰⁹ The ḥākim of Baraṭ, the very learned Qādī Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-'Ansī, then al-'Iyānī al-Baraṭī, and his father 'received the dues of their tribes (*wājibāt qabā'ili-him*) by their choosing and being given the choice, and al-Mu'ayyad billāh assigned that to them, except what was surplus to their requirement and they continued in that fashion'. In fact even the great Mutawakkil paid subsidies to tribes as has commonly been done up to the present time. In the following case in point it looks as if the payment was made to ensure the security of routes through tribal territory. In 1086/1675-6, says the chronicler,¹¹⁰ the Duhmah plundered a caravan of the Ṣa'dah merchants (*tujjār*) at al-'Amashiyyah (some 22 miles south of Ṣa'dah, on the main route from Ṣan'ā'), giving as the reason that the Imām had cut their stipend (*jāmakīyyah*), but saying that if he restored it they would return the booty.

In the opening years of his reign, as already seen, Mutawakkil was criticised by the ulema for levying certain categories of tax illegal in their eyes. In 1074/1663-4 he laid down an impost (*faraḍa majbā*)¹¹¹ 'to be collected from the merchants (*ahl al-bay' wa-'l-shirā'*), and the inspector of the *waqf* imposed a fixed sum (*shay' ma'lūm*) on everyone of the butchers.¹¹² This continued until Rabi' II of year 1077/1666 and through it the people suffered detriment (*taḍarrara*) so the Imām removed it, retaining however the inspector because of his easy treatment of the people.' In 1076/1665, a certain Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ghurbānī had written to the Imām from Baraṭ criticising certain of the ordinances (*aḥkām*).¹¹³ It is not however stated whether this influenced him when he removed that year (the imposts) 'he had laid on the sūqs and only the previously existing imposts (*qabālat*)¹¹⁴ remained.'

In 1085/1674-5 the *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā* notes that 'levies (*maṭālib*) upon the Lower Yemen, apart from the *zakāt*, *fiṣrah* and expiatory fines (? *kaffārāt*)¹¹⁵ had redoubled, such as the prayer-levy on the person praying (*maṭlab al-ṣalāh* 'al-'l-muṣallī' etcetera, the tobacco (*ḡunbāq*) levy, the levy on profit (*maṭlab al-rabāḥ*), the lead (shot) and gun-powder levy, the levy for the Governor's table (*maṭlab sufrat al-wāḥi*) and the levy of the Two Feasts.' Perhaps it was on account of these exactions that the chiefs of al-Ḥujariyyah rose and killed some slaves of 'Izz al-Islām that year.

In his reign the Ṣan'ā' Jews had one of their recurring Messianic phases which landed them in trouble with the administration (cf. p. 398b).

At the time of his death Mutawakkil's testament to his sons and relations was to refrain from 'eating the *zakāt*'.¹¹⁶ This he commended to all other Hāshimīs, advising them to take to trading.

Al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (1087-1092/1676-1681)

Two short reigns followed Mutawakkil's long and successful tenure of the Imāmate. His nephew Ṣafīyy al-Islām Aḥmad b.

al-Ḥasan, the conqueror of Ḥaḍramawt, took office after him, a prince of great experience, in his late fifties. Acknowledgement (*taslīm al-bay'ah*) of allegiance to him came from the Sultan of Ḥaḍramawt accompanied by a present. In his day a Sharīf Nāṣir of Ānis introduced a new tenet (*madhhab*) of his own, prohibiting what is lawful, kissing the hand at greeting (*muṣā-fahah*)¹¹⁷ and the taking of coffee (*qahwat al-bunn*) etc. This latter led to the up-rooting of many coffee-bush plantations (*maghāris*).¹¹⁸ His punishment was merely imprisonment. In 1090/1679 the Imām ordered the Jews to be expelled from Ṣan'ā' and they settled temporarily at Mawza' (cf. p. 399b seq.).

Al-Mu'ayyad billāh Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl (1092-1097/1681-1686)

Al-Mahdī's successor, a son of Mutawakkil, had trouble with other pretenders to the Imāmate. He settled first in Ṣan'ā', then in Ḍawrān. In his brief reign the warlike Yāfi' tribes threw out their Imāmic governor and al-Mu'ayyad was unable to recover suzerainty over their territory.

Al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (1098-1130/1687-1718)

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a great grandson of al-Qāsim the Great, took first the name al-Hādī, then al-Mahdī, but is known as Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib because he made his residence at al-Mawāhib about three miles east of Dhamār. When he claimed the Imāmate he was in al-Manṣūrah of al-Ḥujariyyah province. His Āl Qāsim relations besieged him there and he nearly surrendered for lack of water, but God granted him rain so he made a sortie and captured all the Āl Qāsim Amīrs in a tent. He lavished money on armies and all came to pay him allegiance. Zabārah¹¹⁹ calls him

one of the great kings who would take money/revenue (*māl*) from (his) subjects (*ra'āyā*) without measure (*taqḍīr*) and spend it without measure. After the departure of the Turks until he ruled over it the Yemen was preserved from tyranny (*jawr*).¹²⁰ impost-taxes (*jibāyāt*) and taking of what the *shar'*-law does not deem lawful, but when this one rose he took money/revenue lawful and unlawful (*min ḥilli-hi wa-ghayr ḥilli-hi*). He was monarch of a mighty kingdom and had many troops but was ascetic in dress, wearing neither silk nor fine clothes. He was partial to the company of ulema but, though he liked to make a show of being an 'ālim he was not really one. He was known as Ṣāhib al-Sijdah¹²¹ because when he came out of the retinue accompanying him, seeing the troops filling the area he would dismount from his steed and prostrate himself in gratitude and humility.

Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib seems to have executed, looted, bestowed or withheld gifts in so arbitrary a fashion that it was popularly said a *mārid* of the Jinn would speak to him by night to kill someone on the following day.¹²² He was a man of a waywardness (*ṭaysh*) that no one could give him advice. An odd characteristic of his was that when he wanted to punish one of his *wazīrs* or amīrs he ordered the troops to plunder his property but would take nothing for himself. He was clearly one of the toughest of the Imāms.

117 Kissing the hand of Sayyids has been a disputed issue in Ḥaḍramawt.

118 *Ṭabaq*, 109b.

119 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 455; cf. *al-Badr al-jālī*, II, 98.

120 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 457, cites a poem saying that Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib criticised his predecessors for *zulm* and *jawr*—which was true of them, but by comparison with him they are to be accounted just!

121 *Al-Badr al-jālī*, II, 98, *sijdah* means prostration in prayer.

122 In 1098/1686-7 he beheaded a *faqīh* of whom he heard that 'he retained half of the revenues of the people of Ṣan'ā', that he had poisoned Imām al-Mu'ayyad and that he was a skilled astrologer (*munajjim*). (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 43).

109 Op. cit., 44a.

110 Ibid, 106a.

111 Ibid, 50a-b.

112 Written in the ms. *ḥarrārīn*, but *jazzārīn* seems the best reading.

113 Ibid, 103a.

114 Dozy, *Supplément*, seems appropriate here—'plusieurs sortes d'impôts non prescrits par le droit canon, et par conséquent illégaux jusqu'à un certain point.' An unclear passage (*Ṭabaq* 108b) seems to indicate he was attacked over his *aḥkām* on the Lower Yemen. See for *Qabālat* p. 153b.

115 Fines paid to expiate an oath taken in vain, e.g., *Aqsim billāh anni 'amalt kadhā*. In such case the fine goes to the Imām.

116 See p. 79b, supra.

A strange disturbance that took place in his day was the rising of an ambitious Sayyid, Ibrāhīm al-Maḥaṭṭarī¹²³ of al-Maḥaṭṭar, a village of Bilād al-Sharaf in al-Ḥajūr district, he being a descendant of al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī, a 4th/11th century Imām. He appeared in 1111/1699-1700, his followers being ecstatics (*majādhīb*) a type common enough in the Lower Yemen but unusual in Zaydī districts,¹²⁴ and some reached Bandar al-Ṣalabah and Wādī Mawr and besieged the fortress of Thulā. Al-Maḥaṭṭarī had an outstanding reputation for writing out magic squares (*awfāq*) and talismans (*ṭilsamāt/ṭalāsīm*) which he would blot out in water and give to cows and bulls to drink and order them to be slaughtered for the people and for birds. He is described as skilled in legerdemain (*sha'wadḥah*) and was reckoned a great magician. He had the reputation of being able to preserve his followers from bullets¹²⁵ until a woman of Thulā dropped a stone of the merlons on top of one of them and killed him. His fanaticism led him to kill many Jews and Bāniyāns. Army after army was sent against him by the Imām only to be routed and most of the troops slain. Finally the Imām sent his own sons against him and they defeated him. He fled to Ṣa'dah where the local governor cut off his head.¹²⁶ At the height of his career al-Maḥaṭṭarī claimed to be the Expected Mahdī.

Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib resolved to bring Yāfi' back under Zaydī control and in 1101/1689-90 he despatched an army against it and the Sultan Ibn al-'Afīf, under the leadership of the Kabīr of Hamdān, but after an initial success the force was defeated. Fearing reprisals on him by the Imām the Kabīr returned home and came out in rebellion but was in turn defeated and executed. In 1120/1708 Yāfi', having inflicted a series of reverses on the Imām's troops, attacked Ibb, led by their Sultan 'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ b. Harharah with 20,000 tribesmen not only of Yāfi' but also of al-Raṣṣāṣ, al-Ḥawāshib, Dathinah, the followers of al-Haythamī, Al Ḥumayqān,¹²⁷ Murād, Bayḥān and al-Muṣ'abayn. The walls of Ibb were weak and the tribesmen took it with their swords and muskets (*banādiq*) slaying men and women, respecting neither Muslims nor Jews, burning and plundering. They took all that was in the Sūq, the Khān of the Bāniyān and the mosques, loading 1,000 camels with it as well as what was carried on donkeys and on their own backs. An Imāmī force sent against them was routed and had to retire on Ibb. Yāfi' was never to be recovered by the Imāms.

Though the Imām had been supreme in the Yemen, in 1126/1714 a rival, al-Mutawakkil b. 'Alī b. al-Qāsim, came out in opposition against him and eventually besieged him al-Mawāhib where he died—to the relief of the besieged and besiegers.

Early in his reign Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib marked out a town, al-Khaḍrā', about a mile from Radā', where houses, castles, sūqs, baths and mosques were built and many crafts, plied by Arabs, Indians and Turks, established. He settled there a while then, because he fell sick in it, he abandoned al-Khaḍrā' and developed al-Mawāhib, a walled town, and al-Khaḍrā' fell into ruin. Another more fruitful venture was his despatch of Ibrāhīm Bāshā in 1107/1695-6 from Mocha to take Zayla' island off the African coast—a large fort was built, a mosque, and town walls. The Imām supplied it with four cannon and it became a *bandar* frequented by merchants, slaves being exported thence to Mocha.

A diplomatic mission from the Shāh of Persia visited Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib in 1113/1701-2, and in the following year a mission from the Pasha of Jeddah—the Imām gave the envoy a fine jewelled dagger the Persian mission had presented to him!

Al-Mu'ayyad billāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim (1121-1124/1709-1712)

Al-Ḥusayn proclaimed himself Imām in 1121/1709 and gained a number of adherents in the Ṣa'dah region, in opposition to the Imām Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib. When, three years later, al-Manṣūr proclaimed himself Imām, al-Ḥusayn 'deposed himself from the *da'wah*' and paid allegiance to al-Manṣūr.

Al-Manṣūr billāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Shahārī (1127-1131/1716/1720)

Al-Manṣūr seems to have taken the opportunity offered by the widespread discontent with the abuses of the law and tyranny of Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib to proclaim his *da'wah* or claim to the Imāmate in 1127/1716 in the mountain town of Shahārah. He indited a tract (*risālah*)¹²⁸ against Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib mainly of course criticising his exactions contrary to *sharī'ah* law, especially those upon the *ḍa'afah/ḍu'afā'*, the non-arms-bearing groups. The tribes among whom he circulated the tract responded so widely that only some of the Tihāmah, the ports, and that part of the Yemen from Dhamār to the Lower Yemen were left in the hands of Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib. The Imām sent 'Alī al-Aḥmar al-Ḥāshidī to obtain tribal support in his favour, but he soon realised he had no power to rally them to the Imām. The Imām had been advised to release his nephew al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (p.84a) from prison to fight al-Manṣūr. The Imām's son, it was agreed, should hand over the governorship of Ṣan'ā' to al-Qāsim. Al-Qāsim was however defeated by al-Manṣūr at Sūdah, and, falling out with Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib, he recognised al-Manṣūr as Imām; the latter now gained control of 'Amran, Ḥajjah and other towns. Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib brought in the garrisons from the ports (*banādir*)¹²⁹ and he was joined by the courageous Nūbah slaves (*'abid*) 'who do not understand speech'. These slave soldiers, it is recorded under the events of the previous year,¹³⁰ were dressed by Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib in fezes (*ṭarābīsh*) and red broadcloth (*jūkh*) and armed with muskets (costing) twenty *qafḥahs* (equivalent to two *riyāls*) or more; this is suggestive of Turkish uniform.

Al-Qāsim now turned to besiege the Imām as already stated, and he was obliged to sue for truce and recognise al-Manṣūr as Imām.

After al-Qāsim had thrown off allegiance to Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib and dropped his name from the address (*khutbah*) he set up a mint at Ṣan'ā' where he struck coins which he engraved (*naqasha*) with al-Manṣūr's name, at the same time ordering the Mawāhib currency (*qaribah*) to be abolished, and the mint at al-Mawāhib fell into disuse. Al-Manṣūr also opened mints in Shahārah and Kawkabān.

The rising star was now al-Qāsim and, in 1128/1716, he renounced his allegiance to al-Manṣūr and proclaimed himself Imām, taking the name al-Mutawakkil.¹³¹ Besides Ṣan'ā' he held Aden, Mocha and the Tihāmah ports, Ḥajjah and Kuḥlān, which meant that he controlled the port revenues. Al-Manṣūr on the contrary was only Lord of Shahārah and some neighbouring districts so, as Zabārah¹³² expresses it, 'the hearts of the tribes became estranged from him and they turned away from him because of the departure of the revenues that had been in his hands, and this continued till he died' in 1131/1720.

123 His biography is in *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 40 seq. A similar type of revolt is mentioned by al-Shawkānī in 1164/1751 in the days of al-Mahdī 'Abbās.

124 Before Raydah one passes on the right a village of the 'Iyāl Sirayḥ of Bakīl called Banī Zubayr who were *majādhīb* but now not one in a hundred is. They regard it as an insult (*'ayb*) to be called *majādhīb*, and will fight anyone who does so. They have a writing (*raqm*) i.e., a *wathīqah*, be they *majādhīb* or not, that they will pay the *diyyah* for a person who is killed after calling them *majādhīb*.

125 Zabārah says this is nonsense and not in the sources.

126 'Abdullāh . . . al-Jirāfī, *al-Muqtaṭaf min tarīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1370/1951, 174.

127 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 875-6; the text's Ḥumayqāt seems incorrect.

128 Text *ibid*, I, 605-6.

129 *Bandar* is not always 'a port', but must be so here.

130 *Ibid*, I, 608.

131 *Ibid*, I, 607.

132 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 617.

Al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (1128-1139/1716-1727)

This Imām's prowess as a warrior in the reign of Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib had roused the latter's jealousy and fear of him, as has been seen. In 1119/1707-8 he was appointed by Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib to campaign against the Ḥāshid tribes and he sent with him the *naqīb* Ṣāliḥ Ḥubaysh, the Kabīr of the Bakīl tribes—an interesting case of an Imām using one powerful confederation against another. Al-Qāsim duly chastised the Ḥāshid tribes, entering Khamir and gaining complete control of the territory; he built a wall round 'Amrān. Ṣāliḥ Ḥubaysh however took to intriguing against him, but al-Qāsim's army remained loyal, and al-Qāsim executed him at Khamir.¹³³ Following this the Imām made him governor of Ṣan'ā', but he evaded the Imām's order to assassinate those Dhū Ḥusayn tribesmen of Bara' invited by him to Ṣan'ā'—this would indeed have been the grossest treachery.

A relatively tranquil decade followed after the establishment of al-Qāsim as Imām with the title al-Mutawakkil. Al-Shawkānī gives him a good character in that he spent on the poor from the treasuries (*buyūt al-amwāl*), but he is said to have been noted for amassing money though generous.

In 1135/1722-3 Muḥammad b. Ishāq, later to rival his own son in the Imāmate (see p.84b), proclaimed his *da'wah* in the Mashriq but the famous Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr¹³⁴ managed to reconcile and bring him back to his allegiance.

A year before Mutawakkil's death (1138/1726) the Dhaybān tribe of Arḥab had grown restive and had taken to robbery on the roads. A group of these Dhaybān in Ṣan'ā' agreed to stir up trouble in the town and loot the Sūq. After the Imām had come from the Friday Prayer at the Jāmi' Mosque he stopped to make the customary review of the troops in the Maydān al-Qaṣr. The tribes, including the Arḥabīs of Ḥabār and Dhaybān came up (as spectators?). One of Mutawakkil's *mamlūk* horsemen—perhaps making a display as in the Niebuhr drawing (p.143)—involuntarily turned his course a little towards these tribes and one Arḥabī rose up against the *mamlūk*, others fired their muskets at the horsemen, and one was killed and fell in front of Mutawakkil. Cool-headed from many battles, the Imām sent a messenger to enquire about the reason for the shooting and caution them, but the Arḥabīs paid no attention to him and wanted to cut him down. Mutawakkil then permitted their blood to be shed and came forth to do battle in person. Al-Jirāfī¹³⁵ adds that the Imām ordered the streets and roads to be guarded¹³⁶ and houses locked—the fighting went on till night. Arḥab lost 100 men slain and 600 taken prisoner. This affray is typical as arising from a misunderstanding and the hot blood of the tribes.¹³⁷

The incident might have led to serious consequences, for next year Arḥab invited Ḥāshid and Bakīl to join it in taking vengeance and expunging the shame (*akhdh al-thār wa-maḥw al-'ār*). The tribes responded, 'Alī b. Qāsim al-Aḥmar, Chief of Ḥāshid, and Nāṣir b. Juzaylān, Chief of Bakīl, met with the Imām's son al-Ḥusayn at 'Amrān to attract him to their group. Arḥab upset the country about al-Rawḍah, and others went on to the west of Ṣan'ā'—against whom the Imām despatched his forces to Bāb al-Manjal. Then once more the celebrated Muḥammad Ismā'il al-Amīr mediated between them and al-Ḥusayn returned with the tribes of 'Amrān.

Shortly after this Mutawakkil died and was buried at the side of the Qubbat al-Mutawakkil which was called 'the Garden of Musk' at Bāb al-Sabaḥah—he had built a large house next to it. Other pious works of his were an addition to the Ṣan'ā' Jabbānah, and building the Jāmi' of Ḥaddah.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ishāq (1135/1723) and al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (1139-1161/1727-1748)

On his father's death, his rebellious son al-Ḥusayn¹³⁸ left 'Amrān for Ṣan'ā' where, some days after his father's funeral, he proclaimed his *da'wah*, taking the title of al-Manṣūr. He entered the Dār al-Jāmi' for the taking of allegiance (*bay'ah*) which was paid him by most of the people in Ramaḍān of 1139/1727. Among other claimants to the Imāmate however was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ishāq, a descendant of Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad who made his counter *da'wah* at Zafār, north west of Ṣan'ā'.

The Hamdān tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl massed under the leadership of al-Aḥmar and Nāṣir b. Juzaylān in support of Nāṣir. Al-Aḥmar went to Ṣan'ā' as a peace-maker (*muṣliḥ*)¹³⁹ and met with al-Manṣūr at 'Aṣir village. The Imām arranged for the Amīrs of his slave-soldiers (*'abid* or *mamlūk*) to assassinate al-Aḥmar—he was murdered in the Imām's tent and his head, fixed on a spear, was taken by the Imām into Ṣan'ā', under a hail of bullets from al-Aḥmar's men. This caused a tremendous stir all over the Yemen. The tribes with al-Aḥmar's son rose to take vengeance and advanced on Ṣan'ā' by way of Madhbaḥ, while a Bakīl group approached the city from the south. The parties fought indecisively, and much more fighting followed. Zabārah claims that al-Aḥmar's aspiration was to become sole ruler of part of the country, throwing off the Khalīfah's overlordship, i.e. the suzerainty of the Imām. This assertion is reminiscent of the near contemporary state of affairs in our own time between Imām Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn and the al-Aḥmar family. An unusual, if fleeting, combination, too, was the mutual aid of the Makārimah¹⁴⁰ of Ṭaybah in Wādī Ḍahr and the Imām against his rival al-Nāṣir.

After his sons had been captured by the Imām and imprisoned in the Qaṣr, al-Nāṣir came about 1141/1729 to the court (*al-ḥaḍrat al-Manṣūriyyah*) to pay him allegiance.¹⁴¹ He settled in Ṣan'ā' to devote himself entirely to scholarship. Al-Manṣūr received him well, honoured and respected him, assigning maintenance (*rizq*) to him, though his son stayed in prison till the reign of al-Mahdī 'Abbās (1161/1748). Al-Nāṣir's intercession would be accepted by the Imām (*maqbul al-shafā'ah*) and he was generous to aid (*kāfil'an*) widows and orphans. He is described as an *'ālim* of note, an *imām* in the science of *fiqh* (jurisprudence), an excellent poet and the collector of a fine library (*khaṣā'in*).

A significant sign of the further decay of Imāmic power was the murder in 1144/1731-2 by Faḍl b. 'Alī al-'Abdalī in Lahej of the Imām's agent (*'amil*) and others, along with the entry of Yāfi'i tribesmen into Qa'ṭabah through the treachery of certain of its people. The Imām despatched Ḥāshid and Bakīl tribesmen against the 'Abdalī who slaughtered sacrificial animals in the markets of Yāfi' (*dhabaḥ fī aswāq Yāfi' al-'aqā'ir*)¹⁴² and took refuge with the Yāfi'i Sultan, Ibn 'Afīf of al-Qārah. He managed to persuade Ibn 'Afīf to drive the Imām's forces from Aden and Lahej and from that date the 'Abdalīs, themselves of Yāfi' stock

133 Ibid, II, 357.

134 See the writer's 'The Yemeni poet al-Zubayrī and his polemic against the Zaydī Imāms', *Arabian Studies*, 1978, V, 111-14.

135 Op. cit., 180; *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 359. The accounts differ.

136 *Ḥirāsah*—perhaps guarded by *ḥaras al-layl*?

137 At the Ta'izz 'Urḍi in 1969, when visiting with the Mayor of the city, the garrison nearly came to an affray with his escort as to whether the latter be permitted to enter the 'Urḍi.

138 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 515.

139 Ibid, II, 486.

140 The 'Ismā'īlī sect.

141 Sources consulted allude to an earlier peace (*ṣulḥ*) by which al-Manṣūr retained Ṣan'ā' and some districts, but the *khuṭbah* in the city was made in al-Nāṣir's name and al-Manṣūr paid him allegiance. He later renounced al-Nāṣir and routed al-Nāṣir's supporters. R. L. Playfair, *History of Arabia Felix*, Bombay, 1859, 115, says al-Nāṣir, supported by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn (Sharaf al-Dīn, cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 632 seq.) of Kawkabān 'made himself master of the whole country with the exception of Ṣan'ā'.

142 'Aqā'ir are cattle or sheep slaughtered in front of a person, group or even building to invoke aid. Cf. Aḥmad Faḍl b. 'Alī Muḥsin al-'Abdalī, *Ḥadiyyat al-zaman*, Cairo, 1351 H, 121, 43, 118.

held the lordship (*imārah*) of Lahej. A Yemeni¹⁴³ historian nevertheless maintains that he made no open rejection of obedience to the Imām nor did he leave off the prayer for him at the Friday Prayer.

The loss of Aden and Lahej cannot but have meant a diminution in the revenues coming into Ṣan'ā', and most likely the Imām's brother Aḥmad who took over the governorship at Ta'izz and would not obey the Imām, would appropriate revenues there to himself.

Among al-Manṣūr's benefactions was the construction of the minaret of Maṣjid Mūsā in the highest part of Ṣan'ā' by way of compensation for the minaret of the Wahb b. Munabbih which he had ordered to be demolished since it was outside the city wall. The minaret, completed in 1160/1747 cost 6,000 *riyāls*. When al-Manṣūr died he was buried near al-Abhar Mosque to which he had made an extension. In 1154/1741-2 Ibrāhīm son of Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib completed the construction of the wall at Ṣan'ā'. Perhaps this would be a renovation only.¹⁴⁴

Al-Mahdī 'Abbās b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (1161-1189/1748-1775)

Al-Mahdī 'Abbās, son of al-Manṣūr, appears to have come to an accession uncontested by rival aspirants to the Imāmate. Many of those who had cast off obedience to his father paid allegiance to him. He is accounted one of the great Zaydī Imāms. Niebuhr, who had audiences with him in 1763, states that he was the son of a slave-woman, a negress, and of dark complexion like his mother's side. A little naively he adds, 'Had it not been for some negro traits his countenance might have been thought a good one!'

As described by al-Shawkānī,¹⁴⁵ he was a perspicacious Imām, keenly intelligent, just, strong at management (*qawīyy al-tadbīr*), high-minded, with a penchant for scholars, dispensing justice to the wronged, diplomatic (*sayūs*),¹⁴⁶ resolute/prudent (*ḥāzim*), watching over the state of his subjects, scrutinising the behaviour of his *'amils*, no secret state of affairs being hidden from him—having spies who would bring it to his ears. Those close to him (*khawāṣṣu-hu*) had a respectful fear (*haybah*) for him in their hearts, doing nothing without the knowledge that it would be reported to him. Thus many injustices were removed. In dealing with the rebellious he would at times reconcile them by gifts/stipends (*aḡā*), at times he would send a body of troops to intervene between these 'tyrants' (*bughāh*) and the peasants (*ra'iyyah*).¹⁴⁷ His power in the Yemen grew great and his reputation reached all quarters. Because of his generosity to those of quality, scholars and writers came to him from distant parts. After becoming Khalifah he used to employ himself in scholarship (*ilm*) always looking up some book or other when by

himself. He was alert to put down any tyrant or rebel. His gifts to many of the *fuqarā'* and *du'afā'*,¹⁴⁸ envoys and ambassadors were many and frequent.

Al-Mahdī 'Abbās, adds al-Shawkānī, preserved the border regions of his kingdom by his energy and vigorous assault.¹⁴⁹ He behaved as he chose in dealing with affairs, managing important matters by himself without his ministers having any say with him but, on the contrary, doing as he ordered them—nor could they dissemble to him in any affair of the kingdom or deceive him over any case. He had a perfect discrimination about men and complete experience of the sons of his age. He had the ability to strip the pretence off anyone making an outward show of asceticism (*zuhd*), virtue and rejection of worldly things on the surface but not in reality.

Throughout the twenty eight years of his reign al-Mahdī 'Abbās remained settled in Ṣan'ā'. Among the many abuses existing before him that he abolished were, according to his contemporary, Qāḍī Aḥmad Qāṭin, the removal of the billeting (*ṣarf*) of (visiting) tribes on the houses of the Ṣan'anīs and the 'payments (*aswāq*)'¹⁵⁰ imposed on the people—he used to levy these among the merchants (*yufarriq 'ala 'l-tujjār*) and impose levies (*yughrim*) on a group of them along with the troops (*ajnad*).¹⁵¹ He prohibited the commandeering (*sukhrāh*) of camels and did away with half of the imposts (*jibāyāt*),¹⁵² 'and if God will, he will do away with them all! He kept a tight rein on his retainers (*khāṣṣah*)¹⁵³ and in most of the country only the (legal) dues specifically were collected from the *ra'ayā*, and he prohibited the customary perquisites (? *siyāsāt*) collected from the *ra'ayā*. He prohibited the taking of money in the Diwān al-Sharī'ah and assigned to those connected with it proper stipends which rendered them independent (of taking bribes).

Al-Mahdī was punctilious in performing the Ṣalāt al-Zuhr, noon prayer, in the Diwān as a group (*jamā'ah*) at the beginning of the time for it and he would go to perform the Friday Prayer at the beginning of the time for it also. He forbade anyone to give him the *salām* in the Jāmi' Mosque so as not to make it like the Diwān. He gave alms and aid to the needy. A group of pious men (*atqiyā'*) were sent to teach the prayer and he built mosques where needed in Ṣan'ā' and elsewhere.

In 1180/1767 al-Mahdī 'Abbās was involved in an important *waqf* question at Ṣan'ā'. Certain of his entourage (*khāṣṣah*) had proposed that he purchase *waqf* property in Wādī Sha'ūb north of Ṣan'ā' on the basis of an exchange (*bi-'l-mu'āwāḡah*)¹⁵⁵ (*sci.* for property elsewhere). This roused the aged Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr, now in his eightieth year, who had played so active a part as a conciliator, settling disputes between members of the House of al-Qāsim, and he wrote an address¹⁵⁶ to the Imām recounting the latter's virtues, many of which are set forth above. Others mentioned in the address are that the Imām had maintained

143 Luṭf Allāh b. Jaḥḥāf quoted by al-Jirāfī, 182. Al-'Abdalī, op. cit., 124, on the contrary says that Fadl b. 'Alī threw off obedience to the Imām of Ṣan'ā' in 1141/1728 and proclaimed himself independent (*amir mustaqill*).

144 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 66.

145 *Al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 310 seq.

146 *Gloss. dat.*, 1999, *sayūs*, habile, bon politique.

147 *Ra'iyyah*, properly 'subjects', but seems to mean taxpaying farmers.

148 *Fuqarā'*, needy, but especially among the Shāfi'is, religious persons; *du'afā'* non-fighting men. *Bughāh*, tyrants, are opponents of the Zaydī Imāms.

149 Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, trans. Heron, II, 46-7, speaks of the following as 'The independent states of Yemen, beside the dominions of the Imāms':

Aden under a 'particular prince'

Kawkabān possessed by a Sayyid (Sharaf al-Dīn)

Qabā'il or Ḥashid wa-Bakīl, many shaykhs united in a sort of confederation

'Abū 'Arish belonging to a Sharīf

Khawlān (Bani 'Amīr) under a shaykh

Ṣa'dah, belonging to a Sayyid, and some independent shaykhs

Najrān (under the Makramī)

Qaḥṭān

Nihim

Khawlān (east of Ṣan'ā') under four independent shaykhs

Jawf or Mārib governed by a Sharīf with some independent shaykhs. The Sharīf houses govern Mārib, Ḥarīb and Rakhwān

Yāfi' under three independent shaykhs, the Sultan of Raṣṣās and Majdabah, the Sultan of Mawṣajāh, and the Sultan of Qārah

Niebuhr's objective assessment is certainly a more precise picture of the actual state of affairs than what one derives from the Arab historians.

150 Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2001

151 Cf. *gharāmah* p.41a(n). The *ajnad* are probably soldier-tax-collectors. The early 9th/15th century *Mulakkhaṣ al-fījan*, describing Rasūlīd administration, speaks of customary gifts to reviewing officials at the two Feasts, a *jundī* of the garrison paying ten dinars. Only a *jundī* who was making money in some way could pay so large a sum.

152 The reading *jināyāt* of *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 8, is clearly incorrect. Qāṭin evidently concurs that these taxes are illegal. Playfair, op. cit., 121, remarks on the exactions of the Governor of Mocha of 50 per cent on merchants buying Indian goods and a 'heavy anchorage duty'.

153 His officials and tax-collectors?

154 Dozy, *Supplément, siyāsāt*, droit coutumier.

155 Hans Wehr's dictionary defines *mu'āwāḡah* as 'a commutative contract on the basis of "do ut des"'.
156 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 8 seq.

the change for silver coin in a fixed ratio (? *ṣarf al-darāhim 'alā ḥālāh wāḥidah*)¹⁵⁷ 'whereas the former (Imāms) kept on changing them (the silver coin) once or twice each year. Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib, I have heard, changed them thrice in one month. Whenever the former (Imāms) (made a different rate of) change for it (*kasara-hā*)¹⁵⁸ God's servants lost much money. Another thing is the stopping of the pipes of the band (*kasr mazāmīr al-nawbah*) which were a calamity.¹⁵⁹ He commends furthermore the Imām's *jihād* against Ḥāshid and Bakīl, his clearing open immorality and singing girls (*al-fasād wa-'l-maghānī*) from Ṣan'ā', and of women displaying themselves,¹⁶⁰ and his giving the troops at the court decent pay and rations (*kifāyat al-ajnād fi 'l-ḥaḍrah*).

'But,' he continues, 'neither selling nor exchange (*munāqalah*) of the *waqf* is lawful . . . You must be aware, Mawlā-nā, that the best of the Ṣan'ā' *waqf* properties is Sha'ūb, for being close to the city, the mosques enjoy its lucerne (*qadb*), tamarisk (*ithl/athl*) and grain (*ṭa'ām*) without toiling, on account of its proximity, so that no other properties can take its place.' He recommends him to open up a long buried *ghayl* with which to irrigate the *waqf* properties of Sha'ūb so that grain may become plentiful, citing the example of his ancestor al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan who opened his *ghayl* at al-Rawḍah from which the choicest grapes are irrigated.

Politico-Military Events of the Reign

When established as Imām, al-Mahdī 'Abbās at once sent to Ta'izz to settle with its governor, his uncle; this was accomplished once more through the intermediary of Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr. A few years later, in 1164/1750-51, however, trouble was caused by a magician (*sāḥir*), a writer of talismans, Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī of al-Sharaf, known as Abū 'Alāmah who won a following among the common folk. He destroyed many forts held by the Ḥāshid and Bakīl Mashāyikh, expelling their garrisons, but was ultimately slain and his head sent to the Imām. A raid in summer 1172/1759 of the Bakīl of al-Baraṭ¹⁶¹ directed against the unarmed (*du'afā'*) peasants of the Imām's territory was routed at al-Madārah of Jāhrān, two days to the south of Ṣan'ā'. This victory was sufficiently notable for Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr to indite a poem,

Who would suppose warriors of Baraṭ
Would come as prisoners, walking in chains?

Again in 1184/1770-1 Hasan al-'Ansī, Chief of the Baraṭ tribes revolted and al-Mahdī sent most of his cavalry, infantry and tribal levies to intercept him. Al-'Ansī gave him the slip by taking a different road and panic ensued when the Ṣan'ānis found him suddenly close by in Wādī Sa'wān east of Ṣan'ā'. Al-Manṣūr made a sortie on him from the Qaṣr with a small force, and al-Mahdī, arriving from the west helped drive him off.

The incident created by Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr when he neglected to mention the name of the Imām al-Qāsim the Great at the Friday address is widely known,¹⁶² as is his liberal attitude towards the Shāfi'i rite. This took place in 1166/1753 but opposition to him continued over the years and, in 1182/1768, a Qāḍī group in Baraṭ wrote to the ulema of Ḥūth, Kawkabān and Dhamār inviting them to join their party in revolt against the Qāsimi Dawlah because the people of Ṣan'ā' had come to act contrary to the tenets of the Prophet's House (*madhhab*

Ahl al-Bayt), and were introducing heresies (*bida'*), alleging that it was Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ismā'il who had done this since some of his followers were raising and clasping their hands in the prayer. They wanted him to be banished from Ṣan'ā'. The rejoinder of the Kawkabān-Ḥūth ulema was that this was followed by many Ahl al-Bayt ulema including Sayyid Zayd b. 'Alī¹⁶³ himself. So the Baraṭ Qāḍis were in error and Sayyid Muḥammad . . . Ibn al-Amīr is a *mujtahid*, and every *mujtahid* is right (*muṣīb*), while Ibn al-Amīr himself riposted with a resounding poem (*qaṣidah ṣannānah*)! This famed scholar, politician and poet died in his ninetieth year in Sha'bān of the year 1182/1768 at Ṣan'ā' where he was buried west of the minaret of al-Madrasah Mosque.¹⁶⁴

Playfair¹⁶⁵ speaks of a rebellion in the Ṣan'ā' district in 1772 occasioned by a scarcity of corn. The rebels obtained possession of a stronghold and defied the Imām who took the field in person with a good train of artillery commanded by a 'Scotch renegade called Campbell', but it was the threat of mortars and shells to be constructed by a 'French renegade' that brought the rebels to sue for mercy.

Niebuhr¹⁶⁶ states that the Imām had lost Aden, Abū 'Arish, Qaṭbah and Ta'izz—this is not, strictly speaking, true if applied to al-Mahdī 'Abbās of whom al-Shawkānī says that no one rebelled against but he subdued them. Niebuhr's statement adds that the revenue had fallen from approximately 830,000 *riyāls* in al-Mahdī Muḥammad's day to 500,000 *riyāls* (it was as low as 300,000 *riyāls* in the reign of the Imām's father, al-Manṣūr) but al-Mahdī 'Abbās did not lack for money. In Ṣan'ā' alone he had 1,800 horses, apart from those at 'Amrān and Dhamār, and camels without number.

During his day the famous Qāḍī Yahyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣahūlī¹⁶⁷ was for a short period the Grand Qāḍī (Qāḍī 'l-Qudāh) to whom much of *shari'ah* affairs, and indeed affairs of state also, were entrusted. Nevertheless the Imām ceased to favour him for a while, sequestered most of his properties and imprisoned him for years, though eventually he released him and al-Ṣahūlī prospered again. Officials whose wealth, however gained, impressed the Imāms as excessive were quite commonly mulcted of it in this fashion.

Al-Mahdī's Benefactions

Al-Mahdī 'Abbās died in 1189/1775. Zabārah reckons his way of life better than that of his father and grandfather before him, and of all his descendants after him. He left great wealth and extensive lands. His palace was in Bustān al-Mutawakkil quarter. His benefactions include, in Ṣan'ā' alone, the building of Qubbat al-Mahdī,¹⁶⁸ west of the Sā'ilah, where he is buried, Masjid al-Taqwā in Ḥārat Bustān al-Sulṭān, Masjid al-Nūr in Ḥārat Mu'ammār, Masjid al-Riḍwān north of Bāb al-Yaman and the completion of Masjid Nuṣayr in the high part of the city. In 1177/1763-4 he ordered the water-channels (*majāri*) of al-Ghayl al-Aswad in the plain (*qā'*) west of al-Jardā' village to be excavated, as also the channels of Ghayl al-Barmakī.¹⁶⁹

Of all the Imāms of Ṣan'ā' al-Mahdī 'Abbās seems to be nearest the Zaydī ideal of warrior-king, follower of the *shari'ah*, generous giver and benefactor.

Al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. 'Abbās (1189-1224/1775-1809)

Al-Manṣūr had been appointed governor (*waḥf*) of Ṣan'ā' and commander of troops (*amīr al-ajnād*) by his father who ordered

might (*ba's*) of the Baraṭ tribes continued until, in 1351/1932-3, Nāṣir the victorious, . . . Sayf al-Khilāfah . . . Aḥmad (Imām Yahyā's son) subdued them.'

162 See 'The Yemeni poet al-Zubayrī . . .', 111-14.

163 Imām of the Zaydī school.

164 For Ibn al-Amīr's action on the Jews, see p. 400b seq.

165 Op. cit., 122.

166 *Travels*, trans. Heron, II, 88.

167 His biography is in *al-Badr al-tāli'*, II, 333-8.

168 See p. 383 and *Masājid*, 70, with chronogram in verse on the Qubbah.

169 See pp. 23a.

157 The rendering is slightly tentative. For the phrase *darāhim biqash* at an earlier period see *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, 150; it is suggested that here the sense is the rate of *buqshahs* to the silver *qirsh/riyāl*.

158 *Kasara* today means to obtain small change for a coin of a larger denomination. *Kasr* used in the next sentence is rendered as in the present day Ḥaḍramī sense of 'to stop' rather than 'to break'.

159 A play on the words *nawbah* and *nā'ibah*.

160 *Takashshuf al-ḥarim*, leaving off the veil?

161 Of Baraṭ, *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 15 says, 'In the present century it is inhabited by some of the tribes of Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn of Bakīl, they being the confederacy (*jamrah*) of the Yemen Hamdān tribes. . . The dreaded

him to reside in the Qaṣr about the year 1172/1758. In addition to his military exploits in defence of Ṣan'ā' against the Baraṭ tribes he sent armies to deal with the Khawlān and Ḥadā tribes and demolished their castles. On becoming Imām he restored al-Ṣaḥūlī as Grand Qāḍī and after his death appointed the outstanding scholar Muḥammad al-Shawkānī in his place. Al-Shawkānī has left a sympathetic biography of him, but al-Wāsi¹⁷⁰ allows him a less favourable character, saying that he entrusted everything to three ministers and only occupied himself with buildings and improvements (*iṣlāḥāt*) in Ṣan'ā' and its environs. He put his brother in charge of the Diwān which met twice a week to examine lawsuits (*khuṣūmāt*). He liked to seclude himself and to sit with women, be they free or slaves. Yet he was brave, generous, hospitable and would enquire about widows and needy persons. For a while all went well.

In the outside world, always a little remote from Ṣan'ā' which had contacts with it only through Mocha, momentous events were in train with a backwash which was to reach the shores of the Yemen. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1799 brought the British of India to the southern end of the Red Sea. A captain Wilson arrived in Ṣan'ā' to parley with the Imām and was lodged in Dār al-Ṣāfiyah in Bīr al-'Azab. Perim (Mayyūn) was occupied by a British Indian force which shortly moved to Aden. In 1801 Sir Home Popham was sent to the Red Sea to attempt to revive the Yemen's extensive trade with the East India Company's possessions which had fallen into sad decay. A Dr. Pringle was sent to Ṣan'ā' and well received there; in early 1802 Popham now in Mocha, proposed to go to Ṣan'ā' himself to enter into a commercial treaty with the Imām. Though the Imām's guest, Popham met with such inhospitable treatment from a greedy tribal shaykh that he turned back at Ta'izz. The Imām in shame and sorrow at Popham's treatment, promised redress, but was evidently powerless to discipline the shaykh.

Within Arabia itself the strict Wahhābī movement—it calls itself the 'Unitarians'—had started on a career of conquest; by 1801 the Wahhābīs were already operating in the Hijaz. A malcontent of Ṣabyā in 'Asīr, brought the Najdī Wahhābīs to the province in 1215/1800-1. They were opposed by the semi-independent chief of the Tihāmah, from Bayt al-Faqīh to Abū 'Arīsh, Sharīf Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad who was elected their leader by the local Sharīfs. Abū Nuṣṭāh,¹⁷¹ the Wahhābī leader was successful in capturing Abū 'Arīsh. Sharīf Ḥamūd sued for peace and was forced to join the Wahhābīs. Abū Nuṣṭāh went on to take Luḥayyah, Hodeidah, Zabīd and Ḥays, but retired to 'Asīr. The two soon fell out and Ḥamūd returned to allegiance to the Imām on the understanding that he would be governor of Luḥayyah, Hodeidah and Bayt al-Faqīh. The Imām sent him a money subsidy and reinforcements of Yām and Bakīl tribesmen. In an engagement with the 'Asīr Najdīs the latter were routed and Abū Nuṣṭāh slain. Al-Manṣūr now sent forces to bring Ḥamūd into submission but it was defeated.

At the court in Ṣan'ā' rivalry was acute between the eldest prince, Aḥmad, son of an Abyssinian slave, rich but avaricious, and al-Manṣūr's third son 'Abdullāh, of open manner and liberal disposition. The *wazīr*, the faqīh Ḥasan al-'Ulufī,¹⁷² had complete control of affairs and behaved arrogantly to many of the Imām's relatives. He was partial to 'Abdullāh though, in the Imām's presence he treated both sons with equal respect. As the aged

Imām's strength decayed the princes' hostilities grew more overt and on one occasion they even drew their *jambīyyahs* on one-another in their father's presence. By Valentiā's¹⁷³ visit in 1805 the old man was approaching dotage.

Ill-feeling had arisen between prince Aḥmad and al-'Ulufī on account of orders issued at the court (Maqām al-Khalīfah) and his curtailment (*taqṣīr*) of the pay of the troops (*arṣāq al-junūd*). (It may be remarked that the names of the military amīrs¹⁷⁴ of the Imām's troops in most of the 12th/18th century seem to indicate they were of slave origin.)¹⁷⁵ The minister had also stopped the stipends (*jirāyāt*) to the Bakīl tribes till they cut the roads around Ṣan'ā', plundering and murdering, and many other tribes started to do the same. Qāḍī 'Abdullāh b. Ḥasan¹⁷⁶ al-'Ansī raised the Baraṭ tribes and was cutting the roads in Wādī Ḍahr because al-'Ansī's son had created dissension in the Dār al-Khalīfah and committed an offence against al-'Ulufī for which the Imām had commanded he be executed.

Ṣan'ā' was now in a state of siege and in sore straits for grain rose steeply in price and there was a lack of rains. To relieve the city of the siege Aḥmad sent to arrest al-'Ulufī and when his father demanded the minister's release Aḥmad's soldiers surrounded the palace where the Imām and prince 'Abdullāh were. An agreement was reached whereby Aḥmad took over the administration, but his father was not deposed and both the coinage and address at the Friday Prayer were still kept in his name, Aḥmad nominally acting as minister to his father. At the time of his action against al-'Ulufī, Aḥmad wrote to the tribes making promises to them and they relinquished the siege. Al-Manṣūr died at Dār al-As'ād palace in the next year, 1224/1809, and was buried in Bustān al-Misk near Bāb al-Sabaḥah.

It was al-Manṣūr who constructed Dār al-Ṭawāshī, completed in 1200/1785-6, west of al-Ṭawāshī Mosque. It had 360 living rooms but it lasted under a hundred years when it was all demolished. He built also the Jāmi' of Qaryat al-Qābil, Masjid al-Maḥāmid and Masjid al-Bahmah in Bīr al-'Azab; Masjid al-Ṭawāshī and Masjid Uzdimir he extended, as well as building many houses.

Al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abbās (1224-31/1809-16)

Al-Shawkānī who had earlier exerted himself to arrange a settlement between prince Aḥmad and al-'Ulufī declares that 'I was the first to render him allegiance—then I had charge of receiving the allegiance to him of his brothers, paternal uncles as well as the rest of the Imām al-Qāsim's house and all the notables and chiefs.' Mutawakkil had been Governor of Ṣan'ā' under his father.

He put to rights what his father had ruined (*aṣḥāba mā qad aṣḥada wālidu-hu*) except for the Tihāmahs which remained in the hands of the Ashrāf, though he came to terms with Sharīf Ḥamūd to return to him some Tihāmah districts. His brief reign saw much fighting with the northern tribes. Al-Shawkānī says he campaigned widely but was victorious in every campaign he He saw to the security of the roads and the *ra'āyā*.

The year before this Imām died letters arrived in Ṣan'ā' from the Ottoman Sultan and Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, Governor of Egypt, accompanied by magnificent presents, including an elephant which used to parade with the cavalry and go round the

170 *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1366/1948, 225.

171 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Amīr al-Rufayḍī (Rufaydah is an old station on the Iraq pilgrim route). In a *Tarīm* ms. I found in 1953, and am editing, *Tahriq al-ikhwān al-kirām wa-badhl al-naṣīḥah fi 'l-taḥarruz min Yām al-h'ām* of Ḥusayn b. Muḥ. . . Ibrīq al-Ḥabbānī, has much on Wahhābī movements at this period. See for piratical Wahhābīs R. B. Serjeant and G. M. Wickens, 'The Wahhābīs in western Arabia in 1803-4 A.D.' *Islamic culture*, Oct. 1949, 1-4, probably the report (in Persian) of a British agent at Mocha.

172 The history of the 'Ulufī family of qādis is given in al-Anīsī, *Tarīḥ al-ayyār*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iryānī and 'Abdullāh al-Fā'ishī, Cairo, 1369 H, 265, n.

173 George, Viscount Valentia, *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea . . . in the years 1801 . . . and 1806*, London, 1809, II, 381.

174 Niebuhr, op. cit., II, 89, says his army has only four generals, shaykhs of Hamḍān, Wādī'ah (Wada), Sufyān and Khawlān.

175 Qāḍī Ismā'il has an unpublished proverb, *'Ajā'ib fi 'l-ghirārah wa-'abd ismī-h Muḥammad*, Wonders in a grain-sack and a slave named Muḥammad (also pronounced Mūḥammad, and in Ibb, Mīhimid (diminutive)). The proverb marvels that today so many slaves are called by the names of free men. Slave names are 'Anbar, Barquq, Murjān, Yāqūt Ṣumṣām, etc. Slave-women (*amah*) also have special names like Jawharah, Yāqūṭah, Zumurradah, precious stones.

176 It was his father who had attacked Ṣan'ā' nearly forty years before.

Ṣan'ā' sūqs with its sayce. Al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad had sent them cornelian stones ('*aqiq*) and asked for their support to recover the Tihāmah.

It is recorded that in 1228/1813 he ordered the demolition of some domes over graves—it is likely that this would be an attack on saint-cults of which the Zaydīs disapprove. He amassed arms, treasure and a great library.¹⁷⁷ In the last year of his reign a benefactor completed the building of the large bridge (*al-'aqd al-'aḡim*) over the Sā'ilah, south of Masjid al-Nahrayn to allow men and beasts to cross it in time of flood.

Al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad (1231-1251/1816-1835)

Al-Wāsi'ī gives al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh a poor character¹⁷⁸ as perpetually changing his ministers and punishing¹⁷⁹ them—they in turn kept replacing the local '*āmils* who therefore 'looked after their own interests only.' It was his habit to seclude himself following his pleasures and lusts, listening to music and neglecting affairs of state—through which there was no longer safety for property and on the roads. Robert Finlay of the Bombay Service describes him in 1823 as tall with a dark complexion like an African.

The government (he says) was exceedingly weak, and the Imām was obliged to subsidise the neighbouring chiefs in order to prevent them plundering his country. The amount thus expended amounted to about a lac of dollars annually; but the independent Shaykhs were year by year increasing in strength, and raising their demands in proportion to their ability to enforce them.

The public reception-room of the Imām was covered with Persian carpets, and silken pillows were arranged round the sides: at one end stood the throne, which was raised two feet from the floor, and covered with crimson velvet and cushions of rich cloth of gold. His private apartments were furnished with less taste, and were crowded with the most heterogeneous articles, such as horse-trappings, arms, organs, time-pieces, common empty bottles, bales of cotton goods, silks, and woollen stuffs. His Highness, as well as the officers of his court, were richly dressed, and exhibited a considerable amount of state and magnificence on all public occasions.¹⁸⁰

The Turco-Egyptians in Arabia

In 1813, during the last years of al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh's father, Muḥammad 'Alī, the redoubtable Pasha of Egypt, had taken up arms against the Wahhābīs in the Holy Cities of the Hijaz which he restored to the Porte while he himself remained virtual master of the Hijaz. That same year he sent an envoy to Sharif Ḥamūd of Abū 'Arīsh who returned him an evasive answer. The envoy went on to Ṣan'ā' where 'he was received with such marked distinction and respect as sufficiently showed that the Imām (al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad) was not without his apprehensions of Muḥammad 'Alī's views in that quarter.'¹⁸¹ He also went on to Mocha. Al-Mutawakkil, as seen above, also thought to use the Turco-Egyptians to his own advantage. Muḥammad 'Alī's forces were heavily engaged with the Wahhābīs till the fall of Dir'iyyah in 1818 but after that a Turkish contingent was sent against Abū 'Arīsh which it took with other coastal towns. Muḥammad 'Alī now entered negotiations with the Imām al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh—the Tihāmah districts captured by the Turco-Egyptians were to be restored to the Imām in consideration of an annual tribute of a lac of *riyāls*. So al-Mahdī sent his governors to all the *bandars*, but

appointed an Abū 'Arīsh Sharīf to rule the northern half of the Tihāmah on his behalf.

The Yemen was not however to be freed yet of the Turco-Egyptians for in 1832 a rebellious officer of Muḥammad 'Alī's Hijaz forces, Muḥammad Āghā nick-named Turkchi Bilmas, marched against Hodeidah which he took after a bombardment, gaining possession also of Mocha and Zabīd. In the web of intrigue of the Ottoman Sultan against the Pasha of Egypt the Porte backed him against Muḥammad 'Alī. The Turco-Egyptian forces which were now moving down the coast again, by sea, blockaded Mocha to which Turkchi Bilmas had retired, while tribes from 'Asīr carried it by assault on land. The 'Asīrīs were forced by the Turco-Egyptian commander Ibrāhīm Pasha to surrender Mocha to him (1833). He was to take further steps against al-Mahdī's son a few years later.

Internal Events in the Yemen

Al-Mahdī, although he took a number of actions during his disturbed reign against recalcitrant tribes, lost several large districts to them. In 1233/1817-18 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Barāṭ tribes at Ṣan'ā' and ordered their chief 'Alī al-Shāyif to be beheaded and his corpse buried in the place for filth (*najāsāt*) outside the city wall near Bāb al-Shu'ūb. This was in retaliation for their assault on Bīr al-'Azab in which they had murdered and pillaged. Bīr al-'Azab at this time was the residence of the Imām's family, the chiefs of state, and great qādīs, and of these notables were killed Qādī Muḥammad al-Saḥūlī and the Inspector of the Waqfs as well as other Sayyids and scholars. The reason for this was that the Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn tribes had got the better of the Imām so he ordered them to be put to the ban (*ibāḥah*) in Ṣan'ā' and imprisoned their chiefs and they (the tribesmen) were taken and murdered in the streets and sūqs. Some escaped over the Ṣan'ā' wall—the attack was in order to wipe out the shame ('*ar*) put upon them.

The Imāmate of Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Sirājī (1247/1831)

This episode exemplifies a pattern far from uncommon during the centuries of the Zaydī Imāmate in the Yemen, whereby in times of stress claimants arise from houses of Sayyids other than that in power. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Sirājī was not of the house of al-Qāsim the Great. He is credited with all the qualifications that are required of a candidate for the Imāmate (*shurūṭ al-imāmah*). Short in duration as his Imāmate was and insofar as can be judged, of no great significance, Yemeni historians appear sympathetic to him as a scholar in opposition to the established dynasty. He was contemporary with al-Shawkānī and both died in the same year.

Al-Sirājī taught in the Jāmi' of Ṣan'ā' where he had a great following among the ulema class. So high was his reputation that the *ahl al-khayr* (benefactors) as al-Shawkānī calls them, would give his students (*ṭalabah*) anything he ordered in the way of clothing and maintenance. He left Ṣan'ā' '*muhājir-an*'¹⁸² accompanied by a number of scholars and, perhaps at their persuasion, he made his *da'wah* to the Imāmate in 1247 or 1248 (between 1831 and 1833). Authorities consulted are imprecise about the place or time, but he was followed by some men of Khawlān, Arḥab, Nihm, Hāshid and Bakīl and went to besiege al-Mahdī in Ṣan'ā'. Al-Jirāfī attributes his decision to revolt to his dissatisfaction with the disorderliness of al-Mahdī's conduct. At Ṣan'ā' his tribal followers began to ill-treat the *ra'iyyah* and al-Sirājī took up their defence against their aggressions with the result that they

¹⁷⁷ The library had 100,000 books! He collected gold, silver, clothing, precious stones, weapons and 'innumerable medical appliances (*ālāt al-ṭibb*) and simples (*'aqqārāt*). A doctor once asked him for the 'wing of the green fly' which the Imām was able to give him. He had also chests full of ambergris, musk and watches.

¹⁷⁸ Al-Jirāfī and Zabārah, *Nayl al-waḡar*, II, 64, give him, on the contrary, a good character on the authority of al-Shijni, 'From the time he grew up he

used to know only the sword and spear, and was familiar only with striking and thrusting.'

¹⁷⁹ Arabic *yu'adhḥib* can mean 'to torture'—if so probably to extract hidden treasure.

¹⁸⁰ Playfair, op. cit., 140.

¹⁸¹ Loc. cit., 131.

¹⁸² See definition, p. 316b.

deserted him—they were in the movement for what they could get. Al-Wāsi'ī claims that al-Mahdī bribed the tribes to return to their own territory. In traditional Zaydī style al-Sirājī kept urging the tribes to action and *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, enjoining the right and forbidding the unseemly. He was assassinated or poisoned in 1250/1834.

Al-Sirājī is presented to us as a man of sincere purpose, scrupulous, but lacking the political chicanery to survive, far less win, in Yemeni politics.

Al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh's Benefactions

Šan'ā' owes to this Imām the construction of the Ṭalḥah Mosque as it is today, the addition of lodgings external to the Jāmi' for students strangers (*aghrāb*) to the city, the widening of the Maydān opposite Bāb al-Khalīfah north of the Jāmi', and the building of Ḥammām al-Mutawakkil at Bāb al-Sabahah, Ḥammām al-Sulṭān, the Ḥammām of Wādī Ḍahr, among others.

Al-Wāsi'ī¹⁸³ names him the last of the Imāms of attack and daring (*al-ṣawlah wa-l-iqdām*).

Disturbance, Anarchy, Chaos, Foreign Interference and Encroachment

The Yemen was now to enter upon an era of anarchy, confusion and much misery internally, with Turco-Egyptian and Ottoman interference, intrigue or active aggression externally. The occupation of the coastal ports by the Tihāmah Sharīfs obviously weakened the sinews of power of the Šan'ā' Imāms who must expend time and treasure to recover the vital revenues of the ports and other lost provinces.

The Zaydī Imāmate in Decline up to the Ottoman Occupation of Šan'ā' (1251-1289/1835-1872)

The character given Imām al-Manšūr 'Alī who succeeded his father in 1251/1835, by Cruttenden¹⁸⁴ who visited him in Šan'ā' is unflattering and the scene at his court unedifying. He also had African blood, his mother being said to be an Abyssinian. Suspecting his uncle al-Qāsim was conspiring against him, he imprisoned him, but al-Qāsim escaped to Ta'izz and made an agreement with Ibrāhīm Pasha at Mocha to hand over Ta'izz to the Turco-Egyptians in return for a stipend. Ibrāhīm entered Ta'izz in 1837 but by that time al-Manšūr was already deposed. He had unwisely dismissed his commander of troops, 'Anbar, and they promptly turned on him in his house at Bustān al-Mutawakkil and imprisoned him. During his year as Imām rains were scarce and streams (*anhār*)¹⁸⁵ went deep, especially at al-Rawḍah so wells had to be deepened there to twice their depth.

The troops put al-Nāṣir 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥasan into power and he restored some order. He had been an Imām of the Prayer in Qubbat Mahdī 'Abbās and he is said to have put a teacher of the Prayer into every district (*balḍah*). When in Wādī Ḍahr for an outing he was treacherously slain by the Bāṭiniyyah¹⁸⁶ and others of Hamdān at Dār al-Ḥajar.

It was at this time, in 1255/1839 that a British-Indian expedition captured Aden from the independent 'Abdalī Sultan. This once

great port was sunk so low that when taken it was found to have only some 1,200 inhabitants.

Al-Hādī Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil was now brought out of prison in Šan'ā' and made Imām by those in power in the city. The historians have little to say of him. Masjid al-Hādī near Bāb al-Rūm is named after him and in one of his three years as Imām a harvest was so good that the price of 8 *qadaḥs* of *dhurah* fell to one *riyāl*.

Another claimant to be the Expected Mahdī, the *faqīh* Sa'īd b. Šālīḥ al-'Ansī the Sufi,¹⁸⁷ rose in his time at Ibb of the Lower Yemen, writing magic squares and talismans. He even struck pure silver coinage in his own name. He was besieged in al-Dunwah fort near 'Udayn and executed in 1257/1841. Shortly after this the Imām recovered Ta'izz and Mocha. In April 1841 he sent a mission to Aden with valuable presents to request British co-operation by sea to aid him recover the Tihāmah ports from the Sharīfs of Abū 'Arish who had been oppressing and harassing merchants. The British Political Agent who had been instructed to follow the principle of non-intervention in Arab politics, though sympathetic since Indian merchants were involved, could not accede to the Imām's request though two further missions were sent from Šan'ā', the Imām even offering to cede Zayla' to the British.

By 1840 events in Europe had obliged Ibrāhīm Pasha to withdraw from the Yemen and Hijaz. Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha had entertained high hopes of taking Aden, only to be forestalled by the British.¹⁸⁸ The Yemeni Tihāmah then fell into the hands of the Abū 'Arish Sharīf Ḥusayn who was to rule it from Mocha on behalf of the Porte and pay the Pasha of Egypt an annual tribute of 70,000 *riyāls*.

On al-Hādī's death the deposed Imām al-Manšūr was re-instated, but about two years later defeated and replaced by al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā who was supported by Sharīf Ḥusayn, and entered Šan'ā'. Mutawakkil soon fell out with Sharīf Ḥusayn, and took from him Zabīd, Bayt al-Faqīh and Mocha, besieging the Sharīf in al-Quray' village and making him prisoner there in the *qal'ah*. The Sharīf's daughter, evidently a woman of spirit, took herself off to Najrān with horses as *aqīrah*¹⁸⁹ to seek help there for her father. The guards who had sworn oaths to keep the Sharīf prisoner broke their faith for a bribe of 25,000 *riyāls*. Yām (of Najrān or Ḥarāz) answered the appeal to aid the Sharīf and defeated Mutawakkil who had to retire to Šan'ā', and they played havoc in Zabīd.

Mutawakkil was now awkwardly placed for whenever he tried to go out of the city to quell tribal insurgencies his soldiers refused to obey him. His minister in Šan'ā' was Abū Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī,¹⁹⁰ notoriously oppressive and unjust who would chain a man from head to foot and beat him unless he ransomed himself with *riyāls*.

Things had come to a pretty pass. In 1264/1848 another claimant to the Imāmate, al-Manšūr Aḥmad b. Ḥāshim had set himself up as Imām in Ša'dah, the Imām was at war with Sharīf Ḥusayn and had many troubles elsewhere. At this juncture the Porte decided to embark on the conquest of the Yemen. A fleet was sent under Tawfiq Pasha from Jeddah and a land force under Muḥammad b. 'Awn, the Sharīf of Mecca, to Hodeidah. The Abū 'Arish Sharīf Ḥusayn they summoned to surrender—he had no alternative but to do so, and with it the other towns of the Tihāmah. Tawfiq then summoned Mutawakkil to surrender his dominions to the Porte. Mutawakkil, though reluctant and the northern tribes scornful of the Ottoman Turks, was induced to come down to Hodeidah and he signed a convention in 1265/1849

least where candidature for the Imāmate is concerned. This needs further evidence which al-Shamāhī does not give.

188 Cf. H. Dodwell, *Founder of modern Egypt, Muhammad 'Alī*, Cambridge, 1931, reprinted 1967, 150-1, for his rivalry with the British over Aden.

189 See n. 142 supra.

190 For his actions in the Mint case see p. 236b, n. 78. *Ṣafahāt majhūlah* (see following n. 125), 28, mentions the imprisonment of Abū Zayd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Maḥfūz from south of Šan'ā' and al-Rawḍah respectively.

183 Ibid, 228.

184 Quoted by Playfair, 144, from *JRGS*, London, 1838, VIII, 267-89.

185 This misfortune is naively attributed to the fault of the Imām's *wazīr* who, in honour of al-Manšūr's visit, had the village sprinkled with rosewater.

186 The 'Ismā'īlīs' who live there.

187 Al-Shamāhī *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, 158, states that he proclaimed himself Imām, and credits al-'Ansī with anti-Fāṭimī and anti-Quraysh sentiments—at

by which he would become a vassal of the Porte, receiving half the revenues of the country, the rest to go to the Imperial Treasury—and 1,000 Turkish regulars were to garrison Ṣan'ā'.¹⁹¹

The Turks arrived at Ṣan'ā' on Thursday 5 Ramaḍān, 1265/15 July, 1849 and immediately put a garrison into the Qaṣr. On the Friday the Ṣan'ānīs rose to a man and slew every Turk except those who took refuge in the Qaṣr and Bustān al-Sulṭān. The story goes they heard the Turks saying that tomorrow we'll take this house and that woman. Mutawakkil sent the survivors back to Hodeidah on the 'Id al-Ifṭār with their leader Tawfiq Pasha who died there of his wounds.

The Ṣan'ā' populace held responsible the learned Qāḍī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Amrānī, the Inspector of the Awqāf, for advising Mutawakkil to introduce the Turks. So they set on his house and looted it, destroying his library of 1,000 of the most splendid books. They also looted the house of 'Abdullāh al-Hindī described as 'the book broker (*dallāl al-kutub*).'

The Ṣan'ānīs then seized Mutawakkil and brought back al-Manṣūr 'Alī to office though he lacked some of the qualifications (*shurūf*) for the Imāmate. He imprisoned Mutawakkil in the Qaṣr, loaded with eight manacles and had him put to death.¹⁹² Jirāfī's verdict is that 'he was one of the most accomplished of men (*kamalat al-rjāl*) but fate was not on his side.' He was wrongfully put to death in 1266/1849-50.

Mutawakkil's benefactions include work on the *ḥammām* of Wādī Ḍahr near Dār al-Ḥajar in 1263/1847, and some ablution places (*maḥāḥir*) at Qubbat al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim to which he led water from al-Ghayl al-Aswad, as well as lodgings over the *maḥāḥir* for *muhājirs*, students of 'ilm from outside Ṣan'ā' (*aḡhrāb*). When the court of Maṣjid al-Nahrayn was being excavated a golden idol was found—this may be taken as evidence that there had been pre-Islamic buildings there. Al-Wāsi'ī incidentally reports tales of buried treasure in the market at Bāb al-Yaman where straw, *dhurah*-cane and firewood are sold.¹⁹³ It is recorded that a thunderbolt fell in Bustān al-Mutawakkil and entered the Manṣar¹⁹⁴ al-Ṣinī, all the walls of which were decorated with porcelain (*ṣinī*). About this period are mentioned several royal palaces, those of the Imām and his retinue being known as al-Sarāyā; these were Dār al-Ṭawāshī, Dār al-Dhahab, Dār al-Bustān, Dār al-Jāmi' etc.,

Sore afflictions now befell Ṣan'ā'—the roads were cut—the tribes rebelled. The oppression (*ẓulm*) of the minister al-Miṣrī in Ṣan'ā' drove some Sayyids and Qāḍīs to take refuge with the rival Imām al-Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Ḥāshim at Ṣa'dah who besieged Ṣan'ā' in 1850 with tribal support and even managed to stay in it for about three months. But the Sayyids and notables of the city chose as Imām a scholar, al-Mu'ayyad billāh al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The raiding tribes looted Bustān al-Mutawakkil so al-'Abbās emptied it and Dār al-Ṭawāshī of everything and set himself up with his soldiers and amīrs in the Qaṣr. After fighting in Ṣan'ā' he gave in to al-Manṣūr Aḥmad b. Ḥāshim who imprisoned him.

Taking fright at this al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. al-Mahdī left Ṣan'ā', stirred up the tribes and was acknowledged Imām under the new title of al-Mutawakkil. With 6,000 tribesmen he surrounded

Ṣan'ā' and looted Bīr al-'Azab leaving nothing but stones. Al-Manṣūr Aḥmad fled to Arḥab. Within the next few years some four more Imāms appeared in various districts of the north. In this sorry situation the Tihāmāh was held by the Turks, Ḥarāz by the Makramī¹⁹⁵ lord of Najrān and the Lower Yemen by the Bakīl tribes.

There was fighting in Ṣan'ā' again in 1268/1851-2 between the supporters of a new Imām, al-Hādī Ghālib, and al-Mahdī 'Abbās holding respectively the east and west of the city. Their soldiers occupied the minarets and large houses, the townsfolk were confined to their homes, the *sūqs* locked up and the mosques including the Jāmi' closed for about two months. Many ulema left for other Yemeni cities. Some large houses like Dār al-Miḥdādāh and Dār al-Ḥajar of Ḍahr were destroyed. Playfair¹⁹⁶ speaks of complete disorder; 'robberies and murder were of every day occurrence, the Jews and foreign merchants were despoiled of all they possessed, and this once magnificent city was abandoned to anarchy and confusion.'

At last the merchants of Ṣan'ā', to ameliorate, in some measure, this state of affairs, set up a governor (*wālī*) of their own, the shaykh al-Ḥājī Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī al-Suwaydī 'who was not a scholar (*min ahl al-'ilm wa-'l-ma'rifah*),' in 1269/1852-53. In the following year the ulema and notables of the city recognised an Āl Wazīr Sayyid of Wādī 'l-Sirr as Imām only to depose him again and select another. As al-Wazīr left he cursed the Ṣan'ānīs and their cattle died, their grapes were stricken with the disease known as *dhaḡal*¹⁹⁷ and blessing (*barakah*)¹⁹⁸ was withheld from the grain because of the evilness (*fasād*) of the people. Not unnaturally plague arrived next year.

Ṣan'ā' was besieged anew in 1274/1857-58 when the current Imām in this game of box and cox, al-Hādī Ghālib, fell out with al-Ḥaymī who is described as his *wazīr*, and trying to enter Ṣan'ā' found its gates locked in his face. During the siege al-Ḥaymī demolished Dār al-Ṭawāshī,¹⁹⁹ a mansion of 360 rooms (*manzil*) reckoned the splendour of the age—the decorations (*ṣibāghāt*)²⁰⁰ of which had cost al-Manṣūr b. al-'Abbās 70,750 *riyāls* in Yemeni currency. Al-Ḥaymī sold its doors, window-frames and shutters (*ṭiqān*) and timbers. It was perhaps about this time or before that he incited the populace to plunder and destroy the house of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Kibsi in Ḥarāt al-Filayḥī, its doors and windows also being looted. The valuables placed in al-Kibsi's safe-keeping (*al-wadā'i*)²⁰¹ by their owners were stolen with the rest. Al-Kibsi who was acting with the title of Shaykh al-Islām, though he had no power for it all lay in al-Ḥaymī's hands, had wanted to imprison al-Ḥaymī for debts he owed people and al-Ḥaymī revenged himself in this way. Grieved at the loss of his large library al-Kibsi went as a refugee (*muhājir*) to Baraṭ.

In their disgust²⁰² at his misconduct the Ṣan'ānīs set up 'Abdullāh Yūsuf Ḥuwaydir²⁰³ as their Shaykh and besieged al-Ḥaymī in the Qaṣr. Al-Ḥaymī managed to slip away intending to reach the Turks in the Tihāmāh, but he was intercepted and taken to al-Ṭawīlah west of Kawkabān where Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad had proclaimed himself Imām with the title al-Hādī. Al-Hādī struck his own coin (*darāhim 'adadiyyah*) in Thulā, but in 1278/1861 proclamation was made in Ṣan'ā' abolishing his

191 Details are given by Zabārah, *A'ummat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 47-8. The period of anarchy, 1263-1287/1847-1870, is covered in great and interesting detail by an anonymous chronicler whose account has recently been published by Markaz al-Dīrāsāt al-Yamaniyyah as *Ṣafahāt majhūlah min tārīkh al-Yaman*, ed. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāghī, Ṣan'ā', 1398/1978.

192 Al-Jirāfī says that before going to Hodeidah he had asked for a Turkish contingent to help him enforce his orders, and al-Wāsi'ī that he welcomed the possibility of using Turkish troops to chastise the tribes, and for these reasons incurred the odium of the Ṣan'ānīs.

193 He adds that west of Maṣjid Dāwūd, north of the public highway on the wall of which are alabaster rooms with Ḥimyarī writing, is a place anciently a *kanisah*, where sweepings and garbage are nowadays thrown, in which there is said to be treasure.

194 *Manṣar* is discussed on p. 443a.

195 The 'Ismā'īlīs'.

196 *Op. cit.*, 155.

197 Al-Wāsi'ī, *op. cit.*, 245. When the grapes are near ripeness and perfection,

they turn black and go bad.

198 *Barakah* means rain, *raḥmah*.

199 Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī tells me that popular tales (*qīl*) are that it was built from the clay taken from Ghuraq Rūm (p. 99a), but this does not look very likely. He quoted a saying, *Dār al-Tawāshī mā minna-hā shī*, which would mean that it is useless.

200 *Ṣibāghāt*, perhaps paint and plaster ornament? Al-Wāsi'ī, writing in 1927, says the *riyāl* of those days is worth a hundred today, but this is probably not to be understood literally.

201 Money etc. is often deposited with a person of the religious aristocracy where it would be as safe as anything ever is in south Arabia. The Prophet himself returned what was deposited with him before leaving Mecca.

202 Playfair, 156, quoting Stern, describes him as 'an olive coloured Arab, in whose lustreless eyes and sunken cheeks vice had stamped her indelible characters'.

203 Al-Wāsi'ī, 249.

coinage, after which no-one accepted it. Like other Imāms of the period he claimed to have the Jinn in his service²⁰⁴ (*yastakhdim al-jinn*) and they would inform him about (forth-coming) happenings. With a tribal following al-Hādī entered Ṣan'ā', taking al-Ḥaymī with him—to die in prison there. Almost inevitably the Ṣan'ānis fell out with al-Hādī, besieged him in the Qaṣr and, in 1276/1859-60 expelled him.

They took over all the responsibilities (*adrāk*) from the Imām's soldiers, appointing for each *darak* an *ʿāqil* and his group (*jamā'ah*). The Imām's representative left Ṣan'ā' and from him and others the stipends (*muqarrarāt*) were cut off as well as the delivery of the *ḥiṣyah* to them. The people appointed themselves governors of the city and the authority (*qawī*) was that of the headmen (*uqqāl*) in the city and their chief (*kabīr*), Muḥsin Mu'īd. On 18 Dhu'l-Ḥijjah came the Nushūr (see p.34a) of the inhabitants of Ṣan'ā' to Nuqum and they made a proclamation (*ḡāhirah*), delivered by a *dawshān*, that they would look after themselves and that their decisions (*ʿakhwāḍ*) would be the responsibility of the *uqqāl*.

There had been a great plague in the previous year and so many died that there was a shortage of burial shrouds and as many as twenty biers were blessed at a time. Intense cold destroyed crops.

The people of Ṣan'ā' now made Shaykh Muḥsin b. 'Alī Mu'īd their governor of the city. Muḥsin Mu'īd turned to negotiate with another Imām, al-Muḥsin b. Aḥmad, entitled al-Mutawakkil, who settled in the strategically important fort at Dhū Marmar where he struck coin. When they fell out with one another Imām al-Muḥsin invested and entered Ṣan'ā' by al-Khandaq al-Ghaylī (on the south) in 1284/1867-8 and took Nawbat al-Midfā' (The Tower of the Cannon). The merchant inhabitants of Ṣan'ā' collected and garrisoned the *samsarahs* and minarets (*ṣawāmi'*), rejecting the garrison (*rutbah*) of Shaykh Muḥsin (Mu'īd) to look after their property and themselves. However the Imām's power fell away from him and he left but Muḥsin Mu'īd re-entered by al-Khandaq al-Qibli on the north of Ṣan'ā'. The two came to terms on the basis that the exercise of the *sharī'ah* and control of the *waqf* should go to the Imām while the revenues (*mawārid*) and outgoings (*mukharrajāt*) should be the responsibility of Muḥsin Mu'īd and him, without the Imām having the right to place obstacles in the way of them. The headman (*ʿāqil*) and *qāḍī* should be of the Ṣan'ānis. Al-Muḥsin was to have the address at the Friday prayer in his name and he should have the Jum'ah.²⁰⁵ They appointed Sayf al-Khilāfah, al-Sayyid 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Mahdī, to (lead) the Friday Jum'ah Prayer, and he was nicknamed al-Ḥathrah (the Crumb). These events took place in 1285/1868-9.

Al-Shamāḥī²⁰⁶ provides an interesting account of how the Jum'ah Prayer was performed without the physical presence of the Imām. Zaydī *fiqh*-law stipulates that for the Friday Prayer to be valid the Imām must be present. It was the responsibility of the Ḥākim (Governor) of Ṣan'ā' 'to set up an Imām for the Friday Prayer (*iqāmat Imām li-l-Jum'ah*). In the chaotic days of al-Anīsī, al-Ḥaymī or Muḥsin Mu'īd at Ṣan'ā', a group of their soldiers (*jund*) would go out with the horse, sword, umbrella, robes and drums of the Imāmate (*faras al-Imāmah wa-sayfu-hā wa-mazallat-hā wa-kiswat-hā wa-fubūlu-hā*), and bring out the Imām. The Captain of the soldiers would invest him with the Imāmic cloak (*ḥullah*). Then he would mount the horse and go with the procession (*mawḥib*) of the Imāmate to the Jāmi' where the address would be delivered in his name. Then he would be returned to his house and the life of common folk. Al-Shamāḥī comments

that this ostensibly is a manifestation of the keenness of the Governor to maintain the Zaydī rite in being, but it was secretly in mockery and in aid of the *da'wah* against the Imām.²⁰⁷ The temporary Imām would be a Qāsimī.

Al-Sayāghī makes of Muḥsin Mu'īd a hero of the people of Ṣan'ā' but this may be to exaggerate the part he played. He was, al-Sayāghī maintains, one of the *ʿāqils* of the city who, on being put in charge by the Ṣan'ānis, set their affairs in order and made of them an armed defensive force which combatted the tribes surrounding their city, the Imām only having the Ṣalāt al-Jum'ah. When he stopped up Bāb Sha'ūb with burned brick (*ājur*) and the water of al-Ghayl al-Aswad was stopped by him from flowing to al-Rawḍah the tribes to the north were forced to negotiate with the Ṣan'ā' townsfolk, bringing with them sacrificial beasts (*ʿaqā'ir*) till they opened it again.

Of the seven tribes surrounding Ṣan'ā', Sinḥānī, Bahlūlī, Rūsī, Bustānī, Ḥushayshī, Hamdānī, Ḥārithī, and others as well, all greatly outnumbering the Ṣan'ānis, he says,

Into how many a tussle they [the Ṣan'ānis] entered with Banū Bahlūl on the outskirts of Jabal Nuqum, another with the Bilād al-Rūs and Banū Bahlūl tribes in the Plain (Qā') south of Ṣan'ā', how often they plunged into the thick of violent battle with Bilād al-Bustān and Hamdān west and north of Ṣan'ā', and how many similar battles with Banu 'l-Ḥārith and Banu 'l-Ḥushaysh in Sha'ūb, Sa'wān and al-Rawḍah! At one time they would raid the animals bearing (*ḥamā'il*) their merchandise arriving from the *banādir* (ports) and brigands from these tribes would intercept them. Then they would return victorious, their urban/civilian resolution unbending, nor did the evil of wealth and luxury hold them back from daring and courage. On the contrary—they displayed strength and authority, the essential of command, and proclamations of their independence through themselves and through their *'Uqqāl* and *Mashāyikh* such as Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī and Shaykh Muḥsin Mu'īd.

Certainly the episode of local self-government in Ṣan'ā' is one of unusual interest even if it does not merit the constructions put on it by al-Sayāghī.

Muḥsin Mu'īd continued in charge until the arrival of the Ottoman Turks. It is interesting to learn that he had a trading depot (*matjar*) in the well-known Samsarat al-Mizān and that when he took over the control of Ṣan'ā' he put his head-quarters in this *samsarah*.

The Imām al-Muḥsin tried to curb the Bāṭiniyyah, the Makārimah, who had taken the opportunity of these disturbed years to take over al-Ḥaymah district.

* * *

These are the salient outlines of the age of decline of the Imāmate prior to the seizure of power by the Ottoman Turks, insofar as they affect Ṣan'ā'. Northern Yemen had reverted into an anarchy of tribal chiefdoms and little city states under various Imāms with tribal backing. Individual Imāms may have been men of quality and ability but they did not succeed in restoring stability. The sufferings of the people of Ṣan'ā' were certainly lasting and cruel. In raising men of their own to rule it looks as if they reacted against the marauding tribes and Imāms who had no other course but to mulct them through taxation. Yemeni historians usually say little of these commoners; be they merchants, shaykhs of the Sūq or of the Quarters we are not told.

110, 115 and al-Sayāghī's preface.

206 Op. cit., 160-1.

207 Al-Shamāḥī, though he is to be credited here, does try to read into the attitudes of Muḥsin Mu'īd and others a sort of ideological opposition to the Zaydī Imāms, whereas the evidence available only shows these men as *ad hoc* appointments in the general anarchy of the age.

204 Zaydī sources frequently refer to persons able to command the services of the Jinn. In Ḥaḍramawt there was a popular belief that Sayyid families had a special Jinnī they could summon. Imām Aḥmad was credited with similar powers.

205 Much of this section is drawn from *Ṣafahāt majhūlah*, 78, 116, 118, 120, and

The Arrival of the Turks in Ṣan'ā' and Second Ottoman Occupation

From the latter half of the 13th/19th century the Ottomans had once more begun to expand in Arabia and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 meant they could send troops to south Arabia by sea. Despite Tawfiq's reverse at Ṣan'ā' they had preserved their foothold on the coast. In 1287/1870 Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha after settling 'Asir returned to Hodeidah and the Ṣan'ānis and other Yemenis invited him to Ṣan'ā' as they were weary of the chaos, lack of security and domination by the tribes.²⁰⁸ Their desperate condition seems to have overcome memories of the cruelties of Muḥammad 'Alī's Turco-Egyptians and of the Ottomans.

Aḥmad Mukhtār mounted an expedition to Ṣan'ā' and entered it on 16 Ṣafar, 1289/15 April, 1872. Arabic sources consulted mostly skip over this quickly—perhaps the facts are not very creditable or information is simply lacking. There is no clear indication as to who was Imām—if it was al-Mutawakkil Muḥsin he was powerless to deal with the tribes around Ṣan'ā'.²⁰⁹

The Ismā'īlīs²¹⁰ had gained power over Manākhah a few years before Aḥmad Mukhtār's advance into the highlands but though he had entered into pacts with them he attacked the Ismā'īlī leader west of Manākhah and murdered him when he surrendered. The Imām sent ulema and mashāyikh to meet the Ottomans at Manākhah but though at first they felt pleased at the defeat of the Ismā'īlī heretics they shuddered at the fate of the Amīr of 'Asir and the Ismā'īlī chief who had been given safe-conducts and they recalled Ottoman treachery with the Lord of Aden in an earlier age.²¹¹ The deputation invited Aḥmad Mukhtār to come and rid them of the rebellious tribes and then depart. He replied in Turkish—which they did not understand—and they assumed he had assented. When the Turks reached 'Asir village they were met by a deputation of notables, probably headed by Imām Ghālib b. Muḥammad.²¹² Through the medium of the Chief (Ra'īs) of Ṣan'ā', Shaykh Muḥsin Mu'īd, the Pasha demanded the fortresses around the city be delivered up to him. He split his troops into two groups one of which camped at Wabḥ where the grave and mosque²¹³ of Wabḥ b. Munabbih are (now inside al-'Urqī al-Sharqī), while the other garrisoned the Qaṣr, the ten gates of Ṣan'ā' and other forts.

Once the takeover was completed the Pasha demanded the tax-registers (*daḡātir*) of the Imām. His ministers, secretaries and the Ashrāf advised refusal since this would enable the Pasha to understand the administration, resources and revenues of the Yemen. Coupled with his possession of the forts he would thus be enabled to take over the country—which was evidently his intention though not what the Imām, Ashrāf and Mashāyikh had asked the Sultan to do.

Muḥsin Mu'īd advised the Turks, in order to gain popularity, first to destroy a robber, al-Daḡī,²¹⁴ living in a round adobe tower (*nawbah*) outside Sha'ūb—the tower was demolished and the robber executed.

Muḥsin Mu'īd's own fate is not uninformative on Ottoman modes of dealing in the Yemen. He was imprisoned by Pasha Ismā'īl Ḥāfiẓ and threatened with death, but certain Ṣan'ā' merchants guaranteed to hand over 40,000 *riyāls* for him. He did not, however, recover from his fright and died. The Pasha had his house nailed up and sequestered what he once owned.

The Pasha now Governor demanded the tax-registers again in order to become acquainted with the tithes (*'ushūr*), alleging he did not wish to govern the Yemen but only to teach the rebels a lesson.

The Pasha then commenced to form a government (*ḥukūmah*). His policy was to win over the common folk to the exclusion of the *khāṣṣah*, the aristocratic administrative class, driving out native Yemeni officials, and replacing them by Turkish *ma'mūrs*. He took over the revenues, severely restricted the incomes of the Imām and Ashrāf, prohibiting them also from mixing with chiefs of the tribes. He cut the stipends (*murattabāt*) of the Imām and Ashrāf to 3,000 *qirsh*²¹⁵ and prevented them from obtaining (Government) employment—to such an extent that the Imām and his relatives began to sell their holdings (*amlāk*).

The campaign of expansion in the north was opened with an attack on Kawkabān which surrendered after bloody battles, and on the western highlands. In July 1293/1876 another campaign was launched, this time against Arḥab and Ḥāshid—prisoners and the heads of the slain were brought into Ṣan'ā'. A truce was made and the Mashāyikh and 'Uqqāl (Headmen) of the tribes came to the Governor who presented them with gifts. Almost constant fighting with the tribes was to follow.

In 1296/1879 a new Imām, al-Ḥādī Sharaf al-Dīn, proclaimed himself at al-Madān of al-Ahnūm mountain and fought the Turks till his death a decade later at Sinnārah.²¹⁶

The Rise of the Ḥamid al-Dīn Imāms

After Imām Sharaf al-Dīn's death in 1307/1890 the ulema of his circle agreed to recognize al-Manṣūr billāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamid al-Dīn as Imām. He was at that time in Ṣan'ā' where he was born in 1255/1839. Fearing the Turks knew of the invitation from Ṣa'dah he left Ṣan'ā', later to be followed by his son Yaḥyā. At Ṣa'dah he took over Sharaf al-Dīn's holdings in the Bayt al-Māl and proceeded to al-Madān of al-Ahnūm and commenced sending letters to rouse the tribes who had become impatient of the Turks. To the ulema he allotted stipends (*taqrīrāt*) of grain and money. Most of the northern tribes joined him, and, as al-Wāsi'ī puts it, his wars against the Turks would fill a book.

In 1309/1891-2 the tribes were bold enough to intercept the post from Istanbul via Hodeidah to Ṣan'ā', and to invest the city itself.²¹⁷ They would capture Turkish weapons and officers and send them to the Imām whose camp was at Qaflat 'Idhar of Ḥāshid, four days march from Ṣan'ā'. Grain prices in Ṣan'ā' rocketed and many people left. A general rising broke out in the Yemen.

208 Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 50, says al-Ḥādī Ghālib b. Muḥammad, 'Alī b. al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh and Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad wrote to the Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz in Istanbul, asking his aid, against the 'tyrants of the tribes (*bughāt al-qabā'il*).'

209 Zabārah, *Itḥāf al-mustarshidin*, Ṣan'ā', 1343 H, 95, says that when the Turks entered Ṣan'ā', al-Mutawakkil al-Muḥsin retired to Ḥāshid, leaving the Ṣan'ā' districts. He died in 1295/1878.

210 The Makārimah. Strothmann, in *E.I.* (1), calls them Qarṣaḡīs but this is an epithet of abuse, not an exact term. The article has other errors. Tomas Gerholm, *Market, mosque and maḡrag*, Stockholm, 1977, describes the area.

211 The Tāhīrid Dāwūd, see p. 69b.

212 Al-Wāsi'ī, 254, says Imām 'Alī b. al-Mahdī (not traced in biographical works), Imām Ghālib b. Muḥammad and Sayyid Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad went out to meet them at 'Asir.

213 See p. 311b.

214 Al-Shamāhi, 155, calls him Shaykh Sha'ūb who held the Ḥamdān tribes in

his hand and challenged the Turks. A hero of the resistance or a robber—perhaps he was both?

215 They made Ghālib b. Muḥammad *qā'im-maḡām* of Khamir and adjacent Ḥāshid districts with a stipend of 300 *riyāls per mensem* and 100 *riyāls* for life.

216 Significantly Sharaf al-Dīn does not figure in Zabārah's *Itḥāf*, probably being omitted because of the rivalry of the house with the Ḥamid al-Dīns. This Imām was not of the line of Zayd b. 'Alī, but descended from the 8th/14th century Imām 'Alī b. Ḥamzah, the latter a descendant of 'Alī al-Riḍā' (*A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 4). See Clive Smith, loc. cit.

217 In 1308/1891 the Turks were searching tribes entering Ṣan'ā', for security reasons in their fear of a general revolt. The tribes were lighting fires on the mountain tops from Ḥāshid to Ḥamdān, Arḥab and al-Rawḍah. The Turks impounded the camels of the Badū coming to the city from Mashriq loaded with salt and used them to carry the baggage of troops moving from Ṣan'ā' to 'Amrān.

Aḥmad Fayḍī/Fayzī, a former governor, was sent back with reinforcements to restore order in the Yemen. He relieved Ṣan'ā' and campaigned vigorously against the tribes. When he came to Qaflat 'Idhar the Imām withdrew to the mountains and settled in al-Ahnūm—I stayed in the great fort which he built there on my 1964 journey. Aḥmad Fayḍī recovered the Turkish prisoners from the tribes by bribery or by force. Turkish armaments were far superior to those of the tribes who used the old Arab *bunduqs* except when they captured modern weapons from the Turks.

Al-Wāsi'ī avers that about 70,000²¹⁸ tribesmen from the Maghrib and Mashriq of the Yemen were at the siege of Ṣan'ā'. They constructed ladders at Ḥaddah to assault the walls manned by the Turks. The tribes around the city walls shouted out their intention to plunder the *qu'afa'* and *masākin*, the unarmed inhabitants, non-combatants, believing that the townsfolk were assisting the Turks notwithstanding the oppression and wrong they were suffering at their hands. 'But, by God's grace to the *qu'afa'* and *masākin*', says al-Wāsi'ī 'their lives and property were saved.' The Turks for their part thought the townsfolk were implicated in stirring up the tribes and regarded them as 'miserable rogues and Arabs'—so the poor folk came between two fires. It was their custom to pray in all the mosques, reciting the Qur'an and sūrat Yā-sin between the two Evening Prayers and after the Friday Prayer. They suffered from lack of food but those quitting Ṣan'ā' thinking to 'go out from darkness to light', were plundered by tribesmen of all they had, while if they came across a woman they assaulted her honour. The Imām and chiefs of the troops (*ajnad*) were helpless to check these excesses of the tribes. So the arrival of Aḥmad Fayḍī was greeted with joy by the Ṣan'ānis and he was welcomed by the chiefs (*ru'asā'*) of the Arabs and Shaykh 'Alī al-Bilaylī.²¹⁹ The Turkish governor after breaking the siege ordered a general amnesty.

Nevertheless, again in 1311/1893-4, the townsfolk could see signal fires (*tanāshir*) at night near the Qaṣr of Ṣan'ā' and Mount Nuqum overlooking the city on the east and 'Aṣir overlooking it on the west, and hear the sound of rifle fire.

In 1309/1891 the Porte sent an emissary to Ṣan'ā', directed to Imām al-Manṣūr, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Rifā'ī, a Syrian Mufti of Ḥamāh, who wrote the Imām a threatening and cajoling letter, then a Yemeni Sayyid who had become the Sultan's aide-de-camp (*yāwir*).²²⁰ The Imām's replies to both differ little, but the second letter²²¹ dated 25 Rabi' II, 1309/28 November, 1891, defines the Zaydī position in the following terms. Government of the Yemen, says the Imām, was in the hands of our forebears of the Pure Family (*al-'Itrat al-Zakiyyah*), the Prophet's House, acting by God's Book and the *Sunnah* of God's Apostle, enjoining right and forbidding the unseemly, maintaining the (canonical) punishments (*ḥudūd*) and retaliation (*qisās*) and taking the *kharāj*-tax of the land justly. Since the Yemenis voluntarily accepted Islam in the Prophet's time they are only liable to pay *zakāt* and *fiṭrah*. 'When the soldiers of the victorious Sultanate arrived accompanied by good expectations (of the Yemenis) of the Sultan²²² of Islam, it did not occur to the mind of any creature that they would rule by aught other than what God had revealed nor would they do what God has forbidden, nor go beyond the bounds by acting unjustly to God's servants, nor would they close the pilgrimage to God's House'.²²³

The Imām accuses the Turks of open fornication and sodomy (*al-zinā wa-l-liwāṭ*) so that they seem lawful, while wines have become like cool water, till children are corrupted. The *ra'ayā* are oppressed, the say (*kalimah*) of Judaism and Christianity has gained high standing, inviolable Muslim graves have been destroyed and walls and *khānāt* built with stone from them.²²⁴ Statutes (*qāwānīn*) have been imposed which have abolished (the distinction) between unlawful and lawful in order to seize property, to the extent that a farmer would consent to hand over his entire crop but it would not be accepted from him.²²⁵ The letter also inveighs against the tobacco monopoly.²²⁶

The Imām's letter along with a memorandum (*maḍbāḥah*) embodying the complaints of abuses from the Mashāyikh of Ṣan'ā' and the Mashāyikh of the Tribes, was sent to Istanbul.

In addition to the above al-Wāsi'ī²²⁷ cites as causes of the revolt that 'each *qā'im-maqām* and other *ma'mūrs*,²²⁸ when they go out to any province (*qaḍā'*) or district (*nāhiyah*) to collect tithes (*a'shār*) takes what he can for himself, without helping to write the voucher (*sanad*) for what he has received from them. Then the Government comes back and declares they have paid nothing. Then the Government orders them to be plundered and their houses destroyed and burned. When the regular army (*askar niẓām*) arrives in a village it assaults the womenfolk, the *ma'mūrs* affecting that the Yemenis are rogues²²⁹ and their rite/school (*madhhab*) is Zaydī.' Al-Wāsi'ī goes on to say that the Turks do not comprehend that Zaydism is one of the (orthodox) schools and that 'we are commanded to follow the guidance of the Imām Zayd b. 'Alī and his Family.' While the Turks consider us seceders from Islam yet they do not pray while the Yemenis do, adhering to the *shari'ah* as well.

In justice to the Turks it must be pointed out that some of these reproaches can often enough be applied to Yemenis as previous pages show, but of course they seemed the more reprehensible in a foreign Muslim like the Turk.

The Turks about this time started building a ring of forts around Ṣan'ā' for its defence. The worst offence in Ottoman eyes was now to correspond with or visit the Imām and a number of Sayyids, Faqīhs and Mashāyikh who did so were packed off to exile in Rhodes where some married but eventually returned.²³⁰

In 1311/1894 came the first attempts to blow up houses with gunpowder—in Bīr al-'Azab an official's dwelling and in the Ṣan'ā' Maydan west of Jāmi' al-Bakīriyyah, that of the Ḥākim al-Ḥanafiyyah, the Turkish rite/school being Ḥanafi. The Shari'ah Court even was later blown up. South of Ḥammām al-Maydān the telegraph wires were cut. Patrols had to try to prevent the telegraph wires outside Ṣan'ā' being cut which led to a shortage of men in the garrison so the Pasha ordered both Khanādiq and Bāb al-Sitrān to be closed. The Post and Telegraphs Office (*Dā'irat al-Barq wa-l-Barid*) was also blown up. Houses of Yemenis collaborating with the Turks followed and in 1312/1894 an attempt was made on Ismā'īlis of Najrān Yām lodged near Masjid al-Ḥumaydi north of Bāb al-Yaman.²³¹ Precautions were therefore taken by the Turks to double the number of watch-cabins (*maḥāris*)²³² in the streets and lanes. Lighting with oil-lamps (*fawānis*) was also introduced. When a blowing-up took place in a quarter (*ḥārah*) of Ṣan'ā' the Turks would imprison those living in the neighbourhood. An attempt by al-Manṣūr's supporters to set alight the houses of certain *ma'mūrs* using

218 Probably not all at once since tribesmen come and go.

219 For al-Bilaylī see p. 98a.

220 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 52 seq. He complained, *inter alia* that al-Manṣūr had been writing to the tribes.

221 Ibid, 65, seq.

222 It will be remarked that he is called Sultan, not Caliph, and al-Rifā'ī's letter addresses al-Manṣūr as Sayyid, not Imām.

223 Ibid, II, 161, al-Manṣūr, in 1313/1895-6, complains of the stopping of pilgrims to God's House in the name of the Quarantine which is under Christian charge. He avers this is to make Muslims doubt about their religion.

224 The encroachments on Khuzaymah Cemetery?

225 In the case of arrears of taxes?

226 See p. 177a.

227 Op. cit., 271.

228 There were *mufūkī* and 'askarī *ma'mūrs*.

229 Al-Wāsi'ī says that the Turks called anyone who had correspondence with the Imām a rogue (*shaqiyy*).

230 In 1321/1903 about eighty Yemenis were sent to Istanbul to study in Sultanī schools (*makātib*)—few ever returned.

231 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 163.

232 See p. 148a.

gunpowder in 1347/1899-1900 was forestalled by an informer. In point of fact the conduct of the *ma'mūrs* was often extremely bad and Fayḍī is recorded as giving his *ma'mūrs* a dressing down for their maltreatment of the Yemenis without abiding by the laws (*qawānīn*).

Two examples of how the Turks alienated Yemenis may be cited. Due to the overbearing treatment by the Turks, their oppression (*ẓulm*) and 'treating them like others' (i.e. not with the special position enjoyed by Sayyids in the Ottoman Empire as well as elsewhere), the influential Āl Wazīr left their *hijrah* at the top of Wādī 'l-Sirr to settle in the Jawf. They wrote to the Imām who assigned them subsistence (*kifāyāt*)²³³ there. Zabārah alludes to the seizure of women and children prisoners from Arḥab when their menfolk had escaped them, regarded by the Yemeni tribes as a shameful act.

Never have we heard of taking prisoner
Women or infants or *burqu'*-wearer.

Of all Ottoman Governors of the Yemen Zabārah says that Ḥusayn Ḥilmī Pasha was the most outstanding and astute. He attempted to settle the country by reforms in taxation in which he aimed at eliminating both native Yemeni and Turkish abuses. In 1317/1899 he made a tour of inspection, mainly south of Şan'ā', to regulate the *zakawāt*-taxes²³⁴ and other Government demands of the *ra'iyyah*, from which he resolved to exclude intervention of the Mashāyikh.

Among Ḥusayn Ḥilmī's more important reforms in fact was his elimination of the Mashāyikh from the collection of revenues (*taḥṣīl al-amwāl*) and *zakawāt* on crops. He appointed assessors in every district (*nāhiyah*) and each village was required to elect a person from itself who would co-operate with the Government appointed assessor (*khārīṣ*) to assess what each villager should pay. The assessment had to be agreed and the individual informed as to the amount of his assessment and the assessment written down by the clerk with the assessor. If the Government agent (here called *adl*) and the peasants' representative (*amin al-ra'iyyah*) disagreed then the chosen (?) inspector (*al-kāshif al-mukhtār*) was to be sent to settle the matter. Each individual then 'drove' what he owed directly to the Government Magazine (Mikhzān al-Ḥukūmah) or by intermediary of the trusted headman (*al-'āqil al-amīn*). A mobile column (*ṭabūr sayyār*) of local gendarmerie 'Zaptieh' (*al-Dabṭiyyah al-'Arab*)²³⁵ was made responsible for collecting arrears (*bawāqī*) from the *ra'iyyah*, the intention being to prevent the regulars (*al-Nizām*) and their harsh leaders from intervening, and the *ma'mūrs* from receiving bribes. Bribery which had been the means (*hamzat al-waṣl*) to obtain Government appointments (*waḡā'if*) was to be severely punished, and many corrupt or harsh officials were dismissed. Ḥusayn Ḥilmī took a tough line with sympathisers of the Imām or those who had the slightest link with him and would order the police to assault his house and take away any papers, imprisoning such persons without proof in the Qaşr.²³⁶ He maintained spies to look for adherents of the Imām, thereby doing the Imām and his group much harm. On one occasion he took forty men of the tribes and others whom he suspected of sympathising with Imām al-Manşūr and packed them off to

Tripoli. He tried to destroy the Zaydī school/rite by secret methods which caused it much severer damage than did Aḥmad Fayḍī and his men whose sole object was bribes and amassing wealth. Ḥusayn Ḥilmī's 'hatchet man' was his Chief of Police, notorious for his atrocities in his time and that of his successor 'Abdullāh Pasha and those who followed him.

One of the recurrent crises caused by failure of the summer rains struck the Yemen in Rabī' II, 1321/July, 1903, some wells in the Şan'ā' district ran dry and the Şan'ānis used to ask God's forgiveness in the mosques after the prayers and they would go out to the Jabbānah to pray for rain (*li-'l-istisqā'*).²³⁷ This resulted in high grain prices, a severe famine and a shortage of grain in Şan'ā' except for the maize (*dhurah Hindiyyah*),²³⁸ flour and rice which merchants used to import from Hodeidah and Aden, or the grain buried in the *madfan*-silos of the Bayt al-Māl by command of the Imām in those parts of the north under his control. A *qadah* of this grain released from store rose to six *riyāls* and imported flour sold at 2 *ṣā'* for a *riyāl*. Locust depredations, as so frequently in the histories, were also reported. Let it be said that already during the Ottoman régime the Yemen even in years of plenty was importing over £100,000 worth of foodstuffs annually, so it looks as if it was not self-sufficient in this way.

When Ḥusayn Ḥilmī was replaced by 'Abdullāh Pasha²³⁹ and his strong hand removed, bribery and oppression returned, says al-Wāsi'i, but some building was done in Şan'ā' in his day.

The Death of Imām al-Manşūr and Rise of Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā b. al-Manşūr Ḥamid al-Dīn (1322-1367/1904-1948)

In Rabī' I, 1322/May-June, 1904 al-Manşūr died at Qaflat 'Idhar—it was he who revived the glory of the house of al-Qāsim after the slide of the Imāmate into disintegration. Among the measures he took of which Zabārah²⁴⁰ approves were doles (*taqrīrāt*) of grain to students of religion (*muhājirūn*) and maintenance (*maşrūf*) for ulema. He put a stop to Ṭaghūt-law²⁴¹ in most northern districts (*bilād al-qiblah*), restored *awqāf*²⁴² and books belonging to the *waqf*, brought back to the Bayt al-Māl Treasury estates²⁴³ which had been misappropriated, gave stipends (*taqrīrāt*) to children's teachers, widows and orphans, they having been divided out among the Sayyids, the inhabitants of Shahārah and others, in the northern districts. In some places he built forts. Apart from his struggles with the Turks al-Manşūr had not infrequently to fight opponents to his rule in the north itself.

At Qaflat 'Idhar the ulema of the Şan'ā' district, with those present from Dhamār and Şa'dah, assembled and, under some pressure from Nāṣir b. Mabkhūt al-Aḥmar of Ḥāshid²⁴⁴—who is said to have locked them up in their conference room, saying 'Mā bish ghayr Sīdī Yaḥyā, No one else but Sīdī Yaḥyā',—they elected al-Manşūr's only son Yaḥyā who assumed the title al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh.²⁴⁵ Some ulema not present refused him allegiance (*mubāya'ah*) at first, but eventually agreed. His *da'wah* is dated 20 Rabī' I, 1322/4 June, 1904.²⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that the Sharaf al-Dīn family of Kawkabān came to pay its respects, as did delegations from Ḥāshid, Ḥajūr, al-Ahnūm, Shahārah and Sufyān.

Yaḥyā was indeed one of the great Imāms,²⁴⁷ even if he was

233 *Kifāyāt*, explained by Aḥmad al-Shāmī as *ṣarf yawmī*, *naqd wa-hubūb*, money and grain.

234 Tax on crops etc., *al-mukhaḍḍar* fruit and vegetables, *al-naḥl* bees, *al-mawāshī* cattle, sheep-and-goats, camels.

235 G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London, 1915, 189, has a good account of the Zaptieh.

236 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 312.

237 See 'The cultivation of cereals in mediaeval Yemen', *Arabian studies*, I, 32, for ceremonies near Şan'ā'.

238 Called locally *hund*, and elsewhere *Rūmī* or *Ḥabashī*.

239 There is some confusion over 'Abdullāh Pasha and Ḥilmī which could doubtless be resolved by reference to the Ottoman Archives. 'Abdullāh was deputy (*wakil*) to Ḥilmī and there was jealousy between them. Zabārah, op. cit., (2), II, 378, says definitely that Ḥilmī was deposed in 1320/1902 but other sources seem to indicate 1318/1900-1.

240 Op. cit., (2), I, 404.

241 Ṭaghūt is the customary law of the tribes. See C. Rathjens, 'Ṭaghūt gegen 'sharī'a. Gewohnheitsrecht und islamisches Recht bei den Galiben des jemenitischen Hochlandes', *Jhb. des Linden-Museums*, Stuttgart, 1951, 172-87.

242 Lands or their revenues misappropriated.

243 *Qaṭa' al-qīṭa'* means assignment of pieces (of *waqf* land).

244 *Handbook of Yemen*, prepared by the Arab Bureau, Cairo, January 15th, 1917 (Secret), states Yaḥyā was married to Nāṣir's sister but it was his foster-sister.

245 He struck on his coins 'Ṭimātī billāh al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh.'

246 Al-Wāsi'i, 299, gives lists of persons present at the occasion.

247 A ms. biography of Yaḥyā exists but was not available—Yaḥyā certainly merits a full length study.

notoriously close-fisted with money. He was born in Ṣan'ā' in Rabi' I, 1286/July, 1869 and grew up there, studying with his father. He followed him from Ṣan'ā' in 1307/1890, seeking protection (*muḥājir*). During his long exile from the capital he never ceased to take a close interest in its internal affairs, especially in matters of law and religion.

Tribal Mashāyikh and soldiers (*ajnad*)²⁴⁸ began to flock in to Imām Yaḥyā from all over the Yemen, and he gave the order to the tribes to besiege Turkish held towns, and all but Hodeidah were invested by them. Perhaps his cause was helped by the famine. The tribes massed around Ṣan'ā' were supplied by the Imām with grain from the Bayt al-Māl, but in general people were dying and farmers were leaving their land because of the lack of rain and the disturbances. At this time deaths in Qaryat al-Qābil of Ḍahr alone were reckoned at 1,600.²⁴⁹ So severe were conditions in Ṣan'ā' that great and small, even secluded women left it. People sold their possessions at rock-bottom prices—a man would hire a porter to carry something to the Sūq but find no buyer and having no money to pay the porter's hire, the porter would take half of what he had been carrying.

The Muftī ordered the police and some of the soldiery to break into the houses of merchants, notables or anyone of apparent affluence and confiscate the grain in them for the soldiers—in those days, says al-Wāsi'ī, all houses baked their own bread and there were no public bread-ovens (*afrān*).²⁵⁰ The police broke into many houses, seized what they found, smashed doors and humiliated the inmates. During the operation some of the *ma'mūrs* were openly drinking wine. Any animal they found the soldiers impounded, cows, camels, sheep, poultry, asses and horses—which they slaughtered and ate—as the siege grew worse they ate dogs and cats—but even then many soldiers died of starvation.

The Hodeidah merchants imported grain by steamer from Abyssinia and the Sudan, but the Imām kept dispensing grain to his supporters and this must have helped his cause. Ten towns surrendered to the Arabs.

Prices of grain in Ṣan'ā' rose to a quarter ṣā' equivalent to a Yemen *naḥar*²⁵¹ for a *riyāl*, then mounted to one and a half *riyāls*. Once two ṣā' of bread fetched 27 *riyāls*. For a *qadaḥ*²⁵² of grain 600 *riyāls* were paid. These prices may be compared with a soldier's pay of five *riyāls* a month plus a grain allowance between the two World Wars. Infants were dumped in the streets to die for lack of food to feed them and a case of cannibalism is mentioned.

At the height of the siege a deputation of Turkish officers with a learned Sayyid left the city for Kawkabān to surrender to the Imām there. They consented to hand it over with the arms and ammunition (*dhakhā'ir*) it contained, including 70 pieces of artillery. The Imām sent Sayf al-Islām Aḥmad b. Qāsim Ḥamid al-Dīn to receive the surrender and himself moved to Qaryat al-Qābil. After the surrender the tribes dispersed.²⁵³

The populace were enraged with the Muftī, Qāḍī Muḥammad Jaghmān for his actions during the siege, and though he was under escort of the Imām's soldiers they spat at him and cursed him. Jaghmān, happening to meet the Imām emerging from the Friday Prayer, sought his protection—which the Imām granted; he pardoned what Jaghmān had done to his father and to himself but added that the *shari'ah* would deal with any claims the Ṣan'āni people had against him. Under the Turkish rule in Ṣan'ā' Jaghmān had guards on his house and in the street, but he was now able to walk abroad freely. In his clemency (*ḥilm*) the Imām, always a respecter of learning, allotted him food and a stipend—an action much admired, but, says al-Wāsi'ī, Jaghmān did not learn

his lesson and wrote secretly to the Turks at Manākhah.

The tribes in the elation of victory wanted the Imām to grant them districts the taxes (*wājibāt*) of which they might exploit for themselves, and Ṣan'ā' was in a poor state with its sūqs devastated. Yet even while the city was besieged Aḥmad Fayḍī had been made Governor for a third term. Arriving at Hodeidah he went up to Manākhah and the tribes massed to besiege him there. Jaghmān corresponded with Fayḍī, urging him to hurry on to Ṣan'ā' and reviling the Imām. The Jaghmān faction in Ṣan'ā' included, among others, the Dā'ī of the Ismā'īlīs, for Yām had been supporting the Turks against their hereditary foes the Zaydī Imāms. This correspondence was intercepted by the Imām who packed them all off to the north as prisoners. Yaḥyā's position was uncertain and he had serious political problems.

After heavy fighting and accompanied by large reinforcements Fayḍī reached 'Aṣīr village on the western edge of Ṣan'ā' plain and the Imām had no alternative but to withdraw north to Ḥaṣhid country.

Fayḍī proclaimed an amnesty in Ṣan'ā' and re-established order, but people returning to the city found that houses there and shops in the Sūq had been destroyed. Half the population is thought to have perished. There had been 400 *qashshāms* engaged as well-workers (*sāni*)—only about twenty were left. No less than thirty *qashshāms* were employed at the Jāmi' Mosque, but after the siege only five infants survived. So today, says al-Wāsi'ī, all the *qashshāms* are new.²⁵⁴

Fayḍī followed up the Imām to the mountain top city of Shahārāh but failed to take it. My impressions in 1964 were that it is next to impregnable, and I was shown a battery of Turkish guns with their limbers said to have been captured from the Turks.

Time and again, travellers in the Ottoman Empire remark on the long arrears of the troops' pay and their ragged uniforms—Harris even sketched a Turkish soldier who had only one boot.²⁵⁵ Disorders for this reason broke out in 1324/1906 when the *ma'mūrs* in the Posts and Telegraphs demanding their pay (*ma'āshāt*) along with some Turkish troops, mainly Syrian Arabs wanting their leave, mutinied at Farwah b. Musayk Mosque and in a matter of ten minutes had looted the Sha'ūb area. They went on to the Jāmi' Mosque, drove out the Mashāyikh al-Qur'ān, students and others, closed all but one of its ten doors, mounting a guard there and at the ends of the streets leading to the Jāmi'. They stayed there for a fortnight till the Governor acceded to their demands and the Syrian Radīf troops enlisted for a limited period of service returned home. In Hodeidah also a similar mutiny broke out.

Constantinople now tried a peace mission to Yaḥyā; though it failed, Yaḥyā's proposed terms are revealing. The law to be applied in the Yemen is the *shari'ah*, the appointment and dismissal of *qāḍīs* and judges and the administration of the Awqāf must return to the Imām. The Imām would punish bribery. Turkish officials would have salaries appropriated to them so that poverty would not drive them to accepting bribes. Tithes on crops and taxes on animals should be collected according to the *shari'ah*, collection being made through the Mashāyikh of the country supervised by Ottoman *ma'mūrs*. The Imām would have no truck with Mirī taxes. The Imām's supporters, the Ḥaṣhid, Khawlān, Ḥadā and Arḥab tribes were to pay no taxes (*takālif*) while the officials of Anīs should be appointed by the Imām alone. Non-Muslims, i.e. Christians and Jews, were not to be put over Muslims—these prescriptions were to apply even in Ṣan'ā' and Ta'izz and to the employees of the Ottomans also.

Moderno, Roma, 1956, XXXVI, 61-81. The Municipality in March undertook to deal with the dead lying in the streets and provide for their burial. Even water became scarce as the animals to draw it from the wells had been killed for food. Merchants were made to disgorge their stores of flour. The taxes on animals, houses and persons, had excited the revolt. Op. cit., 303.

254 Op. cit., 303.

255 W. B. Harris, *A journey through the Yemen*, London, 1893, 317. Cf. G. Wyman Bury, 179.

248 Tribesmen engaging as soldiers.

249 Al-Wāsi'ī, 300.

250 In later Turkish times there was a mill at Ḥaddah which still exists.

251 See p. 188a, n. 141.

252 Al-Wāsi'ī calls the *qadaḥ* twice a full *tanakah/ṣafīḥah* (of paraffin). See p. 188a, n. 141.

253 A first-hand account of the siege is E. de Leone, 'L'assedio e la resa di Ṣan'ā' del 1905 attraverso il carteggio inedito di Giuseppe Caprotti', *Oriente*

Fighting in Khawlān, Anis and other districts continued but the Sultan sent yet another mission to Ṣan'ā', composed of notable ulema of Mecca who wrote urging the Imām to make peace. The Imām protested that the Turks had been attacking the Ahl al-Bayt, stigmatising them as Rāfiḍīs and Khārijīs—to both of which groups (ranging from anti-Shī'ah to extreme Shī'ah) Zaydīs are opposed, and he objected to Turkish subsidising of the Ismā'īlīs. He complained that the Turks had forced up the hire of animals by their frequent commandeering their services without payment to the owners. The *ma'mūrs*, he complained, were forever misrepresenting the situation and only allowed Yemeni 'stooges' to speak to visiting inspectors from Istanbul who tell them what the *ma'mūrs* want them to hear, while the Imām's letters to the Sultan never receive an answer.

Ḥasan Taḥsīn who succeeded Fayḍī in 1326/1908 sensibly left the Imām's territory alone and the Imām on his part kept to his own territory. A stream of litigants from all over the Yemen repaired to the Imām to settle their cases by the *sharī'ah* not the Ottoman *Qānūn*—Yaḥyā actually appointed *ḥākims* in areas controlled by the Turks to deal with cases by *sharī'ah*; he even appointed Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Amrī to act in this capacity in Ṣan'ā'. A deputation of notables invited to Istanbul for conversations failed because those in Turkish employ quarrelled with the others. A later attempt to induce the Imām to send representatives there foundered on the demand that the statutory *sharī'ah* punishments (*ḥudūd*) replace the Ottoman *Qānūn*—which, said the Turks, would upset their other vilayets.

In 1327/1909 the Committee of Union and Progress deposed Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd but the Young Turk revolution seems to have made little difference to the Yemen. A new governor was however appointed in 1910, Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, who believed in a tough policy. His arrogance provoked the Imām in January 1911, to rouse the tribes to besiege Ṣan'ā' and all Turkish centres. The new Pasha locked the city gates to stop people leaving it and put police patrols in the streets which beat up groups they came across in conversation. If they happened on a light in the upper storeys of a house they beat and imprisoned the owner on the pretext that he was signalling to the tribes outside to assault the city. The Governor wanted to execute fifty prominent ulema and merchants but the Turkish Nā'ib of the Sharī'ah Court refused to shed Muslim blood without a legal judgement. With police arresting people in the street, the *sūqs* mostly shut down and the mosques filled with persons taking refuge with nothing else to do but study the Qur'ān from dawn to the Evening Prayer! The Governor then imposed a levy on Ṣan'ā' of 70,000 *riyāls*. He commanded the houses adjoining Sha'ūb and those in the Ṣāfiyah to be demolished, and he had mines planted around the city, but the tribes menacing the city gingerly dug them up, as they did when mines were planted by Egyptian forces in 1962-67.

A young British officer, A. J. B. Wavell,²⁵⁶ has left an informed inside account of conditions. At first there was no shortage of food. Lamp oil got scarce and the Jews who had cornered it refused to sell except at an enormous profit. The Governor had a short interview with them and it was then forthcoming at a reasonable price! Wavell comments however that they got even with the Turks by putting up the price of *'araq* (mastic)—to which, as it was unlawful to Muslims, the Turks could not reasonably object. The *maḥdiyyah* (a twenty piastre piece), that the Arabs would only accept in the towns, depreciated sharply against the *riyāl*²⁵⁷—normally 10-11 piastres to the *riyāl* it dropped at the loss of 'Asir fort, to 19 piastres. As the Imām offered seventy dollars for each Millī head (the Millah were irregular Arab troops raised by the Turks) most of them deserted, but the gendarmerie mostly remained loyal to the Turks.

Wavell's account shows clearly how delighted the Ṣan'ānīs were when Aḥmad 'Izzat Pasha, sent to replace Muḥammad 'Alī relieved the city on 5 April, 1911, again after hard fighting. The tribes Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn were particularly notorious with the townsfolk for their ignorance and violence. At Ibb their chief tried to stop them from looting and murdering and confine themselves to besieging the Turks, giving quarter to Arabs or Turks leaving the town, but his harangues had absolutely no effect. The tale is told that in their ignorance they tried to eat tablets of Indian soap but left sugar-loaf (*sukkar al-ra's*),²⁵⁸ saying it was gun ammunition.

The Ṣan'ānīs came to complain to 'Izzat Pasha of the previous Governor but Turkish policy now took a change of direction. The Pasha perceived the difficulties of the military situation and set out to effect a rapprochement between the Imām and the Ottoman Government, sending to the Imām at Shahārah the President of the Court of Appeal, Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Amrī and Sayyid Qāsim of the Abū Ṭālib house.

In the autumn of 1911 news arrived from Istanbul of the Italian attack on Tripoli. 'Izzat Pasha ordered the people to assemble in the Jāmi' Mosque where he addressed them, asking that in the face of this danger dissensions between Muslims should cease. Shortly after this the Imām sent to him agreeing to a truce and appointing Da'ān, five hours north west of 'Amrān as their rendez-vous. The Imām arrived escorted by thousands of tribesmen chanting *zāmils*²⁵⁹ and popping off their rifles. 'Izzat Pasha arrived with his Turkish and Arab Chiefs of Staff. They concluded together the famous Treaty of Da'ān and, although the Turkish Parliament rejected it and 'Izzat Pasha had to go in person to Istanbul to press his views, it was ratified by an Imperial *firmān* dated September 22, 1913. 'Izzat Pasha left the Yemen but under the new Governor Maḥmūd Nadīm Bey the agreement was loyally observed by both sides.

By the Da'ān Treaty the Yemen was split into two administrative regions—the Zaydī region with its towns, including also Ḥarāz and Ta'izz—to all these the Imām was to appoint Zaydī *ḥukkām* (governors) and have control of the Waqf—and the Shāfi'i region administered by direct Turkish rule. The crucial central issue of law was resolved by the re-adoption of the *sharī'ah* for the districts controlled by the Imām while the Turkish Government retained the right to appoint the *sharī'ah* judges (*ḥukkām al-shar'*) of non-Yemenis in the Shāfi'i and Ḥanafī districts. An Appeal Court (*Maḥkamat al-Isti'nāf*) was formed to scrutinise complaints; its president and members were to be selected by the Imām, but ratified by the Turkish Government. Cases of Zaydīs versus Shāfi'īs were to appear before a mixed court formed of members of both schools.²⁶⁰

Any Mīrī taxes were to be levied in accordance with the *shar'*. A British source²⁶¹ says that 'octroi and transit duties were abolished', but adds that there were, when collected, 'market dues (ten per cent) on all produce sold, one Turkish piastre for every goat slaughtered and ten Turkish piastres for every bullock.'²⁶² Customs dues continued to be charged at the ports. Arḥab and Khawlān, because of the poverty and destruction caused by the fighting there, were to pay no Mīrī taxes for ten years and Anis was to have no taxes (*jibāyāt al-amwāl*) for the same period. The Imām was to pay a tenth of his revenue (*ḥāṣilāt*) to the Turkish Government.

On the political side the Imām was to release the hostages (*rahā'in*) from Ṣan'ā' and its district held by him as well as those from Ḥarāz (Ismā'īlīs) and 'Amrān.

These are the more important provisions of the Da'ān Treaty in summary. On September 22, 1913, 'Izzat Pasha commanded the Ṣan'ānīs to assemble in the Maydān and he announced the

256 A. J. B. Wavell, *A modern pilgrim in Mecca and a siege in Sanaa*, London, 1912, 260 seq. See infra, 115b.

257 For the *riyāl* see notes on pp. 1836, n. 54, 308 seq.

258 This cone-shaped sugar was still used with tea in Ḥaḍramawt in 1948.

259 The well known tribal chants which accompany all ceremonial occasions.

260 In practice the two sects do not seem to differ much.

261 *Handbook of Yemen*, 42, Wyman Bury, op. cit., 18.

262 Wyman Bury, 131.

terms of the Treaty to them, the most important being the substitution of the *shari'ah* for the Ottoman *Qanun*.²⁶³ They were then addressed by the Government *mufti*. 'Izzat assigned stipends (*ma'ashāt*) to the Ḥāshid and Arḥab chiefs and to certain persons of Ṣan'ā' as well for political reasons but some ulema refused to accept them. The Imām was to draw L.T. 1,000 *per mensem* for himself and L.T. 1,500 for 'his vassals'.²⁶⁴

A new personality now entered the political arena in the religious leader Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Idrīsī, a grandson of the founder of the Idrīsī *ṭariqah* (of which the Sanūsīs are an offshoot). Encouraged by Italian intrigue, if we are to believe al-Barakātī,²⁶⁵ he gained ascendancy in most of 'Asīr, though a combined force of the Mecca Sharīfs and the Turks took Abḥā from him in 1911. During the Italo-Turkish War that broke out in the latter part of that year the Italians blockaded the coastal ports of western Arabia and supplied the Idrīsī with money and arms—this blockade was to cause the Hodeidah merchants much loss. In spring, 1912, the Idrīsī showed his enmity to the Imām and the Turks and, with Italian money seduced the Tihāmah districts to himself.²⁶⁶ This led to troubles in Khawlān al-Shām and Rāziḥ, but Sayf al-Islām Muḥammad al-Hādī took up arms against the dissidents. In early 1913 the Turks tried to persuade him to become a governor under Imām Yaḥyā but he refused. The Idrīsīs were to cause the Imām much trouble till their eclipse in 1926.

At this point it seems appropriate to digress and say a little about the al-Aḥmar family, the *kabīrs* of Ḥāshid who have played a prominent role in Yemeni politics for the last eighty years or more, and their name figures from time to time before this. Originally '*fuqarā'* *'ilm*', scholars, they have become *Mashāyikh* of the 'Uṣaymāt of the Ḥāshid federation and are known as *hijrat Ḥāshid*—they made them *muhajjar* and their *hijrah* is Khamir and al-Qaflah near Shahārah. Nāṣir b. Mabkhūt al-Aḥmar who had supported the Imām in his early struggles with the Turks, had his chief strongholds at Khamrī, Ḥabūr and Zafīr. In disgust at the Imām's compact with the Turks he deserted to the Idrīsī in 1912, and, still in 1911, was joined by 'Abdullāh b. Juzaylān of Bakīl. In 1913 he was fighting for the Idrīsī against Imām Yaḥyā, and though he joined the Imām in 1914, he again became disaffected in early 1917 and in league with the Idrīsī and the Yām tribes. It is alleged that the reason for his break with the Imām in 1912 was the acknowledgement in the Da'ān Treaty that Mīrī should eventually be paid to the Turks. When Ḥāshidī tribesmen went to fight for the Idrīsī it was to get money out of him, and they said to the Imām, '*Shā nirmī ṭālī*', 'We'll shoot in the air!' Opposed to Nāṣir Mabkhūt tribes were Ahnūm, traditionally loyal to the Ḥamīd al-Dīn, 'Aḥim, Zulaymah, Banī Surayḥ and Arḥab. The al-Aḥmar house has remained at loggerheads with the Ḥamīd al-Dīn. Imām Yaḥyā at an earlier stage married Nāṣir b. Mabkhūt's foster-sister, the Sharīfah Ḥūriyyah, daughter of Sayf al-Islām Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil.

Reverting to the years immediately preceding World War I, Maḥmūd Nadīm Bey, a Syrian, energetic and a good administrator, replaced 'Izzat Pasha²⁶⁷ as Governor. After Da'ān however Turkish power notably deteriorated as the accounts of British travellers show, but during the war years there was no major internal trouble. In towns such as Ṣan'ā', travellers remark that

the substitution of the *shari'ah* punishments for wine drinking and fornication was not popular.

The shortages caused by the bad rains of early 1914 were met by imports of flour and grain from India, Ethiopia and the Sudan, but the situation improved later in the year. The outbreak of World War I cut off the steamers but though kerosene and sugar soon ran out (except a sort of sugar in the Lower Yemen) grain and honey were plentiful throughout the war years.

Though he did not love the Turks the Imām, 'in November 1915 wrote a complimentary letter to Enver, praying for the success of the Ottoman armies.' It is interesting to note that he sent emissaries to attempt to win over Aden protected areas like Ḥaḍramawt and the 'Awlaqī tribes.

In early 1915 General 'Alī Sa'id Pasha marched out of Ṣan'ā' with Turkish troops and Arab volunteers to attack Aden. Paolo Costa and the writer met an old man at Ghayl al-Barmakī who had watched them marching down the road from Ṣan'ā' with guns, horses, infantry, some sixty years before—a fine sight. They defeated a small British force at Lahej which they plundered utterly; the Ṣan'ā' merchants who had much property there lost it all.

But, as Colonel Jacob²⁶⁸ says, 'The sands had run out . . . On the declaration of the Armistice, Turkish forces surrendered to us, some at Aden and others in the Red Sea, both at Hodeida and at Luhaiya. Ali Sa'id Pasha's entry into Aden took the form of a triumphal procession. Crowds met and cheered him. He had fought with clean hands. He had always held his own.'

For the Turks, as later for Nasser, the Yemen adventure was costly, wasteful and pointless. They have left a reputation for toughness and courage. Old men not infrequently speak well of them, especially those who served with them like the two old *tubanjis* (gunners) the writer talked with in Shahārah in 1964. But for the Ottomans the Yemen was Maqbarat al-Atrāk, the Cemetery of the Turks—in Turkish folksong to this day the Yemen is remembered as a place for which your sons are conscripted to fight, and they do not return.

Ṣan'ā' Under Ottoman Turkish Administration

During the second Ottoman occupation the Yemen was divided into four *sanjaqs* governed by *mutasarrifs*, the Markaz or Centre including the capital Ṣan'ā' where the Governor and Commander in Chief resided, 'Asīr, Hodeidah and Ta'izz. It was further divided into twenty-one *qaḍās*, al-Luḥayyah, Ḥajūr (Qufl), Abū 'Arish, Zaydiyyah, Bājil, Bayt al-Faqīh, Mocha, Ḥajjah, Sūdah, Ṭawilah, Ḍawrān, Raymah, Zabīd, 'Udayn, Ibb, al-Ḥujariyyah, Anis, Dhamār, Radā', Yarīm, Qa'ṭabah. Ṣan'ā' *sanjaq* included Ḥarāz, Kawkabān, Anis, Ḥajjah, Dhamār, Yarīm, Radā' and 'Amrān.

The period, relative to the centuries of Zaydī rule, is well documented.²⁶⁹ Apart from Turkish archives²⁷⁰, there was the official paper *Ṣan'ā'* in Turkish and Arabic, *sālnāmahs* (rather inaccurate), issued at intervals from 1298-1314 H., and some Turkish books, to say nothing of European sources, but this

buildings in Ṣan'ā'. The Italo-Turkish Peace Treaty is dated 1912. Wyman Bury says that Ḥāshid declared partly for the Idrīsī, partly for the Imām.

267 It appears that Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha was not actually deposed till 1331/1912.

268 Harold Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, London, 1923, 182.

269 European archival sources are abundant. See also Fārūq 'Uthmān Abāzah, *al-Hukm al-'Uthmānī fī'l-Yaman*, 1872-1918, Cairo, 1975.

270 A promising source is given by S. J. Shaw, 'The Yıldız Palace Archives', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, The Hague, 1971, III, 227-8. It includes a report on the Ottoman military victory dated 9 January, 1873/11 Dhū'l-Qa'dah, 1289-9, i.e. the occupation of Ṣan'ā', a note from Abdūlhamīd II on the problems of the Yemen, reports by various governors including Maḥmūd Nadīm and 'Reports and papers on the administration of Hüseyin Hilmi Paşa in the Yemen'. A moderate and reasonable study is al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, *Takwīm al-Yaman al-hadīth 1904-1948*, Cairo, 1963.

263 Wyman Bury, 39, states that the Turks insisted the Turkish civil and military should not come under the *shari'ah* dispensation. The Arab gendarmerie, as enlisted men, had to choose between the *shari'ah* and the *Qanun*, but must abide by the decision made.

264 *Handbook of Yemen*, loc. cit.

265 Sharaf b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Barakātī, *al-Riḥlat al-Yamāniyah*, 2nd ed., Beirut, 1384, 6.

266 John Baldry, 'The Turkish-Italian War in the Yemen 1911-12', *Arabian studies*, 1976, III, 51-65, gives an account of the episode using, mainly, British records. Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī and the Aḥl Futaymī of the Zarānīq were both anti-Turk and in contact in 1910. After the Italians declared war Ḥāshid and Nāṣir b. Mabkhūt left the Imām to put soldiers at the Idrīsī's disposal. The Italian blockade and attack on Hodeidah angered Yaḥyā so he declared war on the Italians, the declaration being published on public

section has drawn on mainly Arabic sources. Though doubtless a much fuller social history of Ottoman Ṣan'ā' than this sketch could be written relying upon these, this material still remains to be digested.

The Internal Administration of Ṣan'ā' Under the Ottomans

Scant published information is available on the earlier decades of Ottoman rule in Ṣan'ā' during the second occupation. The Turks probably used Muḥsin Mu'īd, the headman, in his former capacity. It happened that the Turkish Nā'ib in the Court (al-Maḥkamat al-Shar'īyyah), al-Ṭarābulṣi, had been attacking the tenets of the Zaydī school, and he advised the Governor to imprison a number of Ṣan'ānī ulema. Muḥsin Mu'īd seems to have supported this démarche in 1294/1877, since he was imprisoned for the part he is alleged to have had in it a few years later.²⁷¹

Shaykh 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bilaylī al-Ṣan'ānī was acting already as Mayor when deposed in 1305/1887-8 by the incoming Turkish Governor, 'Uthmān Nūrī Pasha, from the Ri'āsat al-Baladiyyah and imprisoned. In his place he appointed a Turk, Muṣṭafā Effendi al-Qayṣarī who effected some notable changes. He regulated the affairs of Ṣan'ā' and fixed the weights and measures in its markets.²⁷² 'He ordered the streets and lanes to be cleansed and rebuked the common folk (al-'āmmah) and irresponsibles (sufahā) for obscene language, abuse, swearing and cursing one another, punishing those who disobeyed. All orders issued by him were carried out.' Al-Bilaylī may have acted in a somewhat similar capacity to the Shaykh al-Mashāyikh of Qānūn Ṣan'ā'. Al-Wāsi'ī²⁷³ speaks of him as a supporter of the Turks but a veritable right arm to the Ṣan'ānis and a great help to them with the Government. Before the arrival of the Ottomans he had been at loggerheads with Shaykh Muḥsin Mu'īd, and he was imprisoned under the Governor Muṣṭafā 'Āṣim. Although unable to read or write he was liked and acceptable (maqbul) with the Government which awarded him the title of Pasha. He is described as loving the Sādah and ulema, generous, a benefactor and giver of alms. In 1309/1891-92 the Governor sent him, as one of the chiefs of Ṣan'ā', to Ānis, but he was slain there and his head sent to Imām al-Manṣūr. His brother Muḥammad succeeded him, becoming Ra'īs al-Baladiyyah or Mayor, farming the customs (gumruk)²⁷⁴ and commissariat (arṣāq al-dawlah). He became wealthy thereby and even more generous than his brother, beloved by all. He provided a stipend for the fuqahā to study the Qur'ān on Monday and Friday evenings (our Sunday and Thursday evenings). The Masjid al-Bilaylī he founded is discussed below.²⁷⁵

The Sayyid historians of the Yemen at any period say little of the ordinary citizens running Ṣan'ā', and so in the era of Turkish rule they speak almost exclusively of ulema and Arab high officials. Ḥusayn Ḥilmī Pasha, evidently a good Governor, free of corruption and with a liking for scholars (always a praiseworthy characteristic with Yemeni writers), took most of the steps

towards modernisation in the Yemen and Ṣan'ā' in particular. He it was who built the large Dār al-Wilāyah at the Maydān.²⁷⁶ One of the Turkish Government rules (qawānīn) was that the Province Administrative Council (Majlis Idārat al-Wilāyah)²⁷⁷ should be attended by certain high officials at its sessions on Mondays and Thursdays each week—this Majlis may have been a substitute for the Diwān of the previous Zaydī Imāms. The Judge (Ḥakīm) of the Ḥanafīyyah, the Muftī, the Inspector of al-Awqāf al-Khārijīyyah, the Daftardār (= Nāzir al-Māliyyah al-Yamaniyyah)²⁷⁸ or Inspector of Finances, the Chief Secretary (Maktūbjī), and others elected by the notables of the country (bilād)²⁷⁹ itself would attend under the presidency of the Governor (Wālī 'l-Hukūmah) 'to review the affairs of the Province.' Persons who took office with the Turks were often at risk from their fellow countrymen. When the Muftī of Ṣan'ā', Ḥasan al-Akwa', died certain leading Sayyids advised the Governor to appoint Muḥammad Jaghmān Muftī²⁸⁰ in his place. In Ramaḍān Jaghmān used to pray by himself in the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mosque (in which, and in the Jāmi', he used to teach)—he was on one of those nights in 1315/1898 set upon by a Sayyid and faqīh of the Sūq al-Kawāfī, stabbed and thrown for dead into the foot-washing water-tank (maṣfa 'l-mā).²⁸¹ This seems to have been because of his excessive toadying to the Turks. In fact Jaghmān survived and the police caught his assailants.²⁸²

A regulation that caused great offence was the order in 1313/1895-6 that those Mashāyikh serving with the Turks must wear Turkish clothing—the red tarbush and trousers of broadcloth (sarāwīl al-jawkh), but Ḥusayn Ḥilmī brought back the turban as the wear of Arab officials of Turkish Yemen a few years later.²⁸³

Under Ḥusayn Ḥilmī, himself a man of learning, a number of educational institutions were founded—in Ṣan'ā', Dār al-Ma'ārif and the Commission,²⁸⁴ schools (makātib), a preparatory school (Maktab al-I'dādiyyah) into which he introduced some Sayyid children and others, making them wear Turkish dress. The Dār al-Mu'allimin, a teachers' training college, had some Zaydī ulema appointed by him to teach according to the Zaydī school, although Zabārah²⁸⁵ maintains that he secretly sought to undermine Zaydism. Perhaps it was as part of this policy that he ordered the stipend (ma'āsh) assigned to the Head of the Ulema, Sayyid Aḥmad al-Kibsi, to be given on his death to a group of ulema, the khaṭīb of the Jāmi' Mosque and its imām mihrāb who leads the prayer. Two scholars, one of them a Sayāghī, abstained from taking this money.²⁸⁶ A technical school (Maktab/Dār al-Ṣanā'i')²⁸⁷ was established in Bīr al-'Azab at which Arab boys were instructed in carpentry, tailoring (khiyāṭah), blacksmithery and weaving. Ḥusayn Ḥilmī also founded a preparatory school in Ta'izz and a technical school in Hodeidah. A hospital was established for outsiders who fell sick and they were given free treatment at the expense of the Municipality (al-Baladiyyah). There was also a pharmacy (Dār al-Ijz-khānah)²⁸⁸ well supplied with drugs and medicaments, but it was burned with gunpowder in 1319/1901.

By 1893 a telegraph²⁸⁹ line seems already to have been in operation between Ṣan'ā' and Hodeidah, and in 1319/1901-2 it was extended from Ṣan'ā' via Dhamār, to Ta'izz. Wyman Bury²⁹⁰ mentions a provisional chain of military signalling posts for

271 Al-Wāsi'ī, 259. Zabārah says he consulted astrologers (ḥussāb wa-munajjimūn).

272 A'immat al-Yaman, (2), I, 75. Cf. Qānūn Ṣan'ā', n. 100.

273 Op. cit., 279.

274 By gumruk the duties on goods entering Ṣan'ā' Market are probably meant, and arṣāq al-dawlah would be supplies for troops and others, especially grain.

275 Masājid Ṣan'ā', 22, and p.

276 A'immat al-Yaman, (2), II, 374.

277 Ibid, 215.

278 Ibid, 371.

279 By 'bilād' presumably Turkish Yemen is intended.

280 Ibid, 215, fi waṣīfat al-farwā.

281 Cf. Rossi, L'arabo parlato, 158, maṣfa (plur., maṣāfi), bacino avanti alla moschea. One washes (yataṣaffā) one's feet in it.

282 A'immat al-Yaman, (2), II, 214. He was also Governor of Bilād al-Bustān.

283 Ibid, 178, with a verse of Ḥusayn al-'Arshī calling this Turkish uniform thawb al-dhill, garb of humiliation, & 374. Cf. al-Wāsi'ī, 291.

284 The 'Qūmisiyūn' under the Turks looked after the administrative side of the army. It is now a government department concerned with shu'ūn al-muwāṣṣafin, i.e. looking after civil servants' pay, conditions etc. It was opposite the present (1974) 'Passports' (al-Jawāzāt) where also was the Turkish printing press.

285 Ibid, 374; al-Wāsi'ī, 290. The Governor is said to have compelled the people to do teaching.

286 A'immat al-Yaman, (2), II, 234.

287 Ibid, 374. Wyman Bury, op. cit., 205, says the school was well equipped but there were no pupils and Aḥmad al-Shāmī confirms that the Ṣan'ānis were not interested.

288 A'immat al-Yaman, (2), II, 343.

289 Al-Wāsi'ī, 293; A'immat al-Yaman, (2), II, 293, and 133, the telegraph line at al-Miṣbānah near the wall of Ṣan'ā' under 'Āṣir mountain.

290 Op. cit., 164 with fuller information on the telegraph.

emergency communication between Ṣan'ā' and Hodeidah should the telegraph wires be cut.

Both Ottoman occupations have left their impress on Ṣan'ā'. Apart from some fine buildings there were changes in the administration of the city, notably the creation of the Municipality (Baladiyyah). A number of Turks stayed on in the Yemen after 1918 and have been absorbed into the Ṣan'ā' population. The Imām's army was organised on Turkish lines until it came under the influence of Egyptian instructors during the Nasserite period. Ṣan'anī Arabic still retains a not inconsiderable Turkish vocabulary.

Alterations in the City Under the Turks

Heavy rains in 1295/1878 brought a great flood from Jabal al-Lawz north east of Ṣan'ā' which destroyed the Khanādiq of the Sā'ilah, mounting to al-Qāsimī and al-Abhar Mosques on the south east bank, destroying houses, and to Shāri' al-Bustan. It passed on to Sha'ūb and al-Rawḍah where it was joined by the Wādī Sa'wān flood and it destroyed houses in al-Rawḍah before it reached al-Khārid river.

In Ismā'il Ḥāfiẓ Haqqī's time (about 1880) it is recorded that the 'pit'²⁹¹ (*ghurqah*) of Sharārah was filled in, this was a sort of basin to draw off the floodwater from the Sā'ilah—other basins still exist for this purpose called *ghuraq Rūm*. The Turks paid special attention to renovating the mosques constructed by the first Ottoman régime which the Yemenis had tended to neglect as manifestations of another *madhhab* and foreign occupation, and at this time, says Zabārah,²⁹² the decoration of the Bakīriyyah Mosque was restored 'in the way it is now'. Opposite this mosque was the Turkish Hükūmah building and 'what were once the palaces of the Arab rulers, and today form barracks and Government offices', as Harris says.²⁹³ This part of the city became the Turkish-European Quarter, the Europeans being mainly Greeks but the Caprotti²⁹⁴ brothers had their establishment in this part of the city.

The Waqfs had been neglected and the revenues taken by the tribes, but the Turks put in a new inspector (*nāẓir*) and ordered the revenues to be utilised for the building and maintenance of mosques etcetera. Before he left Ṣan'ā' for 'Asir the Governor Aḥmad Fayḍī ordered the Nāẓir al-Awqāf to take up the old worn carpets in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, the whole Jāmi' to be re-plastered (*tajfiṣ*), some of the *muqaddam* area to be carpeted (*tafrish*) with Persian prayer-carpets, and all the minarets (*manārāt*) to be plastered. This last seems to have been an innovation. Shaykh 'Alī al-Bilaylī contributed 500 *riyāls* to the re-carpeting. We noticed in 1975 that the stores of the Awqāf contained great quantities of worn Yemeni and other rugs which could conceivably go back to this time, mostly black and white goat-hair weaves.

In 1313/1895-6 Aḥmad Fayḍī levied a contribution (*i'ānah*) of 24,000 *riyāls* on the townsfolk, to pull down (and re-construct) Bāb al-Yaman, Bāb Sha'ūb and Bāb al-Sabāḥ, during the course of which they brought out of the walls lead and copper plates with *ṭalāsīm* on them placed there by those of ancient days (*al-awwalūn*). These would be ancient inscriptions placed there to ward off evil from the city—it is not said where they went.

In the days of the Deputy Governor, 'Abdullāh Pasha, were built the Western Barracks ('Urḍī) Mosque with its fine minaret, the western gate of the 'Urḍī, the bridges west of it on the road to Khuzaymah Cemetery, Bāb Sharārah and other buildings there which Zabārah describes, as also the very large building north of the Artillery Barracks ('Urḍī al-Tūbjiyyah) south of Bāb al-Yaman. East of the Western Barracks he built many one-storey (*arḍiyyah*) rooms where officers and amīrs of the Nizām without families could spend the night.

The Turkish Military Hospital was build on the ruins of an Imām's palace.

A tannery (*midbāghah*) for hides was set up by Ḥusayn Ḥilmī at Sha'ūb.

In 1318/1900-01 the new Pasha, 'Abdullāh, ordered that the streets of Ṣan'ā' should be cleansed, sprinkled and swept each day.

For purposes of defence, as already remarked, Fayḍī ordered many forts (*qila'*) to be built round Ṣan'ā' and on the Ṣan'ā'-Hodeidah road, a distance of a five day mule journey, as well as three in Nuqum, three in Jabal 'Aṣir and others in the Sawād of Sha'ūb, after a succession of Government offices in several parts of the country had been burned with gunpowder.

Imām Yahyā Ruler in Ṣan'ā'

Turkish power so near eclipse, Imam Yahyā moved to al-Rawḍah in August 1918.²⁹⁵ The great Sayyids, ulema and merchants came out from Ṣan'ā' to greet him, and the tribes brought sheep-and-goats and cattle to slaughter at his house for joy at his arrival. The Governor Maḥmūd Nadīm and Commandant Aḥmad Tawfiq approved the Imām should enter Ṣan'ā' and that the Qaṣr with its equipment be handed over to him. The Imām sent two lieutenants to take it over. In Ṣafar 1337/November 1918 the Imām entered Ṣan'ā' amid the joyous acclamations of the populace, proceeding first to the Jāmi' to perform the 'Aṣr prayer. He took up residence in Bīr al-'Azab. Sayyid 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr had played a major part in engineering the triumph of the Imām. A great reorganisation commenced. The affairs of Ṣan'ā' were set in order, the *ma'mūrs* were stopped from taking bribes and oppressing the people, heresies (*bida'*) were put down, teachers sent to all villages, and hostages taken. Maḥmūd al-Nadīm and other Turks including the well known Qāḍī Rāghib chose to remain in official posts in the Yemen—it seems that al-Nadīm even cherished hopes of bringing back the Yemen to Turkey²⁹⁶ and he had clearly not conformed with the Armistice conditions which required the Turkish armies in the Hijaz, 'Asir and the Yemen to hand over their equipment to the British.

Of the internal situation in the Yemen at this time little is written or known. Despite goodwill to a native ruler, the Imām's position cannot have been too certain, but he sent his governors everywhere and put down tribal trouble with an iron hand. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr was sent to deal with the Ḥarāz Ismā'ilīs, former Turkish supporters, but the port of Ṣan'ā', Hodeidah, and al-Luḥayyah had been handed over to his enemy the Idrīsī by the British. The Imām did not take Hodeidah until 1925 after British support had been withdrawn from the

President of USA, the King of Britain, a letter dated April 7th, 1922, in which he describes himself as 'Valie of Yemen for several years and now still a deputy for that country', declaring that 'no foreign government except the Ottoman Government can be received or accepted' in Yemen and 'Asir. He attacks Britain for 'continuing to foment unjustified wars' which, to put it mildly, is a partisan viewpoint! He asks the Powers to 'allow us to reunite with Turkey', alludes to the Caliph, and claims to speak in the name of the Mashāyikh and Shaykhs of the Yemen and 'Asir. (*Documents on the history of southwest Arabia*, ed. R. W. Sinclair, Salisbury N.C., 1976, no. 43. Some of the reports in the collection are extremely naïve and ill-informed). Harold F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, though rather discursive is excellent on this period and has some remarks about al-Nadīm.

291 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 95.

292 *Idem*.

293 *Op. cit.*, 307.

294 Giuseppe (Yūsuf) Caprotti lived in Ṣan'ā' till after 1322/1905. Cf. *A'immat al-Yaman*, II, 181; al-Wasī'i, 281, for full details of the trouble over the tobacco Régie, and p.177. Luigi Caprotti who died in 1889 was for six years in charge of the Régie.

295 M. W. Wenner, *Modern Yemen 1818-1966*, Baltimore, 1967, is a useful book for this period where purely factual matters are concerned but has many errors and limited understanding of the situations. See the writer's review in *BSOAS*, London, 1970, XXXIII, 211-14.

296 Al-Nadīm wrote in Turkish to the King of Italy, President of France,

Idrisī. The Shāfi'ī south had to be recovered so 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr was sent to Ta'izz and 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr to conquer Wuṣābayn, Zabīd and other districts.

The Imām refused categorically to recognise the boundary between the Yemen and British Protectorate tribes agreed in part by the Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission before World War I, but claimed all south west Arabia.²⁹⁷ It cannot be said that his assertion of a right to territories Zaydī troops occupied only for some decades, and which had regained independence up to two centuries earlier, had a better claim to validity than engagements voluntarily entered into with the British by the local chiefs and their tribesmen. Nevertheless he occupied Qāli', Shu'ayb, Quṭayb, al-Aj'ūd, 'Awdhalī territory and others, and only withdrew after the British bombed Ta'izz, Dhamār, Māwiyah and Ibb in 1928. If one deprecates the bombing let it be unequivocally affirmed that the protected tribes for their part did not wish to have Yemeni governors and tax-collectors in their countries, Zaydī soldiery was extremely unpopular with them, and they co-operated with the British to expel Yemeni forces from their territory.

To keep down the heads of possible dissidents Yahyā's formidable and able warrior son Aḥmad was sent to Ḥajjah of Ḥāshid country in 1338/1919-20.²⁹⁸ He wrested fiefs from the great Mashāyikh, broke the power of the al-Aḥmar family, humiliated the tribes of the area and so kept them in subjection that Nāṣir b. Nāṣir Mabkhūt fled to King 'Abd al-'Aziz in Sa'ūdī Arabia. Aḥmad turned Ḥajjah into a fortified base from which he conquered the northern Tihāmah.²⁹⁹ After quelling Ḥāshid he turned to the Zarānīq of the southern Tihāmah who had been a thorn in the side of the Turks. By the close of 1928 he had dealt harshly with them, but effectively.

In 1931 Aḥmad, now Crown Prince, was fighting the Dahm in the Jawf, and in the following year had pushed up to Baraṭ. Hearing that there were ornamented doors there plundered by the ancestors of the Dhū Muḥammad from the house of al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil³⁰⁰ at Bīr al-'Azab in the mid 13th/early 19th century he ordered his brother al-Ḥasan to find out about them and bring them to the camp. They were indeed discovered in the houses of Āl Maḍmūn, Al Dumaynah, al-Buḥūr houses and Al Dhī Zayd and removed. In May 1933 the army giving battle to Yām, took Najrān by force and plundered the property of the Makārimah (Ismā'īlīs).

Aḥmad's northern advances and the Sa'ūdī-Yemen differences over Yemeni holdings in 'Asir alarmed the Sa'ūdīs and they despatched an expedition to Najrān and one down the Tihāmah coast under Amīr (later King) Fayṣal which took and occupied Hodeidah. Imām Yahyā sued for peace—which was agreed in Ṣafar 1353/May 1934. The Yemeni negotiator was 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Wazīr.

Imām Yahyā ordered Aḥmad to take over from 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr at Ta'izz in 1357/1938, but Ḥajjah still continued under Aḥmad's charge. He used to send the money he collected from the taxes there, not to Ṣan'ā', to which the taxes from the other provinces went. He was often at loggerheads with his father whom he not infrequently disobeyed. On one occasion he even gave an order within Imām Yahyā's territory—when the chit in question was brought to the Imām he endorsed it in red ink with the words *ḥau ḥau ḥau*—the cry used in driving donkeys. It

seems to mean something like 'Get away with you, you ass!'

In the 1930s the British entered on a policy of benevolent pacification of their protected tribal areas. This led almost to a race between them and the Imām to take over tribes that had only rarely submitted to a central government. The aim of the tribes was to play one power off against another to their own pecuniary advantage, and nationalist sentiments were quite foreign to them. With a well-trained army paid by himself the Imām might hope to hold his own against dissident tribes, but the Imāms did use one tribe to punish another. Jirāfi suggests that the retention of Turkish officers helped to establish public security. Imām Yahyā amassed treasure in silver *riyāls* which he stored in Nuqum fort above Ṣan'ā'—miserly as Yahyā was, one motive in his hoarding could have been to have money in hand to subsidise friendly tribes and buy off the hostile.

Notwithstanding his isolationist policy Yahyā had to employ Europeans to run his munition factory and electric light plant at Ṣan'ā'; he also needed western doctors. He entered into treaty relations with a number of powers without conceding anything to them—Italy had most direct contacts through its medical mission, and Italy's growing power in the Red Sea was doubtless a useful counterpoise to the influence of Aden.

Propaganda has obscured what the Ḥamid al-Dīn Imāms did for the Yemen. The establishment of physical security on the roads is a boon still remembered, and on my own travels I have used the tracks made by Yahyā but more extensively by Aḥmad to enable vehicles to penetrate the mountains. Yahyā was a great restorer of mosques to which he sometimes made extensions. In the educational field Yahyā set up al-Madrasat al-'Ilmiyyah at Bīr al-'Azab in 1344/1925-6, a residential college teaching the 'Islamic sciences' and providing its 200 pupils with food, and the Madrasat al-Aytām (Orphan School) with all Yemeni teachers, at which food and clothing were provided for the 700 pupils. Colleges of the traditional Islamic sciences were opened at Ṣa'dah, Ḥūth, Zabīd and Ta'izz. A middle and a secondary school are mentioned at Ṣan'ā', and elementary schools were opened all over the Yemen. It was always the practice of Yemeni rulers to keep hostages³⁰¹ as surety of good behaviour of families and tribes, and these were maintained and educated. In 1344/1925-6 Yahyā built the great library of the Ṣan'ā' Jāmi', collected books on every topic, and assembled the old Waqf libraries which had been allowed to fall into sad neglect. In fact Ṣan'ā' society had its aristocratic intellectual élite of Sayyids, *qāḍīs* and others, highly educated along traditional lines in literature, law, religion, philosophy and many other 'ilm subjects.

At his court (*maqām*) Imām Yahyā appointed as Chief Secretary of the Dīwān Malikī, Qāḍī 'Abd al-Karīm Muṭahhar, his Prime Minister was Qāḍī 'Abdullāh b. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī, and the Head of the Court of Appeal (Isti'nāf) founded in the Turkish era, was Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Amrī. In 1341/1922-3 the Imām completed the building of Dār al-Sa'ādah³⁰² and moved into it.

Each administrative centre up to 1962 had a civil governor (*ʿamil madani*) representative of the central government whose duty it was to maintain security, a *qāḍī sharʿī* in charge of legal matters, and the shaykhs and tribesmen enrolled as soldiers. Soldiers received five *riyāls* a month from the Bayt al-Māl and a ration of grain.³⁰³

297 Jacob, op. cit., 142 seq., shows that the Imām was writing to British protected rulers after the 1911 treaty with the Turks seeking to extend his influence into their territory. The writer has seen similar correspondence after World War II.

298 For Sayyid Yahyā Shaybān's alliance with Nāṣir Mabkhūt to revolt in Ḥajjah, take Ṣan'ā' and depose Yahyā, see 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mujāhid al-Shamāhī, *al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1972, 172 seq. The attempt in 1918-19 failed and Shaybān was imprisoned in Qaṣr Ṣan'ā'.

299 Al-Wāsi'i, 1st ed., 282, says that in 1345/1926-27, Aḥmad left Ḥajjah for Ṣan'ā' met by tribes through whose territory he passed till he came to 'Amrān from which he went by automobile to Ṣan'ā'. Soldiers and the music came out to meet him, and the amirs, ulema, Ashrāf, merchants and all the people.

It was in the same year that he went to deal with the southern Tihāmah.

300 See p. 88a.

301 Hostages were also kept by Aden Protectorate rulers. Though Yemeni reformers inveigh against the system it was far from harsh and a practical means of forcing tribesfolk to keep the peace.

302 Al-Mutawakkil Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (early 12th/18th century) had formerly built here. It has an old garden around it. In 1346/1927-28 Yahyā completed building Jāmi' al-Qubbah, a large Jāmi' connected with Qubbah al-Mutawakkil . . . al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn.

303 For administration in the Yemen, see *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, B.R. 527, Oxford, 1946, 328-39.

In the Shāfi'i districts in particular the corrupt practice of the officials and Zaydī tribal soldiers from the north pressed heavily, though there is no reason to think that it was notably worse than under rulers at any time in the past. Shāfi'is would declare that Imām Yahyā was all right but his *muwazzafin*, officials, full of injustice (*zulm*) and the soldiers ruthless robbers. In northern districts where taxes were collected by local assessment (*bi-l-amānah*) conditions were more favourable, and subsidies were given to certain Zaydī tribal chiefs.

The northern and Mashriq tribes like Arḥab and Khawlān could not support themselves on their land and so must emigrate—a lesser chieftain with a body of tribesmen would ask the Imām to enter his service and be despatched to a southern district to assist in tax collection. The Shāfi'is of the Lower Yemen would emigrate to Aden and thence to many parts of the world including Europe and America. They kept in close touch with their relatives to whom they sent remittances and they learned that conditions in the Yemen could be improved and that the Imām's isolationist policy must inevitably break down. Otherwise in the twenties and thirties people did not seem to move much within the Yemen from one place to another. They had virtually no access to the foreign press which was banned and the Yemen had at first only a monthly paper, *al-Iymān* printed by the old Turkish press in the Imām's court (*maqām*). There was also a small press at the Education Office (*Idārat al-Ma'ārif*)³⁰⁴ which published a few books like *Masājīd Ṣan'ā'* upon which we have so heavily drawn.

Anti-régime Movements

Imām Yahyā's iron grasp of the Yemen, often through the instrument of his eldest son Aḥmad, had brought into subjection many proud independent men and tribes. This along with his inflexibility, his isolationist policy which allowed of no improvements, and the exactions of corrupt officials and harsh soldiery (though this was nothing new in the Yemen) brought a mounting resentment.³⁰⁵ His policy had been not only to bring the powerful tribes under central government control, but to weaken the power of the great Sayyid houses which enjoyed tribal backing as '*hijrah*'.³⁰⁶

It is therefore easily understood that opposition to the Ḥamid al-Dīn was fomented by men belonging to families of standing, Sayyids, *qādis*, and tribal chiefs.³⁰⁷ The first two classes at least were contemptuous of soldiers though they might use them, for they themselves were an aristocracy of the pen and the sword. In the spring of 1935 a young Sayyid, Aḥmad al-Mutā',³⁰⁸ poor and of a family of small consequence, fixed for himself a tour of inspection of schools which he used to contact persons of note whom he knew would bear the Imām some grudge or have reason to be disaffected. He succeeded in getting in touch with an imposing list of notables including al-Aḥmar house of Ḥāshid, and the celebrated al-Wazīr Sayyids. His efforts led to the

formation of the 'Opposition Society (*Hay'at al-Niḍāl*)'³⁰⁹ a secret organisation with headquarters in Ṣan'ā' and branches elsewhere. Until 1944 it was the first organised resistance to the régime, aiming at promoting administrative reform, promotion of the Zaydī Da'wah,³¹⁰ the conversion of the vital support of the northern tribes to its cause, and linking with the foreign press and individuals to criticize the Imām's rule. Its Ṣan'ā' Treasurer was al-'Izzī Ṣāliḥ al-Sinaydār.

Yahyā's isolationism was never complete and even in the first decade of his reign some student missions were sent to study at the Azhar in Cairo³¹¹ where they joined the Yemeni Riwaq.³¹² The most outstanding of others who studied at one time or another in Cairo after this time was the famous poet Qāḍī Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Zubayrī.³¹³ In 1935 the Yemeni Government requested places for five young men at the Military College and five at the Radio-telegraphy School at Baghdad. This was to cost the Yemen dear for two of the signallers, 'Abdullah al-Sallāl and Ḥasan al-'Amrī,³¹⁴ were to participate in anti-Ḥamid al-Dīn movements. At Baghdad they seem to have been exposed to an extreme nationalist current. In fact many young men who had spent time abroad seem to have hoped to achieve great things on returning to the Yemen but turned disgruntled when they met no response from Imām Yahyā.

A weakness which the opponents of the Ḥamid al-Dīn house sought to exploit was the jealousies of the young princes (*Suyūf* (sing., *Sayf*) *al-Islām*). Yahyā was convinced that Aḥmad whom he had made heir-apparent in 1927, was the ablest of his sons to succeed him. Some writers have made much of the effect of establishing succession to the Imāmate in one particular Sayyid house from father to son, on the other prominent Sayyid houses from which an Imām might be drawn. In practice, Zaydī history shows that a son, not necessarily the eldest, usually succeeds his father, though it might be after an uncle or other relative, whatever Zaydī theory may hold regarding election to the Imāmate from any Sayyid house. When the princes expressed their fears of Aḥmad to their father his rejoinder was '*Aḥmad hū ḥajar al-maḥjar*, Aḥmad is the stopper-stone',³¹⁵ meaning that he is the strong man. It was precisely because Aḥmad would be a strong ruler like his father that men of rank impatient of authority were in opposition to him.

At this stage Aḥmad, though given to secluding himself at times to ponder state affairs, would also hold court at which persons of divergent political groupings mixed—chiefs including Ḥusayn al-Aḥmar, Amīn Abū Rās, poets were invited like Zubayrī, Sayyids Aḥmad al-Shāmī and Zayd al-Mawshikī, Ḥusayn al-Waysī author of the geography,³¹⁶ Qāḍī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iryānī. Aḥmad Nu'mān³¹⁷ of a distinguished family of am-Turbah of Shāfi'i Yemen was also one of a list of names significant in Yemeni politics. The court scintillated with wit, and verse, literature, history were the very stuff of conversation. The Heir-Apparent listened to the young Liberals (Aḥrār) encouraging them to speak of their views and proposals. It is likely Aḥmad was keeping a finger on the political pulse with

304 The output of this press has been surveyed by Ettore Rossi, 'La stampa nel Yemen', *Oriente moderno*, Roma, 1938, XVIII, 568-80.

305 Aḥmad al-Shāmī, 'Yemeni literature in Hajjah Prisons', *Arabian Studies*, II, 1975, 43, gives idealised Zaydī reasons for the disaffection for Imām Yahyā.

306 See p. 42a seq.

307 Information given me personally by some actors in these movements apart, Qāḍī 'Abdullah b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mujāhid al-Shamāhi, *al-Yaman*, has been used. It seems a fairly faithful version of the facts but may be projecting recent attitudes and ideas. It is not guiltless of giving a propagandist interpretation of events and it overemphasises the role of the Shamāhis.

308 Al-Mutā' was steeped in the writings of the earlier Arab political theorists, like al-Kawākibī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, and Muḥammad Rashid (al-Shamāhi, op. cit., 177).

309 *Niḍāl* also means struggle, defence.

310 Essentially the *Da'wah* requires an Imām—this problem, if mainly theoretical, has not been solved in the present Republic.

311 *Oriente Moderno*, Rome, 1927, 335, gives an account of the first diplomatic mission to Italy.

312 'Loggias', but it may be described as a teaching group.

313 See 'The Yemeni poet al-Zubayrī . . .', op. cit.

314 Not of the same house as Yahyā's Prime Minister.

315 Al-Shamāhi, op. cit., 182, a Yemeni proverb. A dam (*sadd*), pool (*birkah*), large cistern (*hawḍ*) have a hole (*maḥjar*) at the bottom to let out water for irrigating fields. It is closed by a strong stone when the cistern etc. is filling and the stone removed to empty it.

316 *Al-Yaman al-kubrā*, Cairo, 1962. He also wrote *Rihlat Sumuww al-Amir Sayf al-Islām Waliyy al-'Ahd al-mu'azzam Aḥmad b. Amir al-Mu'minin*, Cairo, 1358/1939, printed under the supervision of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Nu'mān.

317 Aḥmad Nu'mān a leading Yemeni Liberal for many years in exile, has held important ministerial posts in the Yemen Arab Republic. He clearly had considerable admiration for Imām Aḥmad despite their differences.

the Liberals and assessing their value as possible supporters. The Liberals began to realise that Aḥmad was far from sympathetic to their ideas and unlikely to promote them. The point³¹⁸ came when in early summer 1944, Zubayrī and Nu'mān abandoned Ta'izz for Aden—there they founded the Yemenite Liberal Party (Ḥizb al-Aḥrār),³¹⁹ well subsidised by Yemeni merchants abroad and others. A little later Aḥmad al-Shāmī, Zayd al-Mawshikī and Muḥi' Dammāj joined them, but they returned to the Yemen where the Heir-Apparent welcomed them. They eventually adhered to the aristocratic group around 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr—the Aden Liberals and the Āl Wazīr were uncertain allies.

Another group was founded in 1363/1944 called the Reform Association (Jam'iyyat al-Isḥāḥ) mostly an Ibb Qāḍī group with Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Akwa' as its president. It sent a draft pamphlet entitled *Barnāmaj al-isḥāḥ*³²⁰ to Zubayrī in Aden where it was printed and distributed. Qāḍī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iryānī was a member of this group.

In September the same year the Imām ordered Aḥmad al-Muḥā, al-Sinaydār, Muḥammad al-Akwa' and three brothers of al-Sayāghī family among a number of others to be imprisoned, as were also most of the members of the mission to Iraq. They were allowed to cool their heads in prison for a while then most were released.

Imprisonment was evidently used by the Imāms as a sort of disciplinary punishment for offences, even those involving serious disloyalty, and for such misdemeanours as financial corruption. It carried no stigma. The rulers who could rely on no one individual as a person permanently to trust, had no choice but to employ able men of the administrative classes, tribes and officers. So an offender was consigned to prison to cool his ardour or learn his lesson and then brought out again at the Imām's will for re-employment. The Imāms were doubtless fully aware of the dangers in this situation and their sole recourse was to play one potential conspirator off against another. The situation is complicated by a web of kinships etc. It is therefore not surprising to find the ex-prisoners of Ḥajjah back in office and emerging as conspirators and later officials in the Republic.

The strength of Yahyā's rule, al-Shamāhī avers, was founded on his reliance on his Prime Minister over so many years, Qāḍī 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī.³²¹ This obstacle in the way of the Imām's opponents, this rock, he says, was smashed by the decline of al-'Amrī as the fourteen princes, sons of the Imām took office as ministers,³²² and dislodged the Amīrs 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr and his cousin 'Alī who had been so largely instrumental in bringing Yahyā to power. In rivalry and fear of his brother

Aḥmad, Sayf al-Islām Ḥusayn agreed with the Wazīr Amīrs and Sayyid 'Alī b. Ḥamūd of the prominent Sharaf al-Dīn³²³ family of Kawkabān, from which Imāms had been elected in the past, that after Imām Yahyā's decease, 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr should be elected Imām. Ḥusayn managed to persuade his full brother Hasan to come in with them. Aḥmad, doubtless informed of this alliance, turned a blind eye to the activities of the advocates of reform (*du'at al-isḥāḥ*) and encouraged them against his brothers. The 'Youth' (al-Shabāb)³²⁴ at all times disliked Hasan's over-conservatism and rigidity—his reputation for avarice also did not help make him a popular personality.³²⁵

Searching for external support Aḥmad Muḥā' and the Wazīrs despatched 'Abdullāh al-Shamāhī armed with letters to King 'Abd al-'Azīz Al Sa'ūd in late 1946. He accorded al-Shamāhī an audience but refused to dishonour his treaty with Imām Yahyā. At the Hajj immediately following, al-Shamāhī met Hasan al-Bannā', the Egyptian founder of the Muslim Brothers, who promised his support.

Early in 1947 al-Bannā's man arrived in Şan'ā', an Algerian Brother, al-Fuḍayl al-Wartālānī,³²⁶ an agitator who with the active co-operation of the conspirators stirred up the 'Youth', officers and schoolboys. The Imām, aged and ailing, was foiled in his desire to expel al-Wartālānī who was backed by the Heir-Apparent and Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Kibsi,³²⁷ once ambassador in Cairo, who while secretly working against the Ḥamid al-Dīn, was trusted by the Imām and his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The extremist 'Youth' in Şan'ā' which included Ḥasan al-'Amrī, 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṭayyib³²⁸ and others, started shooting, bomb-throwing and setting off mines.³²⁹ The more responsible conspirators were somewhat disquieted at this, and although, for instance, the Hay'at al-Niḍāl group wanted 'popular rule (*al-ḥukm al-sha'bī*)'³³⁰ they were well aware that the support of the Zaydī tribes could only be won by a Sayyid with tribal backing. They therefore decided to back 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr for the Imāmate.³³¹ At first he expressed unwillingness. A scheme for a constitutional government was drawn up, written down by Aḥmad al-Shāmī³³² from a draft by Al-Wartālānī, al-Kibsi and others, and sent to Zubayrī and Aḥmad Nu'mān in Aden for printing—it was to be kept secret to be distributed when the revolution was to be proclaimed.

The Heir-Apparent Aḥmad's spies in the ranks of the Liberals soon informed him of the existence of this document known as the 'Sacred Covenant (*al-Mithāq al-Muqaddas*)' and he saw the opportunity to blow the conspiracy.³³³ In Ta'izz he unleashed a rumour that Imām Yahyā had been murdered and 'Abdullāh

318 Al-Shamāhī, op. cit., 191, avers that the break came when Aḥmad declared 'I beg God I may not die until this sword of mine is dyed with the blood of the Moderns (*dimā' al-'Asriyyin*). By 'Moderns' or 'Contemporaries' he seems to have meant those following Muḥammad 'Abduh, al-Kawākibi, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-'Aqqād, in fact the Egyptian Islamic modernists and literati of the time.

319 The Aden Aḥrār being in contact with the outside world have been credited with an importance quite out of proportion to their role within the Yemen at this time.

320 A printed programme of reforms demanded by the Liberals, *Barnāmaj Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Yamanī bi-Şan'ā'*, printed by Fatāt al-Jazirah Press in Aden, dated 1357/1938-9 (the date of the programme, not the printing) was circulating to my certain knowledge among Shāfi'ī Yemenis in Britain in 1941 and probably even two years earlier.

This manifesto is moderate, even conservative, in tone. It asks for the abolition of abuses arising from tax collection, especially on agriculture, the ending of billeting soldiers on tax-defaulters, abolition of customs-duties, the abolition of the corvée (*sukhrīyyah*) of impounding beasts for Government use, that *awqāf* income be used for teaching and the maintenance of mosques. Certain clauses of a more political nature would mean diminishing the power of the Imām. The *Barnāmaj* itself states that it was drawn up in secret and distributed in the Yemen and abroad. It appears to be a separate document from the Reform Association's *Barnāmaj*.

321 The *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 248 seq., states that the first of the 'Amrī house to transfer from hijrat al-'Amāriyah in Ḥadā country to Şan'ā' arrived in the 12th/18th century. He was in charge of the management (*siyāsah*) of Şan'ā'.

322 The princes were Yahyā's sons by seven wives, Sharīfahs, not all married to him at the same time of course. 'Alī, Amīr of Ta'izz was replaced by the Heir-Apparent Aḥmad and 'Abdullāh Amīr of Hodeidah by Sayf al-Islām 'Abdullāh. Ibb was given to Ḥasan. Cf. al-Shamāhī, op. cit., 182. The

princes have been accused of setting out to acquire land—which any Yemeni group in power would aim to do. In fact their land-holdings were quite modest and the wild accusations of great holdings quite untrue.

323 See p. 92b.

324 Yesterday's Shabāb are often today's 'establishment', but they seem mostly to be townfolk, especially schoolboys with a 'modern' education, junior officials, etc., often not of high social standing, though they do have Sayyids and Qāḍīs in their ranks.

325 Al-Shamāhī, nevertheless considers him the ablest and most experienced administrator after Aḥmad. The writer met him in his cave at al-Kitāf in 1964.

326 Al-Shamāhī, 205, a scholar with a religious training and merchant who wrote a not very realistic report on the Yemeni economy.

327 During World War II, British postal censorship intercepted correspondence showing that al-Kibsi had links with the Liberals. He was known as al-Safir al-Sākit, the 'Silent Ambassador' because his instructions were merely to listen but not to engage in discussions at that time, on, notably, the formation of the Arab League.

328 Reputedly author of *Nakṣat al-Yaman*, attacking the Republican régime of al-Sallāl, about 1963 or 1964.

329 Al-Shamāhī, op. cit. 207.

330 Perhaps because this group contained few Sayyids.

331 It may be that al-Shamāhī's account here is coloured by the wish to defend himself and the Niḍāl group from what would now be regarded as backing a 'feudalist' candidate.

332 Aḥmad al-Shāmī, op. cit., 44, says, 'This was a revolt of the *'ulamā'* and the motives behind it were purely patriotic and religious', but also refers to political leaders with other motives.

333 The document, quoted by al-Shamāhī, op. cit., 210, merits study. Aḥmad al-Shāmī, op. cit., 45, adds some interesting detail.

al-Wazir made Imām.³³⁴ This was published in the Aden paper of the Liberals, *Ṣawt al-Yaman*.

A dramatic picture of the scene at the Imām's Majlis in Ṣan'ā' when the Aden telegrams arrived is drawn by al-Shamāhī. Al-Wazir, unaware of these events, entered the Majlis and was deeply engaged in the work assigned to him when the Imām turned to him with a smile, handed him a bunch of papers, saying, 'Have a look at these papers, Fakhri,³³⁵ they are such and such a number.' Al-Wazir was surprised to hear the Imām give the exact number of papers, but when he glanced at the first telegram congratulating him on the throne, a shudder ran through him and he hastily disclaimed it. 'Look at them all first', said the Imām, 'then let's talk.' Trying to recover his breath al-Wazir read them all including the 'Sacred Covenant', and asking the Imām's leave to speak, he told him this was a plot against the Imām and himself by which it was intended to destroy the Imām's trust in him and those mentioned in the 'Covenant'. Finally he took the oath that he had nothing to do with the Aden Liberals. His written disavowal was published in *al-Iymān*.

Though the Imām appeared ostensibly satisfied of al-Wazir's innocence, papers were later discovered in his strong box³³⁶ revealing his intention for some time to convict and imprison the leading Wazirs. The conspirators hurried to set a day for Yaḥyā's assassination—the 7 Rabi' II, 1367/18 February, 1948. While the Imām was on his daily tour in the country round Ṣan'ā' in a single unescorted car, accompanied by 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī (whom the conspirators thought to include in their government), one of the Imām's small grandsons, and only two soldiers, they were mown down by machine-gun and rifle fire outside Ḥizyaz, a few miles south of the city, by a hired tribal malcontent, 'Alī al-Qarda'i of Murād from Ḥarīb, and a gang of tribal dissidents—Murād strangely enough had provided the murderer of his ancestor 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Yaḥyā was killed with his small grandson on his lap.³³⁷

Al-Qarda'i reported the murder to 'Abdullāh al-Wazir who took no immediate action to inform others, but the news reached the ears of Sayf al-Islām Ḥusayn who hastened to the Telegraph Office and sent a message in cipher to Aḥmad in Ta'izz. Only some hours later did the Iraqi officer, Ra'īs Jamāl Jamīl,³³⁸ in charge of security in Ṣan'ā' district and of the officers and cadets at the Military College, 'Abdullāh al-Sallāl and Ḥasan al-'Amrī get to hear of the murder. Prince Ḥusayn unwisely left the Qaṣr to protect the mansions Dār al-Sa'ādah and Dār al-Shukr. Jamāl Jamīl meantime went with 'Abdullāh al-Wazir to the Qaṣr where, by sheer force of personality, al-Wazir managed to persuade Yaḥyā's loyal guards there to join him, Jamāl went to the 'Urqī where the 'Youth' and some army were waiting to join him. Jamāl and al-Sallāl then proceeded to the two mansions to deal with Ḥusayn whom Jamāl shot in the tense minutes while parleying with him. Ḥasan al-'Amrī had meanwhile taken over the Radio Station, and all resistance was ended.

The conspirators had been foiled in their attempt to have the Heir-Apparent Aḥmad assassinated in Ta'izz simultaneously with the Imām at Ṣan'ā'. Aḥmad took swift and vigorous action. He left Ta'izz for Hodeidah via Ḥays and Zabīd with a small escort in trucks. At Bājil he proclaimed himself Imām taking the title al-Nāṣir, the Victorious, sent out telegrams to rally the tribes to his side and avenge Imām Yaḥyā, then took the road to Ḥajjah from which he directed operations against Ṣan'ā'. Sharaf al-Dīn made a *volte-face* in his favour and helped stir the tribes against

al-Wazir.

'Abdullāh al-Wazir had been declared Imām in the Jāmi' at Ṣan'ā' and had appointed a government. As a regicide he met with disapproval in various quarters and so his attempts to obtain recognition and aid from Arab governments failed. His expeditions, mostly it seems of the Army (al-Jaysh al-Nizāmī), were defeated and most deserted to Aḥmad at Ḥajjah. The tribes that rallied to Aḥmad had soon invested Ṣan'ā' on every side, catching some Aden Arab journalists³³⁹ sympathetic to the Liberals. It was not long before 'Abdullāh al-Wazir's forces comprised only schoolboys, the Military College, a few soldiers and tribesmen. The defence of Ṣan'ā' was divided into four sectors—'Abdullāh al-Wazir held the Qaṣr and Jabal Nuqum, Jamāl Jamīl was responsible for Bāb al-Shaqādīf, al-Sabaḥah, the air-field and the 'Urqī-Barracks as well as the general command of Ṣan'ā'; Bāb Sha'ūb and Rās Ṣan'ā' area were under Aḥmad al-Muṭā' and al-'Izzī Ṣāliḥ al-Sinaydār, while the fourth sector, the Radio, Bir al-'Azab and 'Asir, were assigned to Muḥammad al-Shāmī, Husayn al-Muqbilī, and the Shamāhīs.

Nuqum with its stores and treasure fell to Aḥmad's tribes. Three of Imām Yaḥyā's sons had been confined to the Qaṣr, and one of them, Yaḥyā (b. Yaḥyā) managed to win over the garrison and even to fire on 'Abdullāh al-Wazir himself in Dār al-Qaṣr. With his supporters falling away on all sides and the princes taking over control of the Qaṣr, 'Abdullāh al-Wazir saw no alternative but surrender. So he and his companions went to Prince Yaḥyā who took them into custody and ordered beacons to be lit on the minaret of the Qaṣr and his house as a token of victory over al-Wazir in the Qaṣr. No sooner had these beacons been shown than the sympathisers of Aḥmad in Ṣan'ā' lighted the ashes soaked with petrol already prepared on their roofs, firing off rifles and shouting that al-Imām al-Nāṣir Aḥmad had entered the Qaṣr and soon all Ṣan'ā' was alight with beacons³⁴⁰ to welcome Imām Aḥmad. This caused confusion in the city and encouraged the tribes to assault the Gates where the guards offered little resistance and mostly declared for Aḥmad. The city fell on Saturday 3 Jumādā I, 1367/14 March, 1948. Imām 'Abdullāh al-Wazir's reign in Ṣan'ā' had lasted less than a month.

The sack of Ṣan'ā' by the tribes whose lust for plunder was unleashed has left a lasting impression on the Ṣan'ānīs—the sheer wantonness of it is astonishing—one sees sometimes in the sūqs for sale carpets slashed with swords. The Qā' al-Yahūd was sacked though the Jews had no part in an Arab dynastic quarrel, and Louise Favier³⁴¹ found little but ruins to see. Al-Shamāhī dramatically pictures the tribes entering, amid ululating of the women, rumours, victory fires, with guns, picks, axes, camels and donkeys, paying no heed to ululations, fires and welcoming acclamations of Aḥmad. All they wanted was the money and stores of goods and the tribal armies looted houses, merchant establishments, huts, mosques, devouring everything in them, fighting each other over them—this went on for seven days. Louise Favier says they demolished a fine house close by carrying off the wooden doors and windows. They snatched off the jewellery of Arab women. Early looters with camels heavily laden with booty often met late-comers who in turn despoiled them. They killed anyone who resisted. The tribes paid no heed to their chiefs and all the Ḥamīd al-Dīn could do was to try to protect the mansions of Imām Yaḥyā from being plundered of their goods, stores, arms and ammunition. Al-Shamāhī goes further and accuses one of the princes of attacking and plundering

334 This is al-Shamāhī's interpretation of how false the rumour of the Imām's death came to be prematurely published—it is plausible.

335 Fakhri = 'Abdullāh, see p. 428a, n. 262.

336 Al-Shamāhī, op. cit., 209. It contained the keys to his treasures, seals for resolutions (*qarārāt*) and agreements, correspondence and orders. There was his *mudhakkirah māliyyah*, a minute in which were recorded his treasures (*khazā'in*) of gold, silver, grain, weapons, jewellery, the incomings and outgoings of each *ḥawā* and *qaḍa* district, a list of what constituted his private property and what belonged to the Bayt al-Māl. In itself this gives some indication of how Imām Yaḥyā ran his administration.

337 Next day they were secretly buried at Maṣjid al-Raḥmah in Bir al-'Azab, also called Maṣjid al-Qudāh (*Maṣājid*, 93).

338 Jamāl Jamīl could not return to Iraq for political reasons. He came to the Yemen with the mission of the 'aqid Ṣafwat in 1938, and had been in the Bakr Ṣidqī plot against Ja'far al-Midfa'i in 1936 and against Nūrī Sa'id.

339 Including an old friend, the late Muḥammad Luqmān, editor of *Fatāt al-Jazīrah*, a sympathiser of the Liberals about whom his paper frequently published articles.

340 See Louise Favier's description.

341 Loc. cit., 134.

houses.³⁴² The victors however spared no effort to track down all those associated with the conspiracy—the leaders were sent to Ḥajjah, and shortly afterwards the Āl Wazīr and others were brought back and executed in the main square of Şan'ā'. In all something over twenty persons of family and distinction were executed. Sayf al-Islām Ibrāhīm, who had joined the Liberals in Aden in 1946 but was caught in Şan'ā', died mysteriously at Ḥajjah. Small fry like al-Sallāl and Ḥasan al-'Amri were imprisoned at Ḥajjah.³⁴³

Aḥmad had not taken part in the siege in person. He was now elected Imām by the Şan'ā' ulema as al-Nāşir li-Dīn Allāh the day after the fall of the city. His retaliation for his father's murder was severe but restricted, not accompanied by wholesale executions.³⁴⁴ The assassination of Yaḥyā was unpopular and Yemenis in Aden heaped abuse on the Liberals. The writer was in Ḥaḍramawt at this time and recalls the shock felt in Tarīm Sayyid circles at the deed. Some say that Aḥmad promised as a reward for the tribes the sack of Şan'ā'—that he made such a promise seems unlikely—but even he could probably not have controlled them once they were loosed. For the Şan'ānis the sack was a disaster, many big merchant houses were ruined and the great Samsarat Muḥammad b. Aḥsan has been closed ever since. It created a hostility to Aḥmad there and he made his capital Ta'izz to which Şan'ā' played second fiddle till the coup d'état of 1962.

Characters of Yaḥyā and Aḥmad Ḥamid al-Dīn

What manner of man was Yaḥyā who ruled the Yemen for thirty years and whose imprint on it can be seen to this day? Wyman Bury³⁴⁵ quotes a Turkish officer just returned from Khamir, 'He just sleeps and eats, and drinks coffee.' 'I gathered that he took no very active part in the affairs of the vilayet, beyond receiving reports from his nominees and adherents, which should keep him in touch with everything that goes on. He never smokes,³⁴⁶ lest he should offend the strict Moslem prejudice of his more fanatical supporters, and conforms to all the rigours of Islam.' The British Intelligence Handbook³⁴⁷ reports that 'he is said to be an intelligent man of shifty, weak, and yielding character, who, owing to his parsimony, has not much hold over the tribesmen of the north-east. He greatly weakened his position by releasing, in accordance with the peace of 1911, 400 hostages kept in captivity since 1904.' Bury³⁴⁸ more shrewdly observes that he is less powerful on the side of Government than he was in opposition.

Yaḥyā throughout his life was stigmatised by an almost ingenious miserliness. As a politician and administrator he is not to be despised and he put to the best use such assets as Imāms have, political acumen, sanctity and scholarship. If no soldier, as Bury says, the interpretation of his daily routine as inactivity is quite wrong, for the writer sharing the same caves as the Ḥamid al-Dīn princes in 1964 and 1966 has watched this so-called inactivity which goes on through the waking hours—a hard exercise of brain and personality. A man of extreme conservatism the Imām hoped, through isolating the Yemen from the outside world, including modernised Muslim countries like Egypt, to avoid corruption of the pure Islamic faith (as he saw it), and politically to preserve the Yemen's independence. The ban on the foreign Arabic press was part of this policy. Music was banned for sectarian reasons.³⁴⁹ Yaḥyā was a man of simple manners—he is said, at least in his early days, to have gone about

Şan'ā' with only a single soldier as escort—Presidents of the Republic have truckloads of soldiers and motor-cycle outriders as they flash through the narrow streets of old Şan'ā' to the Jāmi'. Every morning he would sit in the court of his mansion Dār al-Sa'ādah to hear complaints—the tree where he sat is still pointed out to visitors.



8.2 Imam Yahya Hamid al-Din. Critics aver that his nose was more aquiline in shape than would appear from the portrait. (Artist: 'Alī al-Jannāṭī.)

Imām Aḥmad Nāşir al-Dīn was a ruler of tremendous personality, astute, brave, resolute, learned and witty, suspicious, unable to brook opposition, often terrifying, patient but swift to action. His reign saw great change in the external world forcing itself on the Yemen. Internally al-Shamāhī provides the clearest survey of the inimical forces working against Aḥmad. They were many and varied—certain great Sayyid houses, the tribal chiefs of Ḥāshid, Barāṭ and others, certain Qāḍī houses, the young officers, the many Shāfi'is in the Yemen, Aden and abroad mainly finding their inspiration in Liberal (Aḥrār) propaganda.

Not at once obvious is the ever faster rate of economic decline of the Yemen that seems already to have started in Yaḥyā's day, in relation to the external world, especially with the growth of Sa'ūdī Arabia and the oil states. There was no way to arrest this decline in a basically agricultural country, the known resources of which were already fairly fully exploited and which the security provided by the dynasty had even allowed to develop a little.

342 Al-Shamāhī, op. cit., 265.

343 See Aḥmad al-Shāmī, op. cit., 43-60, for a fascinating account of the Ḥajjah prisoners.

344 At most some 20-30 persons were executed.

345 Arabia Infelix, 136.

346 Yaḥyā however chewed qār but abandoned it in later life.

347 Handbook of Yemen, op. cit., 44.

348 Op. cit., 158.

349 It is said of Jābir Rizq al-Kawkabānī, a famous poet and musician of Kawkabān now dead that since music was prohibited only a part of his verse and music have survived. He performed in secret. Gramophones etc., were also prohibited.

This seems to have been accompanied by a large rise in the population. For economic decline the Ḥamid al-Dīn were conveniently awarded the blame and even a commonsense movement among farmers who substituted profitable cash-crop *qāt*-growing for difficult and not very profitable coffee was reckoned a fault for which the Imāms were responsible.

If these problems were not enough the rise of Nasserist expansionism, the success of army coups in Egypt and Iraq and the interference of the USSR came to complicate the situation. Where, in the past, anti-régime movements were mostly dealt with as an internal matter they now came into the full glare of radio and press publicity. Aḥmad could and did deal severely with dissidents—he was even, all things considered, reasonably clement—but he could not cope with the ‘media’ which made of every dissident a martyr.

Imām Aḥmad and Unrest in the Yemen: Imām al-Badr

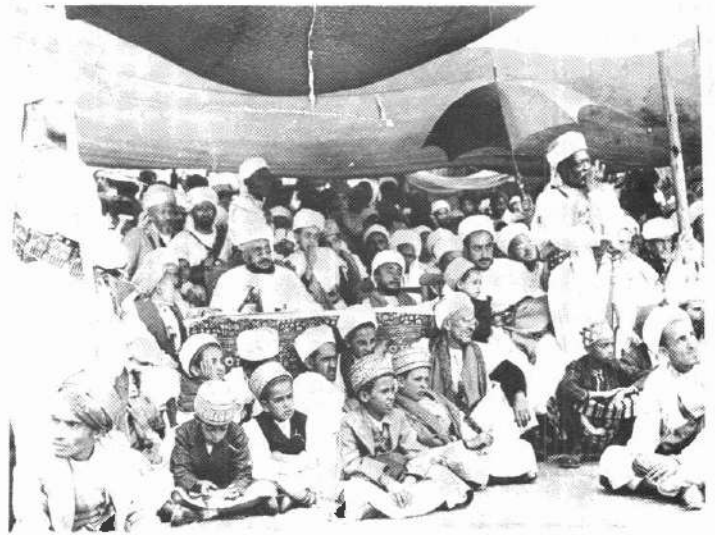
Aḥmad was now firmly established as Imām and the popular tide meanwhile running in his favour but the rivalry of the Ḥamid al-Dīn princes was to lead to the downfall of their house. This rivalry the prisoners of Ḥajjah sought to exploit, though doubtless the princes had no need of their help on the path to self-destruction. By 1954 Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Iryānī had been released from prison and he persuaded the Imām whose suite he had joined, to release others. Aḥmad al-Shāmī, when freed, joined the suite of Aḥmad’s only son, Muḥammad al-Badr, and the literary and scholarly circle frequenting his salon at his mansion, Dār al-Bashā’ir in Bīr al-‘Azab—others attending the salon included the blind left wing poet al-Baradūnī and ‘Abdullah Ḥumrān.³⁵⁰

The crucial issue within the Ḥamid al-Dīn house was their dislike of Aḥmad’s purpose that al-Badr be recognised as Heir-Apparent—broadly speaking the rest of the Ḥamid al-Dīn favoured al-Ḥasan, the Imām’s brother. Aḥmad in Ṣan‘ā’ in summer 1954 was quarrelling violently with his brothers over the question and, thinking they were planning to murder him, he suddenly left for Ta‘izz, leaving al-Badr in Ṣan‘ā’. Ḥasan declared his opposition to al-Badr becoming Heir-Apparent in print in *al-Iymān*. So Aḥmad packed off Ḥasan, whom he had dismissed from the Premiership on June 16 1956, as Yemeni ambassador to Washington and made his brother ‘Abdullāh Prime Minister in Ta‘izz.

By this time Aḥmad appears, by an unfortunate chance, to have already become a morphine addict. When suffering a painful operation an Italian doctor, Toffolon, persuaded him to accept injections, Toffolon reassuring him by injecting himself.³⁵¹ For this reason Aḥmad seemed to have lost his energy and will to action.

It so happened that men of the Army at the Ta‘izz ‘Urḍī at which Aḥmad resided, fell out with the villagers of al-Ḥawbān and the Army retaliated on the villagers, plundering, burning and killing. An officer, al-Thulayyā, said to have trained in Iraq along with al-Sallāl and al-‘Amrī, took advantage of the Army’s fear of punishment by the Imām, to persuade them to attack the ‘Urḍī. This incident caught the various conspirators unprepared and divided but Prince ‘Abdullāh was proclaimed Imām and Aḥmad declared himself ready to abdicate in favour of his brother—he actually wrote an instrument of abdication which is displayed to this day in the ‘Urḍī Museum.

Aḥmad however was playing for time and summoned the garrisons and tribes of Jabal Ṣabir to his aid—in Ta‘izz the Shāfi‘ī ‘*āmil* rallied to him. Al-Badr was in Hodeidah, but he moved up to Ḥajjah to rally the tribes, at the same time releasing the remaining prisoners there of 1948, including Ḥasan al-‘Amrī, al-Sallāl and Muḥammad al-Akwa’ who joined him. Meanwhile the Imām broke out of the ‘Urḍī sword in hand and challenged his besiegers to personal combat, adding ‘Do you want to kill your Imām, the Commander of the Faithful? You can’t do it! Your Imām is guarded by God!’ Aḥmad had bribed a number of Thulayyā’s soldiers to come over to his side. Later he is said to have fined the same soldiers for their mutinying the sum of the bribes he paid them—no wonder the men were filled with rueful admiration for him—Aḥmad, Yā Jinnāh—You devil!



8.3 Imām Aḥmad Ḥamid al-Dīn attending an execution, surrounded by members of his family and attendants, with young princes in the foreground.

‘Abdullāh and another brother ‘Abbās, al-Thulayyā and twelve others, mostly officers, were executed. Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Iryānī, who was deeply implicated, was reprieved at the last moment. As a reward for his prompt action al-Badr was proclaimed Heir-Apparent and made Deputy Prime Minister and Commander in Chief. On April 25 1955 he was made Prime Minister.

In 1956 al-Badr made a lengthy tour abroad, meeting Nasser in Cairo and falling under his spell. He came to London and was well received but with reservations because of the frontier situation,³⁵² and he was given neither aid nor arms. In Russia and the Soviet block he found a readiness to supply him with (relatively) modern arms and military instructors. Al-Badr probably thought to provide himself with a trained modern army which would support him if Ḥasan were to return and raise the tribes, but he was playing a dangerous game.

In Cairo Nasser had been cossetting the Liberals who were issuing a stream of propaganda by pamphlet and on Ṣawṭ al-‘Arab against Imām Aḥmad which had an undoubted effect within and without the Yemen. This Aḥmad countered by joining the United Arab Republic in 1958 and the Liberals had to transfer their activities to Beirut. At this point, perhaps even earlier, Egyptian officers were brought in to train the Yemeni army.³⁵³

By 1959 addiction to morphine had got such a hold on Aḥmad that he had to go to Italy to be ‘dried out’, taking with him al-Iryānī whose opinions he valued while he was aware that he was a dangerous man.

of Egyptian officers.

Calamitous as the Heir-Apparent’s actions were for the Ḥamid al-Dīn, his policy did have some positive results in that he got the Russians to reconstruct Hodeidah port, the French to help at Mocha, and the Chinese to build the Hodeidah-Ṣan‘ā’ road—but even these long-term benefits were only to the advantage of the foes of the régime as they made the swift arrival of Nasser’s armoured forces in Ṣan‘ā’ a possibility.

350 Al-Shamāhī, 276.

351 Toffolon died, it is said, through his addiction.

352 Badr brought with him to London Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Shāmī (a Qāḍī house of Kawkabān not Sayyids) and when I chatted to him about the frontier troubles of the time of which he was believed to be in charge he blamed young British officers for it. He died in Ṣan‘ā’ in 1965.

353 Al-Shamāhīm 306, states that from 1959 al-Badr introduced large numbers



8.4 Qaḍī Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Zubayrī in official costume. The turban (*ḥiḍḍ*) is wound round a cap (*qihf* or *qāwūq*). A shawl (*shāl*) is worn over the black robe made of broadcloth, *jūkh*, which gives it its name; it has long sleeves (*akmām tawīlah*) and strips (*sharūf*) of embroidery (*qītūn*, pl. *qayātīn*). The white gown underneath is called *al-zunnah*. Prince al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan gave this *jūkh* to Zubayrī when al-Ḥasan went to Cairo; Zubayrī wore it at the Erkowit Conference. The *jūkh* is worn on the Friday, on Feast days (*ʿId*) and on ceremonial occasions (*munāsabāt*) and is inherited from father to son.

With the cat away the mice came out again. The Army in Ta'izz and Ṣan'ā' was so restive that al-Badr called in the tribes, fearing the Army might attack him in Dār al-Bashāyir. Tapes of seditious speeches were made and sent with warning letters to the Imām in Rome. The Imām was also given to understand that his son intended to depose him. Aḥmad, now recovered, returned by sea. Nasser came to visit him on board ship—Aḥmad gave him a studied insult by pleading himself too unwell to get out of bed (to greet a mere soldier), but he rose to greet an *ʿālim* in the person of the Shaykh al-Azhar. It is said this roused Nasser's spite against him.

In Hodeidah Aḥmad made his stern but rousing speech³⁵⁴

against those who had been creating disturbance in his absence—some fifty thousand tribesmen brought into Ṣan'ā' by al-Badr hurriedly left it on hearing the speech over the radio. '*Bawwāḥ al-Shaybah*, The old Bull has bellowed', they said. Ḥusayn al-Aḥmar and other northern chiefs now came out in rebellion, but Aḥmad, by political means, including bribery, broke up support for him and he launched many northern tribes against them along with a force of the Regular Army commanded by two experienced Sayyid generals. The Regular Army had been infiltrated by sedition for a number of years—this is well described by an officer, 'Abdullāh Juzaylān,³⁵⁵ anti-régime from the days of his training in Egypt. Nevertheless the tribes and army quelled the rebellion. Ḥusayn al-Aḥmar's supporters melted away, he and his son Ḥamīd had to surrender and were executed under circumstances not very creditable to the Imām.

Aḥmad had awakened to the danger of the Russians and to Nasser's ambitions in the Red Sea.³⁵⁶ After the defection of Syria from the UAR, he courageously published his famous poem, in late 1961, attacking such socialist policies as nationalisation (*ta'mīm*) as un-Islamic. On this Nasser, whom Aḥmad was obviously attacking, broke off the alliance and turned on again the full blast of his powerful propaganda machine, spiced with al-Bayḍānī's scurrilous attacks on Aḥmad and such preposterous inventions as that he fed his prisoners to his lions! Ṣawt al-'Arab invective against the 'Tyrant' (al-Ṭaghī) to which Yemenis could now listen on their transistors certainly won some response—furthermore Yemenis going up and down to Cairo were exposed to anti-régime propaganda. The Ṣan'ā' and Ta'izz schools became centres of disaffection. Merchants who disliked the monopolies exercised by the Imām's agent, 'Alī al-Jabalī, often helped finance anti-régime groups. To all this hostile propaganda the Ḥamīd al-Dīn made no answer.

An attempt in March 1961 to assassinate Aḥmad when he went to see the new Hodeidah port built by the Russians and inspect Hodeidah Hospital, was contrived by its Security Officer, Muḥammad al-'Ulufi and two others, seemingly entirely on their own initiative and unconnected with the other conspiracies afoot.³⁵⁷ They emptied their revolvers into him and the Imām threw himself to the ground pretending to be dead, and survived.

Aḥmad recovered from the bullet wounds in his thigh, but, if cured from his addiction, it now returned and he would take no measures to deal with troubles—he would seclude himself for long periods and do no business. He understood the dangers but had lost the will to meet them. For this reason in part at least it may be that he did nothing to return the Egyptian officers to Nasser, but perhaps he saw the danger to Badr from Ḥasan as greater. He was aware that even the person on whom he most relied, Qaḍī 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iryānī was deeply committed against him, and papers found after his death on the Imām's clothing contained detailed information on al-Iryānī and other conspirators.³⁵⁸ The general restlessness engendered by the inflammatory propaganda from outside the Yemen and the stagnation inside it found expression in a series of bomb incidents in the three principal cities.

Imām Aḥmad died from old age and natural causes as his American physician has assured me on the 19 September 1962.

354 I am indebted to Aḥmad al-Shāmī for a recording of this speech. For political reasons it has been much mis-quoted. It threatens to behead any who have been proved to have upset public security and to put the unarmed in danger (*ikhāfat al-ḍu'afā'*), and ends 'Who-ever calls me a liar, let him try—this is the horse and here is the battle-field!' The speech is much punctuated by the loud cheering of the good citizens of Hodeidah and others present, especially when the punishments are described by the Imām. Al-Zubayrī made a poetic riposte to the speech taking up the words *Hādha 'l-faras, wa-hādha 'l-maydān*.

355 *Al-Tārīkh al-sirrī li-'l-thawrat al-Yamaniyyah*, Beirut, February, 1977. Juzaylān allows himself a greater role than he actually played. Cf. Aḥmad al-Raḥūmī and others, *Asrār wa-wathā'iq al-thawrah*, Beirut, 1978.

356 Al-Badr when I spoke with him in the Cave at al-Qārah in 1964, told me he was well acquainted with Nasser's expansionist ambitions down the Red Sea from the days when they held discussions together.

357 Al-Shamāhī 315.

358 This information was personally confirmed to me by President al-Iryānī when I questioned him on the point in 1969.

Imām Aḥmad believed the British had at least condoned the murder of his father³⁵⁹ and it is said furthermore that he was under some pressure from Arab nationalist sentiment to assert Yemeni claims to Protectorate territories. He was successful in getting the British Government to agree to direct communication with London—not through Aden where Yemeni conditions were much better understood. He saw less chance of acquiring Protectorate territory as it developed under British tutelage, and conditions were markedly better there than in his own country. Even before the abortive federation proposals of early 1954 Aḥmad was encouraging dissident tribesmen (of whom a supply is always available) with presents of rifles, grain and money, to create *fitnah* beyond his borders. The independent Sultanates had no wish to join the Yemen and this brought them in to a federal agreement promulgated in February 1959.

In his last years Aḥmad had come to realise that while the British were blocking the way to expansion of Mutawakkilite Yemen southwards they constituted no menace to his country and the real danger to the régime came from Nasser. He therefore adjusted his policy towards the British and this is marked by his appointment of Aḥmad al-Shāmī as ambassador to Britain in 1961. When an attempt was made on the British representative in Ta'izz in January 1962, Ronald Bailey, the Imām hastened to send an envoy to Aden to declare his regret and offer amends. The curious circumstances in which the would-be assassin Muḥammad Aḥmad Qunbulah, though apprehended, escaped, seem to suggest that there was a conspiracy to upset relations between the Yemen and Britain.

The situation fraught with dangers, the Imām's death was concealed for some days. Then his body was flown to Ṣan'ā', emotional crowds at Ta'izz expressing their grief, only a few days

later to hail 'the Revolution'. Aḥmad was buried in the little mosque he had founded, al-Rawḍah³⁶⁰ in Bīr al-'Azab. A prominent 'ālim who accompanied the body to Ṣan'ā' had been warned by the Muftī of Aden, al-Bayḥānī, not to return to the Yemen—he must have had more than an inkling of the conspiracies of which there were many of varied political hues.

Al-Badr was proclaimed Imām in Ṣan'ā' and allegiance paid him by large numbers of leading ulema, chiefs, officials and army officers. Nasser, as the writer has been reliably informed by a leading Yemeni Republican official, was caught not quite prepared and complained that he had to recognise al-Badr as Imām. On instructions from Cairo one presumes, the Egyptian chargé d'affaires, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāḥid, frightened the young officer conspiracy of 'Abdullāh Juzaylān by telling them their plot was blown, and they had better act at once. In the early hours of the 26 September 1962, some fifty officers attacked Dār al-Bashā'ir, rather incompetently, with six tanks. Al-Badr and his guards put up a spirited fight—but the Imām was unable to get in touch with al-Sallāl or the loyal Ahnūmī soldiers in the Qaṣr because the telephone wires had been cut. In the morning al-Badr slipped away to the northern wall, the people on the roofs murmuring *Allāh yaḥfaẓ al-Imām*, in blessing as he passed. He set out for Ḥajjah to rally the tribes to him.

A great massacre of the leading officials in Ṣan'ā' followed, many of them ulema of distinction, others like Aḥmad Zabārah were thrown into prison. The officers at an utter loss about what to do with their 'revolution' and in fear of the possible consequences, brought in 'Abdullāh al-Sallāl whom al-Badr had raised to the rank of Chief of Staff in charge of the dispositions against the possibility of an attack by his uncle Ḥasan, and *faute de mieux* he became the first President of the Yemen Arab Republic.

359 The late R. Tring informed me that a flight by the Governor of Aden to see the new Wazir Government in Ṣan'ā' was only put off from landing by heavy

rain at Ṣan'ā'. This doubtless lent colour to Aḥmad's in fact unfounded suspicions.

360 This mosque is closed and not used.

Chapter 9

Western Accounts of Ṣan'ā' 1510-1962

Most Western visitors to Ṣan'ā' were impressed by the beauty or the character of the city. Their narratives are by no means always totally reliable for many did not know Arabic or lacked the background knowledge fully to understand what they saw. However, their accounts often contain details of not inconsiderable importance which may be used to supplement other sources and some, particularly those of a few really excellent observers, contain information not available elsewhere. This chapter attempts to chronicle what they actually said rather than to criticize their descriptions.

The first account of Ṣan'ā' by a European was published in Rome in 916/1510 and translated into English some seventy years later. The author was Ludovico di Varthema* a 'Gentleman of the Citie of Rome' whose travels had already taken him to Medina and to Mecca and were to lead him to the Indies scarcely a decade after Vasco da Gama. His description is of a city

situate uppon a verye hyghe mountayne, verye strong by Arte and Nature. The Soltan besyged this, with a great armye of fourescore thousande men for the space of three monethes, but could never wynne it. . . . The walles are of eyghteene cubites heyght, and twentie in breadth, insomuch that eyght camels in order may wel marche upon them. The region is very fruitfull and lyke unto ours, and hath plentie of water. . . . The soyle beareth certayne spyces not farre from the citie. It conteyneth about foure thousand houses. The houses are of fayre buyldyng, and give no place to ours. The citie is so large, that it conteyneth within the walles, fieldes, gardens, and medowes.

There is only one disadvantage in this most attractive place:

the Sultan's son, by a certayne naturall tyrannye and madness, delyteth to eat mans fleshe, and therefore secretly killeth many to eat them.

As such a practice would be un-Islamic, once may suspect that di Varthema was either the victim or the propagator of a real traveller's tale.

No other Europeans appear to have visited Ṣan'ā' before it fell under the sway of the Turks in 946/1539 when it became the seat of a Pasha. It was to this official that two Iberian Jesuits were sent after being captured off the Kuria Muria islands in 998/1590, becoming en route the first Christians to see Ḥaḍramawt and Ma'rib. Pedro Paez, who was later to be responsible for the conversion of the Emperor of Ethiopia and for some of the finest buildings in that country, spent five years as a captive in Ṣan'ā' before he was ransomed. There he met some Portuguese who had been sent as prisoners to work in the Pasha's garden. According to him the city had declined since Turkish occupation to a mere

*Source references are located at the end of the chapter and are arranged in the order in which they occur in the text.

2,500 houses, of which 500 were occupied by Jews. He noted that many of the fruits found in Portugal grew within its walls, all watered from wells for there was no spring within the city.

In 1018/April 1609 the first English ship reached Aden and troubles with local Governors there and at Mocha led to a series of visits, often under duress, to the Pasha of the Yemen by East India Company merchants. In May 1018/1609 John Jourdain set off with another factor and two renegades from Aden. In his *Journal* he records 'This citty of Senan is noe great cittie, but well seated in a valley, and walled aboute with earth in manner of greate stone squared, very curiouslie made for beeing earth, havinge every fortie paces distannce a watch howse or little tower with battlements . . . twelve foote thicke, and to outward shewe is as faire as a stone wall. The cittie is aboute two miles compasse within the walls, and hath within it a very faire and large castle of stone, with some ordinance but not much.' In this citadel were kept hostages, according to a later traveller perhaps numbering 1,000, from the various Arab tribes guarded by soldiers who, to quote the next visitor, Sir Henry Middleton, 'keep such a continual hallooing to each other all night long, that one unaccustomed to the noise, can hardly sleepe'.

Jourdain's account continues 'The buildinge within the citty is of bricke, and many faire howses and churches with fayre towres, and many prettye gardens within the towne.' Nearby is 'one littell hill' (a curious description of the towering Jabal Nuqum) 'upon the topp of which standeth a platforme or bulwarke with some ordinance and watch kept, because on this mountaine there are found many sorts of stones, as cat's eyes, agatts and blud stones in greate number.' Much of the trade, he found, was with the Bāniyāns of Gujerat who imported textiles and metals and exported madder. His summary is 'a very firtill cittie for all provision of victuall and fruite, and reasonable cheape. A wholesome and pleasant place to dwell in, and a temperate aire, neither too hott nor too cold'—except in the early morning.

Sir Henry Middleton was in Ṣan'ā' two years later, having been sent up as a prisoner from Mocha. He adds little to Jourdain except to say that on the west side there is a great deal of spare ground enclosed within the walls, where the principal people have their gardens, orchards, and kiosks, or pleasure-houses. He admired the fine buildings of stone and lime and adds that 'The city of Zenan is somewhat larger than Bristol.' The pedantic Scotsman who edited his text comments severely 'a most improper mode of description, as it is now impossible to say what size Bristol was then.' In fact there seems little doubt that the population of Bristol was then about 12,000—a figure which would be quite reasonable for Ṣan'ā' at the same time.

A contemporary visitor, Benjamin Green, noted that the merchants included Armenians, Greeks and Persians as well as Indians and Jews. He thought that the city was at least two miles in compass with buildings of stone and beautiful lime 'as good as plaister of Parris.' 'Yt is walled rownde with mudd walls and abowte or neere adjoyning to the citty gates it is build with stone; and likewise in the insyde, of a manns highte yt is built with lime and stone rownd abowt.' The only thing lacking was firewood, in place of which people burned camel's dung. Another East Indian merchant, Joseph Salbank, also visited Ṣan'ā' at this time and he seems to have been treated with special deference. At each town on the way from Mocha he was escorted to the Governor by infantry and cavalry. At 'Sinan' itself he was greeted a mile outside the gates by 50 mounted Turks and led to a well-furnished house. He reported that the city was so cold that 'it will give vent yearly to a good quantity of English cloth' for even in the height of the summer it was possible to wear a furred gown. The court contained 40-50,000 gallant Turks, most of whom wore expensive Venetian cloth. Not far away was a *leskar* or camp of 30,000 soldiers continuously in the field against an Arab King in the mountains. They were said to wear coats of quilted Indian chintzes which were expensive and little use in the cold. Salbank said there was another *leskar* near 'Teyes' with a further 30,000 men under a German renegado. Kerr, whom we have just seen criticising Middleton's figures for the population of Ṣan'ā', decided in nineteenth century Edinburgh, that the final 'ō' should be lopped from those of Salbank.

Hard on the heels of the English came the Dutch whose first ship reached Mocha in 1025/January 1616. The Captain-Major of the fleet, Pieter van den Broecke, went up to 'Chenna' to interview the Turkish Pasha, who turned out to be a courteous Hungarian who kept great state, with an entourage including 200 richly dressed noblemen and a tame leopard. Van den Broecke was impressed by the antiquity of the city—by the well more than 100 arms-lengths deep which was said to have been dug by Jacob and produced water too cold to drink and the beautiful mosque which contained a piece of Noah's ark. He reported the existence of another mosque with more than 100 columns, each made from a single stone and which contained many pre-Christian antiquities. He enjoyed the outside view of the four tall minarets and the three gates of bluish stone, but does not tell us if he availed himself of the public baths although he does say that they were used by men in the morning and women in the afternoon. In the ten years that the Dutch struggled to trade with the area, there were several other visitors but none seem to have left any account. This brief flurry of European contact ended with the expulsion of the Turks in 1039/1630.

Nearly a century and a half were to pass before any more Europeans set foot in the city; indeed de la Roque who visited Mocha in 1123/1711 thought that no Westerner had ever seen Ṣan'ā'. From hearsay he reported the ruins of an enormous pre-Islamic palace in the centre of the town and of a temple built by a Christian Emperor of Ethiopia in an attempt to attract worshippers away from Mecca. People said that the climate was perfect, the nights and days of equal length, that the streets were paved and the walls were wide enough for eight horses to walk abreast.

A more credulous visitor, Captain Alexander Hamilton, was questioning Mocha folk around the same time. They told him that

In all the Streets (of Sounan) there are Brokers for Wives, so that a Stranger who has not the Conveniency of an House in the City to lodge in, may marry, and be made a free Burgher for a small Sum. When the Man sees his Spouse, and likes her, they agree on the Price and Term of Weeks, Months or Years, and then appear before the Cadjee or Judge of the

Place, and enter their Names and Terms in his Book, which costs but a Shilling or thereabout. And joyning Hands before him, the Marriage is valid, for better, for worse, till the Expiration of the Term agreed on.

It is easier to believe the rest of his story¹ that Ṣan'ā' is the centre for goods brought from India and that each trade has its own street.

It was not until 1177 July/1763 that Ṣan'ā' received its first real explorer—Carsten Niebuhr, accompanied by the other survivors of the mission sent to Arabia by the Danish King Frederik V. He spent a mere ten days in the city but has left an account which contains more useful information than that of any previous visitor. As Wilson was to report some thirty years later, no European was allowed to approach mounted within a certain distance of the capital and Niebuhr records the humiliation that he felt as his servants continued on their asses while he and his European companions had to walk to their lodgings. Like other subsequent travellers, he was prevented by a strict etiquette from either making or receiving visits until he had paid his respects to the Imām.

This important event occurred on the third day after their arrival. Niebuhr was conducted to 'a spacious square chamber having an arched roof.' In the middle was a large basin with fountains; which he does not describe although in an account of the garden of the *Wazīr* he remarked how they were set in motion by the water being raised in a reservoir by an ass which was led by a servant. These fountains were very common and served to cool the air.

The visitors were led up to the Imām and were permitted to kiss the back and palm of his hand, as well as the hem of his robe. As each of the party performed the ceremony, a herald shouted 'God preserve the Imām', while the bystanders echoed the sentiment. The Ruler, dressed in a great white turban and a gown of bright green colour with large sleeves and rich filleting of gold lace on each side of his breast sat on silken cushions. After a courteous reception he sent each of the foreigners a purse of small change—a real civility which stopped them from being swindled by the money changers. This reception was followed by a call on the principal *Wazīr*.

Niebuhr says that the city of Ṣan'ā' lies at the foot of Mount Nikkum (Nuqum), on which are still to be seen the ruins of a castle which the Arabs suppose to have been built by Shem. Below the height stands the castle with a rivulet and nearby, outside the city, the walled Bustan al-Metwokkel (Bustān al-Mutawakkil), a spacious garden which was laid out by Imām Metwokkel (al-Qāsim al-Husayn, 1126-39/1716-27) and embellished by the reigning Imām ('Abbās b. Husayn, 1161-89/1748-79).

Niebuhr says that it took about an hour to walk around the brick walls of the main city. He attempted to make a map but found it impossible to be accurate because of the excited crowd—an experience not unknown to photographers today! He reported that the city appeared more populous than it was in reality because of the large expanse of gardens within the walls. It contained many 'noble palaces', three of the most splendid of which were constructed by the present monarch. He particularly admired the place built by the previous Imām, al-Manṣūr (1151-61/1727-48). In the castle Niebuhr found the ruins of old buildings but 'notwithstanding the antiquity of the place, no remarkable inscriptions. There is the mint, and a range of prisons for persons of different ranks.' There was a battery with, surprisingly, a German mortar of 1513 and seven small cannon. There were also two palaces which 'are built in a style of architecture different from ours. The materials are, however, burnt bricks, and sometimes even hewn stones; but the houses of the common people are of bricks which have been dried in the sun. I saw no glass windows, except in one palace, near the citadel. The rest of

¹ This looks like the Shi'ah practice of *mut'ah* or temporary marriage, except that this, according to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is not permitted by the Zaydis.

houses have, instead of windows, merely shutters, which are opened in fair weather, and shut when it is foul. In the last case, the house is lighted by a round wicket, fitted with a piece of Muscovy glass; some of the Arabians use small panes of stained glass from Venice.'

Niebuhr noted that the city had seven gates and 'only' twelve public baths. He gives no particulars of them but goes on to describe the 'great Simseras (*samsarah*) or caravanserais for merchants and travellers. Each different commodity is sold in a separate market. In the market for bread, none but women are to be seen; and their little shops are portable. The several classes of mechanics work, in the same manner, in particular quarters in the open street. Writers go about with their desks, and make out briefs, copy-books, and instruct scholars in the art of writing, all at the same time. There is one market, where old clothes are taken in exchange for new.'

Like Green before him, Niebuhr commented upon the shortage of wood among the bleak and barren hills of the Yemen. It had to be brought from some three days' journey away and a camel load cost two crowns (*qirsh*). The shortage was supplemented by 'pit-coal'² and peat mixed with straw. This shortage was amply compensated for by the richness of the fruits—some twenty varieties of grapes ripening gradually throughout the months. The Arabs hung them in their cellars to preserve them while the Jews turned them into wine. Others were exported in the form of raisins.

Outside the walls lay the suburb of Bir al Assab (Bīr al-'Azab) with houses scattered through the gardens along the bank of a small river. This and the nearby village of Rodda (al-Rawḍah) reminded Niebuhr of Damascus and indeed he said that after long rains a small rivulet runs through the city. Aqueducts from Jabal Nikkum supplied an abundance of fresh water.

Niebuhr visited the Jewish 'village' of Kaa el Ihud (Qā' al-Yahūd), of which he estimated the population at 2,000. Like so many subsequent writers he regarded them as the best artisans in Arabia, potters and goldsmiths, who came to Ṣan'ā' by day and returned at night for they were not permitted to sleep in the city. They were lightly taxed—125 crowns a month for the entire community—but treated with contempt and forced to wear special dress. They were suffering particularly at the time of Niebuhr's visit because one of their most important merchants had just attracted the Imām's displeasure. All houses in their quarter 'above the height of 14 fathoms' had been destroyed, although some had been as fine as any house in Ṣan'ā' itself and 14 synagogues had been demolished.

Another community that attracted Niebuhr's attention was that of the Bāniyāns. He reckoned their number at 125 and found them financially oppressed. They paid 300 crowns a month for permission to reside in the city and suffered great exactions if there were an heir; if not, the Imām took all the property.

Niebuhr was fortunate enough to see the Imām returning from his Friday devotions attended by the princes and followed by some hundreds of soldiers. A parasol, the emblem of royalty, sheltered him from the sun and on each side was borne a standard 'having upon it a small silver box filled with amulets, whose efficacy was imagined to render him invincible. . . . The riders paced or galloped, at pleasure, and all went in confusion. Near a gate were stationed some pairs of camels bearing carriages, in which some of the Imām's wives often ride upon such occasions; but the carriages were at this time empty and served only to fill up the procession. Behind the camels, which bore these, were 12 others, bearing nothing but some small flags, fixed, by way of ornament, to their saddles.' It is interesting to contrast this description with that given by Cruttenden seventy years later in the reign of 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Manṣūr. He reported that the Imām carried a gold shafted spear, tipped with silver and rode with his left hand resting on the shoulder of a confidential eunuch.

2. Nazih, *Rihlah*, says coal is found in Wādī Rijām.

Upon his arrival at the great open space in front of the Palace, his attendants ranged themselves in a square while, followed by his relations, the Imām repeatedly galloped around, feinting to attack the nearest horseman. He then dismounted and stood while anyone who wished could approach and kiss his knee.

Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt brought a renewal of British interest in the political situation of the Red Sea littoral even before the occupation of Aden in 1839 made the two countries into neighbours. Two separate accounts exist of visits to Ṣan'ā' around the turn of the century but unfortunately neither gives a detailed description of the city. Both Samuel Wilson in 1797 and Dr Pringle in 1801 established precedents; the former was the first to enter Ṣan'ā' in European clothes and the latter the first to do so mounted. Each was given a guard to keep the curious at bay, by use of sticks if necessary, while Wilson was honoured by the attendance of a band, which, like subsequent Westerners, he considered energetic rather than harmonious. Both were extremely interested in the food set before them; Wilson writes of sixty dishes of meat dressed in different ways and four large silver coffee pots while Pringle 'remembered twenty-five dishes of tinned copper and stone, covered with rich muslin and kincobs, arranged on the floor by the Imaum's female housekeeper.'

Wilson, alas, one must regard as credulous rather than credible. He believed that the city was founded by a Beduin General 'Sham ibn Noah, after whose demise the Turks obtained possession of it'—a chronology it would be difficult to establish. Furthermore he reported that the population was nearly one million souls for someone had told him that the Imām had taxed each household in Ṣan'ā' and its suburbs a dollar (*qirsh/riyāl*) and that this imposition had raised 200,000 thalers. More acceptably he stated that the Imām was only rarely resident within the city but usually moved at weekly intervals through a series of houses in the vicinity. He was very impressed by the police force: 'robbers being seldom if ever heard of'. The guns on the walls that previous travellers had noticed had apparently disappeared.

His immediate successor, Pringle, was more concerned with the difficulties of transporting rich presents for the Imām on camel-back up from the coast at Mocha. He was rewarded, however, by the Ruler's evident delight in a large looking-glass. He had several hospitable receptions at court and one cultural evening when he was sent for to explain to the Qāḍī 'the principles of the action of an electrical machine and the use of some instruments such as globes, quadrants, portable sundials.'

It is unfortunate that so little has survived of the reports of the next visitor to Ṣan'ā', Ulrich Jasper Seetzen whom Hogarth has described as 'a botanist of European reputation, a profound observer of things and men, and a most learned Arabist . . . in many respects the best qualified European traveller who had yet come to Arabia.' He had already visited Mecca to qualify as a Ḥajjī, the better to serve his Russian masters in Muslim territories. He wrote occasional reports back for a German publication and, presumably, for the Czar, but his main notes and his diaries disappeared after his murder near Ta'izz. He had travelled widely but he still felt that 'Szanna' was the finest city that he had yet seen in the Orient and that, even in Europe, it would have been regarded as outstandingly beautiful. Constantinople might have finer mosques but not even Damascus had such a glut of fruit. He admired the gardens and the massive houses, standing compactly, painted with white or other colours. The Imām, at the time of his visit in 1810, Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Mutawakkil, lived in a new palace in the Bustān al-Mutawakkil. He found many manuscripts for sale in the sūq—alas, these presumably were lost with the rest of his possessions.

A quarter of a century elapsed before, during the brief reign of 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Manṣūr, Charles Cruttenden of the Indian Navy arrived in Ṣan'ā'. He was gratified by the hospitality of the Imām who sent him five sheep, wax candles and Persian tobacco,

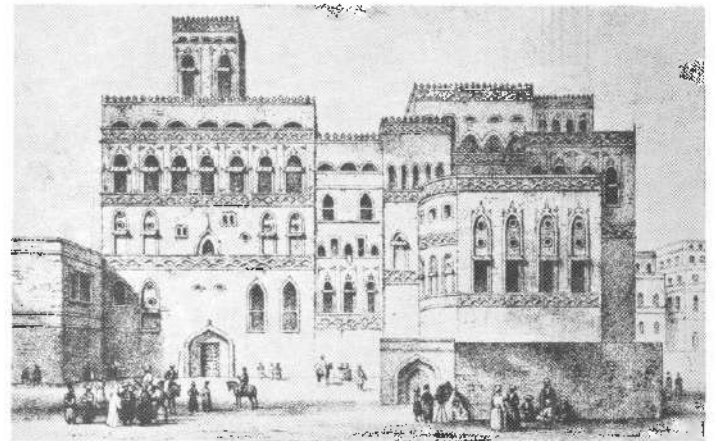
but was shocked by the Ruler's personal habits. At the official reception the Imām wore a robe of crimson silk, a white turban wrapped around a cap of cloth of gold and a dagger studded with gems. Outside the palace was picketed the royal stud of very fine horses brought from the Jawf—horses larger than those of Najd but just as beautiful.

Cruttenden was a shrewd observer and a talented draughtsman so it is a great pity that only two of the sketches that he presented to the Royal Geographical Society can still be found. He estimated the population at 40,000 or 75,000 if the suburbs of al-Rawḍah and Wādī Ḍahr were included. This included some 3,000 Jews, living in their quarter and paying one *riyāl* a year for the privilege of doing so. They sold silver, gunpowder and alcoholic spirits while in other parts of the *sūq* one could purchase ancient square golden coins and jewels brought from Ma'rib. Cruttenden himself bought and sent to England the marble head of a perfectly beautiful statue which had been smashed upon the orders of the Imām. Import duties were almost nominal and glass from Egypt was in great demand. Other shops sold magnificent silks and velvets as well as spices and sugar. There were huge storehouses where the merchants brought in the main crop—coffee—during the months of December and January. To avoid the extortion of the Turks to the north, they sent it to Mocha at the cost of 44 *riyāls* a camel load—making a profit of 3½ *riyāls* a time. The merchants formed the principal body of men in the town and lived in considerable style. Non-Muslim merchants, Jews and Bāniyāns had to conceal their wealth.

Cruttenden reported that the city walls now included Bīr al-'Azab, although they had not done so in Niebuhr's time, and measured some 5½ miles in circuit. 'The first thing that struck us on entering the city was the width of the streets and their cleanliness.' There were about twenty mosques, many with gilded domes—particularly those in which an Imām had been buried. There were pleasant baths on the same pattern as those of Egypt and these were much frequented by the wealthy merchants. 'The houses are large, and the windows of those of the higher classes are of beautiful stained glass. A handsome stone bridge is thrown across the principal street, as in wet weather a stream of water runs down it.'

Cruttenden tells us that 'The Imam of Sanaa has two large palaces with extensive gardens adjoining; the whole walled round and fortified. The first and largest is called Bustan el Sultan . . . the other, which is the more ancient, Bustan el-Merwokkil. They are built of hewn stone, plastered over with a grey-coloured mortar, having the windows and cornices of a bright white colour which gives the house a very light and airy appearance. Fountains appear to be indispensable to the houses in Sanaa, and in the Bustan el-Merwokkil there are several.' Indeed there was one in the house in which Cruttenden was lodged—a fountain covered by an enormous vine.

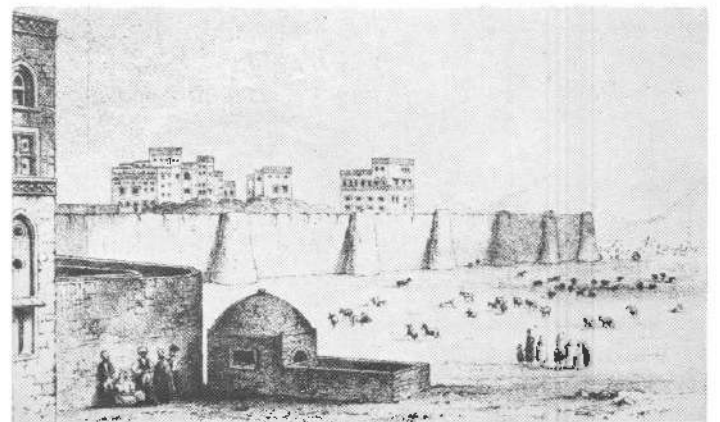
The same year (1836) Šan'ā' received a visit from one of the most extraordinary characters of the age, the Revd. Joseph Wolff, a converted Jew who was later to reach Bokhara dressed in an academic cap and gown and proclaiming himself to be the Grand Dervish of the United Kingdom, Europe and America. He seems to have thought that the 'B'nee Arhab' were the remnants of the Rechabites, the nomadic group of teetotal Jews who are mentioned by Jeremiah and his task was to convert them to the obedience of Canterbury. He travelled up from Hodeidah, appropriately loaded with Arabic versions of the *New Testament*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Robinson Crusoe*, which he distributed to a largely illiterate population which presumably found some use for them. The local Jews, although probably surprised, received him with courtesy and the Chief Rabbi told him that the city was the Biblical Uzal and that when one of the gates, the 'Bab Alstraan' (Bāb al-Sitrān) was opened, the first to pass through it would be the Messiah. The Jews he found, practiced polygamy, but few had more than two wives 'and even then there is a devil among



9.1 The palace of the Imam in Šan'ā', drawn by Cruttenden in the mid 13th/19th century.

them.' He counted 18 synagogues of which the most important was the 'Keneese Beit Alusta' (Kanīsat al-Uṣṭā) and saw an ancient house in ruins—Qasr Šem (who) he believed, was the priest Melchisidek. The Imām, who seems to have been spared a visit from Wolff, lived in 'a most splendid palace, called Dar Attowashe' (Dār al-Ṭawāshi) 'built in a Gothic style and resembling a fortress.' On his way back to the coast after a short stay the Revd. Wolff encountered some Ismā'īlis who discovered that his books did not mention the Prophet Muḥammad so they gave him a sound thrashing.

The next account that we have of Šan'ā' is given by a French naval officer, Passama, although it appears that he collected information while at Ḥays rather than visited the city in person. He says that there were more than 400 houses of at least four storeys in height, four public baths, a hundred cafés and thirty mosques of which the principal one had a minaret 120 feet tall and was lit with 350 lamps. There were wells so great that five people could draw water simultaneously and 500 cisterns fed by cemented canals. It took twenty minutes to walk around the citadel which was garrisoned by 500 soldiers and the walls, guarded by thirty cannon, had to be renewed annually after the rain. The trade of the city was monopolised by its 500 Jews who manufactured narghiles, cottons, *jambiyahs* (daggers) and pitchers.



9.2 The walls of Šan'ā', drawn by Cruttenden in the mid 13th/19th century.

In 1843 a Frenchman, Arnaud, revisited Šan'ā' where he had already spent some time as a pharmacist in the service of the Imām. I have been unable to find anything written by him about the city for he seems to have regarded it as little more than a staging-post on the way to Ma'rib, which he was the first European to study. The same, unfortunately, is true of the Austrian scholar, Eduard Glaser, who was in Šan'ā' several times in the 1880s. In July 1849 the city came briefly under Turkish rule. There was an almost immediate revolt and the garrison turned its guns on the *sūq*. After a few days the Pasha purchased a safe withdrawal for his force and his departure was followed by a period of anarchy

which still persisted when in September 1856 a second missionary arrived to convert the Jews. This was the Revd. Henry Aaron Stern who took up residence with one of the principal Rabbis although he soon had to move to safety in the house of a Muslim merchant.

He reported that the population was about 40,000 although he must have over-estimated the Jewish numbers which he gives as 18,000, some of whom were descendants of those who had fled from Nebuchadnezzar! They had 18 synagogues, the most important of which the 'Kaneesa Beit Alushta', he described as a spacious and solid building. He reckoned the distance between the Muslim and Jewish towns at half an hour's walk—a large tract of waste land, varied by cemeteries and fragments of former dwellings: 'On the Jewish Sabbath this piece of ground is entirely deserted; not a human being is to be seen, not a voice breaks the dull silence, here and there a bird of prey and a savage jackal may be seen prowling among the tombs in search of food; even they, if their shrill and discordant notes had any signification, seem to think that no one had any right to intrude on these domains on the seventh day.'

Mr. Stern lodged at the Khan of 'Ali Zarkee, 'a spacious and massive building, situated in the very centre of the market place, and surrounded on three sides by long lines of bazaars, where Jews and Mahomedans were all day congregated. Before the gate of the Khan many idle loiterers, and blustering coffee drinkers, were assembled when we arrived.' He reported that only three Bāniyāns remained in the city and two of these were murdered during his stay. He said that the standard coin was a copper called a rupee—600 of which equalled one shilling.

The city was sacked by tribes of Arḥab in 1851 and 1853, so the return of the Turks in April 1871 was greeted almost with relief. Certainly the epigrapher, Joseph Halévy, who was there at the end of 1869 reported that half the buildings were in ruins, Bīr al-'Azab was practically uninhabited, Qaşr Ghumdān destroyed and the mint sacked by a mob looking for gold and silver. The Mosque known locally as the 'Kanisah' because it had been founded by the Christian Governor Abrahah, was mainly rubble. He reckoned that the population had sunk from 200,000 to something around 50,000. There was a brighter side, however, for he regarded Şan'ā' as the most beautiful and cleanest town in Arabia, with streets that were wide, straight and usually paved. Remarkably for Arabs, he said, even the inside of the houses were not dirty. Halévy listed the gates as follows:

- 1) Bāb al-Şabāḥ (Gate of the Morning), which consists of two parallel gates linking Bīr al-'Azab with the main town. There was, therefore, a little square between the southern
- 2) Bab Houzayma (Bāb Khuzaymah—Gate of the little heaps) which led to a sunken cemetery and the northern
- 3) Bāb Bustān al-Mutawakkil which led to the ruined palace of the Imāms. Opposite it was:
- 4) Bāb al-Shaqādīf (Gate of the Palanquins), so called because it was used by the ladies of the Imāms riding in litters carried by camels. The southern gate of the main town was
- 5) Bāb al-Yaman and the northern
- 6) Bāb Şu'ūb, while to the east was
- 7) Bāb al-Qaşr which has broad stone steps leading up to the Qaşr Ghumdān—a name now hardly remembered by the majority of the people.

In Bīr al-'Azab, the north west gate is called Bāb al-'Abīlah and there are two others for the names of which Halévy can give no reason—Bāb al-Rūm and Bāb al-Shari. The main gate of Qā' al-Yahūd by which comers from the Tihāmah entered, was simply called Bāb al-Qā'. The southern part of the quarter which was called Balaqah had a gate called Bab Hathaba (probably Bāb Ḥaṭabah—Firewood Gate—as some firewood came through this gate; see p. 190a, n. 192) and returning towards Bāb al-Şabāḥ one found Bāb al-Nuzayli/Nizayli. The plentiful fountains gave

abundant water and two streams crossed the town. The larger, Ghayl al-Aswad flows out as far as Şu'ūb where it is used to irrigate the gardens while the smaller Ghayl Alāf soon loses itself. There was once, he was told, a third, the Ghayl al-Barmakī but this was so evil-smelling that a learned Rabbi threw some Cabbalistic signs into its source, whereupon it dried up and never reappeared!

He visited the Fort of Bīrāsh which the Arabs called the Qaşr of Sām b. Nūḥ and which the Jews claimed was once their citadel. He found it about 1,000 feet long and 500 feet wide but so ruined that no wall was more than twelve feet high. The bystanders did not like his copying of inscriptions, fearing that he was writing talismans. He was told that the name of the city originated from the Ethiopian invaders, who, looking at its huge walls cried out 'Sanaa!' which meant 'It is strong.'

Curiously Halévy stated that the city was the most fanatical in all southern Arabia and was particularly dangerous for non-Muslims at the time when the Sharifs of Khawlān were preparing to lead the Kibsi Caravan to Mecca for the Ḥajj. It was rarely possible even to catch a glimpse of the mosques for their massive doors were nearly always closed. However, from the outside, the architecture rivalled some of the finest buildings in Andalusia. He counted eighteen synagogues, agreeing with the previous writers that the most important was Kanisat Bayt al-Uṣṭā dating from 1760. Tradition had it that its builder was a certain 'Arāqī, a Minister of Finance who was probably the man whose disgrace Niebuhr had mentioned.

The next visitor also remarked upon the ruined state of the city. Charles Millingen, a Scots doctor, whose visit took place in 1873, estimated the population at a mere 20,000 including the Turkish garrison of 1,000 men. He thought it would take two hours to walk around the city but, owing to incessant rain, does not appear to have tried. It was freezing, the Turkish doctors all said that the 'climate was positively unhealthy', and all the locals were swathed in furs.

Apart from Niebuhr, none of the travellers that we have mentioned so far went to Şan'ā' with exploration of the city as a primary objective. But this was the purpose of two visits by an Italian, Renzo Manzoni, who was there from October 1877 to March 1878 and from August 1878 to January 1879. He spent a further fortnight there in February 1880. The value of his descriptive writing was enhanced by the fact that he was the first to publish any photographs.

He shows us a city which had started to undergo changes through Turkish rule. The Pasha Ismā'il Ḥaqqī, toasted the King of Italy in claret and owned the solitary carriage in Şan'ā'. There was a weekly postal service and telegraphic link to Hodeidah. The health of the garrison was protected by a 'magnificent and immense' hospital built in the European style with two storeys and wide corridors and equipped with a pharmacy and mortuary. The Turks had also founded a school which gave some technical education.

Manzoni reckoned that the walls of Şan'ā', which because the local earth mixed with water (*zābūr*) hardened to resemble stone, looked like an enormous pudding, were 6,843m in circumference. Strangely, his list of gates does not correspond with that quoted by Halévy. They agree on Bāb al-Qaşr and Bāb al-Yaman but he derives the name of Bāb Şu'ūb not from the nearby village but (incorrectly) from the presence of bushes. Where Halévy has Bāb al-Şabāḥ (Gate of the Morning), Manzoni has Bāb al-Sobah (Gate of the Ditch). The only other gate that he names is Bāb al-Sitrān which he translates Covered or secret gate, but which should be Gate of the Columns, to the south, serving as an exit from the citadel.

Manzoni treats al-Mutawakkil as a separate quarter of the 'conurbation' with Bāb al-Antabah to the south and Bāb al-Shaqādīf to the north. The third part, surrounded by a wall 6,496m in length, consisted of Bīr al-'Azab, the broad open space

Ṣulbī Qā' al-Yahūd itself. His list of eight gates is practically identical with that of Halévy, Bāb al-Nuzaylī, Bāb al-Balaqah, Bāb al-Rūm, Bāb al-'Abīlah, Bāb Qā' al-Yahūd, Bāb al-Sharī(?) In addition he gives Bāb al-Sharah (al-Sharārah), uniting Bīr al-'Azab with *San'ā'* and he places Bāb Khuzaymah in Bīr al-'Azab.

It is not proposed to deal here with Manzoni's descriptions of the forty-eight mosques and the ten baths of *San'ā'*, for these are noticed elsewhere. Nor is it necessary here to set out his descriptions of domestic architecture although references to some individual buildings are of interest. He tells us that the most important house still in existence is the large and ancient Dār al-Dhahab which had an artificial well at the height of its top storey; a viaduct of earth led down to the garden and camels and oxen moved along it drawing water.

Two great buildings had been destroyed. The famous Dār al-Ṭawāshī which had held 360 rooms, adorned with rich inscriptions, an immense staircase, vast courts and spacious gardens full of ponds, had been wrecked in an uprising some fifty years before. The Imāms had once had two other palaces within the city itself, Dār al-Makhdad' and Dār 'Naamān'. Manzoni himself on his first visit saw the great barracks, Dār 'Sabro' which had been built during the first Turkish occupation 'in pure and rich Arab style' before it was demolished in 1878 by Muṣṭafā 'Aṣim Pasha. It had nine storeys of which the top had been a single painted room 'in Pompeian style'. The stairs were so well made that the Commandant was able to keep his favourite white donkey in a stall on the sixth floor. Manzoni was told that the decoration had been the work of Bāniyāns and Persians. The interior walls of the Mutawakkil palace were still standing with the military hospital rising from its ruins. It had three very large ponds fed by al-Ghayl al-Aswad and the Ghayl al-Barmakī. A bath and a mosque remained of the old palace complex. Manzoni enumerates the fruit and vegetables on sale in the sūq and gives a list of the trades which contains nothing unexpected. He explains that the grain market is in the central square, while behind the Bāb al-Yaman could be found the pottery market selling kitchen utensils. On the square of 'Makhazem al-Robalī', probably Makhāzin, could be found fruit and vegetables and on the square al-Ṭawāshī little stalls sold bread and other comestibles. The only slaughter-house was just by Bāb al-Yaman.

Like most other travellers Manzoni thought the city beautiful and very clean, although full of dogs. He felt, however, that Cruttenden had exaggerated its population which he himself calculated at about 20,000 Arabs, 3,000 Turks, 1,700 Jews and a Greek pharmacist. He added little on his subsequent visits except to relate that in August 1878 there had been enormous floods which had produced a real river which had damaged more than a hundred houses. The stone houses of the rich had survived but the earthen dwellings of the poor had returned to their original mud and been completely washed away.

The failure of the visits of the two previous missionaries did not discourage the Bible Society and in January 1887 a retired Major-General, F. T. Haig, was sent to see what he could do. Hardly surprisingly, the Ottoman authorities regarded him with suspicion and would not allow him to sketch or photograph or to enter the new Military Hospital. He saw, however, a new barracks under construction. His military eye noted that the guns of the citadel pointed inwards at the town and not outwards and that soldiers were forbidden to enter narrow alleys because of the danger of assassination. The atmosphere was unhappy, 'an Arab population intensely hating the few thousand Turks by whom they were held down, heavily taxed.' He put the number of inhabitants at 30-35,000 including 5,000 Jews. All the male Jews were literate, with some 700 boys studying in twenty schools. They had also 23 synagogues. He was also shown a few distinguishable relics of a Christian church.

In the same year, the French forester, Albert Deflers, who had already been in Ḥaḍramawt, made his way up from Hodeidah.

He seems to have paced out the walls of *San'ā'* for he says that from the point of the citadel to Bāb al-Yahūd is about 4,280m and the widest part of the city some 1,270m. The wall he reckoned at eight to ten metres with little towers some three metres higher. He commented upon the elegant variety of decoration in the houses with each floor level marked by an outside band. He said that the wells were three to four metres in diameter and twelve to fifteen deep and were often operated by buffaloes. He was welcomed and assisted by the brothers Luigi and Giuseppe Caprotti who had recently been installed as representatives of an Italian firm.

Deflers was more interested in the botany of the area than in the architecture of the city or the life of its inhabitants so he adds little to our historical accounts. He does however explain that the reason for the dove replacing the crescent over the minarets was to be found in the legend that when the Prophet took refuge in a cave on Jabal Thawr, two doves hung their nests over the entrance and, when pursuers arrived, were cooing with such tranquillity that it seemed impossible that there could be anyone inside. Deflers says that all of the minarets were of brick except those of the Jami' which were of stone dressed with white plaster.

In June 1891, *San'ā'* was entered for the first time by an American, the Revd. Samuel Marinus Zwemer. The country was in a state of revolt but he hired a mule and set out on his own from Hodeidah. He lodged with Caprotti who asked him to leave after one night, saying that he feared to offend the Government by entertaining a missionary; one may suspect a polite excuse for one cannot imagine from his writings that Zwemer would be a particularly congenial companion. He remained only five days but returned in August 1894 overland from Aden, reaching the city under arrest for smuggling Bibles. He stayed a fortnight.

As with his predecessors, the Jews were his target. 'It was very touching to realize', he wrote, 'that these Jews were not of the number whose ancestors rejected Jesus . . . their forefathers had left the Holy Land many, many years before.' He reckoned their number at 20,000 out of a total population of 50,000. He had travelled widely and concluded that *San'ā'* remained, next to Baghdad, the most flourishing city in all Arabia. He was reminded of Cairo, even, by the Government Quarter with its cafés, billiard rooms, large Greek shops full of European goods, carriages, bootblacks and brass band. He counted 48 mosques, 39 synagogues, 12 large public baths and a military hospital with 200 beds.

The next visitor, in 1892, Walter Harris, for many years *The Times* correspondent in Morocco, was anything but a missionary but he agreed that the Government Quarter presented an almost European appearance with its military band performing in the afternoons. He regarded the town as forming a triangle with its apex at the citadel and its base formed by the wall of 'the garden suburb', Bīr al-'Azab. The walls, on which were mounted some small guns, were of mud brick dried in the sun although the towers are of stone. To increase protection the Turks had built a series of round fortifications, resembling martello towers, a few hundred yards outside the walls. The Turks had repaired the old citadel which they used as an arsenal while there was another fort near the Hodeidah gate. Both these edifices, said Harris, contain the remains of old palaces which had fallen into disrepair. The old Imāmic palace in which the Wālī lived was so shabby that it resembled a barracks rather than a residence. Ruined, too, was the old temple and palace of Ghumdān.

Harris greatly enjoyed the sūqs of *San'ā'*. 'The shops are all of one storey, the floor being raised about two feet above the ground, but not projecting on to the street in the little platforms one is so used to in Egypt and elsewhere. Here the seller sits cross-legged amongst his goods in the shadow of his mud-brick shop, gazing in front of him into the sun-lit yellow street and beyond into the shop opposite.' Among the goods on offer were Greek and local wines but of greater interest was the extraordinary

quantity of Chinese and Japanese pottery. Very few seemed to be recently imported and some might well have been valuable antiques as were coins, gems, arms, brass and copper work, carpets, pottery and the glass of both Arabian and Persian origin that were offered for sale. There were manuscripts also and he thought that the Yemen might well prove to be as rich a field for collectors as Egypt itself.

There were some of the main streets, went on Harris, which were quite wide thoroughfares in which

the few carriages which Sanaa boasts are able to pass each other. The most important of the streets leads from the square into which the Government buildings look to the bazaars. It is only a few hundred yards in length, it is true, but still it is sufficiently wide, to compare favourably with many European towns. The 'square' itself is a large oblong open space, faced on the east by the old castle and the large much-domed Turkish mosque, and on the west by what were once the palaces of the Arab rulers, and today form barracks and Government offices. At one end of the square an enterprising Turk has built a large café where the officers and the few Greek shopkeepers love to congregate, and from the large doors and windows of which float clouds of pale-blue tobacco smoke, issuing in curling clouds from the *shishahs* of the smokers. It is from this point that the main street leads off to the bazaars, and in the few hundred yards of thoroughfare are to be seen the best shops, kept either by Turks or by Greeks, in which every imaginable article can be procured, from tins of sardines and inferior Turkish cigarettes to photograph frames and musty chocolate creams. One or two have large glass windows in which the goods are exposed to view, but they have a dingy dusty appearance and seem to tell that trade is not bright.

The vegetable and fruit bazaar was an open space with rough little awnings supported on poles. The shops of the jewellers were particularly interesting and Harris thought their work so lovely that he was reminded of 'the finest and best Greek and Etruscan work, with none of the roughness apparent in the jewellery of so many oriental countries. The favourite design seems to be single chains supporting pendants of various shapes and forms, from discs of fine filigree-work to solid pear-shaped globules of metal.'

The greatest skill of the jewellers of Ṣan'ā', said Harris, was to be found in the sheaths of the *jambiyyahs*—often of plain silver inlaid with golden coins of the Byzantine Emperors. Harris saw one of silver, studded with pearls and turquoises for which the shopkeeper asked £40. The blades were even more precious and the Yemenis particularly valued old ones, declaring that the ancient art of hardening the steel had been lost. Another lost art was the application of silver to copper and brass and old boxes covered with inscriptions in *Kūfic* or Arabic could be found.

Harris said that it was impossible to describe the style of architecture 'for it is a style that exists nowhere else. It is purely and essentially Yemenite, though in some cases gateways and windows are found of Byzantine and Gothic form. There is one house at Dhamār, built of red brick and faced with white stone, with a stone porch, that, were it set down in an English country district, would pass for Elizabethan.' Another interesting institution was that of

the khans, or caravanserais, of which there are a considerable number, the greater part being situated near the gates of the city. These buildings vary in size, but some are very large, though nearly all are in bad repair. They usually consist of large houses three and four storeys in height, open to the sky in the centre. The lower floor forms stabling for the animals while a number of rooms of various sizes open out on to the balconies which surround the court on the upper storeys. The hire of these rooms is very small, something like twopence

a night, and as many as like to crowd into it to do so. There is nearly always a café attached, where cooking can be done.

The part for stabling looked as if it had never been cleaned.

Harris reckoned the population of Ṣan'ā' at 40-50,000 of whom perhaps 20,000 were Jews. He repeated previous figures of more than twenty synagogues and 700 boys in the schools. The houses of the Qā' al-Yahūd, he said, were almost all of mud-brick but looked clean and comfortable 'though the habit of throwing all their refuse into the streets is by no means a pleasant one for the passer-by. However, in this they are little worse, if at all than the Arabs, whose drain-pipes project well over the middle of the narrow streets, through which generally flows an open drain. The passer-by has to be careful to keep near the house or wall, or he will risk coming terribly to grief.' He thought that the Jews had come from India and that none remained from pre-Islamic times.

Near the centre of Ṣan'ā' was the dry bed of the river al-Khārid which flowed after rain when it could do considerable damage; it was spanned by a bridge which provided a fine view. Nearly all the mosques, except the Turkish one, appeared in bad repair and he was told that the reason for this was that the Ottoman authorities had seized most of the Waqf properties. 'But of all the sights of Sanaa, the population presents the most interesting.'

The next account of Ṣan'ā' was published in 1899 by a Frenchman named Alfred Bardey who, although he spent 17 years in Aden, had not been there himself but obtained his information from Caprotti. According to him, the Turkish officers of the garrison compared the city to either Paris or Constantinople and wobbled around it on bicycles. The telegraphic network had been extended to include most of the major towns of the country and through Shaykh Sa'īd on the Bāb al-Mandab, it was possible to send a message anywhere in the world. Other pieces of information that he obtained were that the Yemenis thought their city so old that they termed it Umm al-Dunyā and regarded its national importance as so great that it was Kursiyy al-Yaman. He put the total length of the walls at 13½km, and the population at 60-80,000. Two new names appear in his account: he calls the stream Tanaan and the new Turkish camp al-Hordi (al-'Urḍi).

Another almost contemporary visitor was the German, Hermann Burchardt, who reached the city from Hodeidah having hired seven mules at 9½ *riyāls* for the six-day journey. Caprotti lodged him in his *samsarah* before arranging for him to move into a two-storey house hired for 16 marks a month. The furniture was of the simplest—only mats and cushions and Burchardt had to buy tables, chairs and cooking utensils at 'Californian prices' for these articles had all to be brought from the coast. However, tolerable wine and excellent araq ensured that the picture was not totally black.

Burchardt's description of Ṣan'ā' adds little to our knowledge. He put the population at 50,000 excluding 6-7,000 Jews, and ascribes the foundation of the city to Noah rather than to his son. He mentions that the fort on the top of Jabal Nuqum has a garrison of fifty men. Obviously there had been material progress under Turkish rule for now there was an official weekly newspaper Ṣan'ā' in Arabic and Turkish, a military school, two civilian schools and an industrial school in which Arab boys were learning trades. There was a State Apothecary and, in addition to the Military Hospital, a civilian one with Jewish women running the female section. Unfortunately Burchardt was murdered and, like Seetzen, the greater part of his notes (plus apparently excellent photographs) have perished.

In 1884 the British Government appointed a member of the Indian Medical Service to be Vice-Consul at Hodeidah, a post combined with supervision of the Quarantine Station at Kamarān. Neither Atta Muhammad nor Ahmad Tamiz al-Din who succeeded him in 1892 appear to have visited Ṣan'ā', although the latter suggested in August 1899 that the time had come for the appointment of a British Consular Agent in the capital; he would be able

to persuade the Wālī to answer letters and report on the country as a whole. His superior, the Consul at Jeddah disagreed, remarking acidly that what was needed was merely a more effective Vice-Consul in Hodeidah. However, in 1901 another member of the I.M.S., George Alexander Richardson, was appointed to Hodeidah and he began a series of almost annual visits until the outbreak of war led to his removal. Richardson was a first-class observer of political and military events, but I have been unable to find much descriptive writing about Ṣan'ā' in his reports. In 1905 he gave the population as 20,000 but that was before the heavy fighting the following year. Early in 1906, the new Imām Yaḥyā b. Maṣṣūr started to besiege the capital which surrendered to him in April. About 2,000 Turkish officials and their families were evacuated but in August they re-entered the city without much opposition. Some weeks later Richardson went up to Ṣan'ā' which he reported 'now a dismal picture, with its gardens and houses partially destroyed, and the latter to a considerable extent uninhabited.' The Military Hospital and Municipal Pharmacy had been wrecked. He calculated that only 800 of the previous total of 7,000 Jews remained; 2,000 had emigrated to Hodeidah. It seems that they must have feared tribal looting for they had been regarded with contempt rather than persecuted by the Turks; perhaps their greatest burden was the payment for exemption from military service.

During this period another Englishman was sent to Ṣan'ā' clearly to spy out Turkish military establishments at a time of tension on the frontiers of the Aden Protectorate. William Spencer Leveson Gower was a Naval Officer and his account dealt mainly with the strengths of the Turkish VIIIth Army Corps. He estimated the population at between 40,000 and 60,000 of whom three quarters were Arabs and the remainder divided between 6,000 Jews, a few Christians and the Turks.

In September 1905, two young Englishmen visited Ṣan'ā' where they were naturally entertained by Caprotti who had survived the horrors of the siege. They were both more interested in the feat of reaching a forbidden city rather than anything that they found there; except perhaps as a theme for romantic prose. Aubrey Herbert estimated that the fighting had reduced the population from 70,000 to 20,000 and the number of Jews from 8,000 to 2,000. Conditions had been appalling and all the dogs had been eaten by the Turks. Leland Buxton wrote of 'The acres of deserted streets, and the forlornness of crumbling houses seem melancholy' while Aubrey Herbert thought it 'A grey and tragic town, with the savage memories of famine written upon it. There was silence along the decrepit mud walls, which in some places were forty feet high, while here and there they were level with the land.' Both wrote that the houses were embroidered with white stucco and ornamented with great doors of wrought iron. Herbert continued 'on the second or third storey there are small balconies, and the air is full of the noise of buckets ascending and descending to and from them. . . . The windows are circular and paned with thin slabs of pure alabaster, which give them a grey, shrouded, unwinking look.' In the evening, said Buxton, there floats the perfume of hashish.

Buxton was particularly interested in the Qā' al-Yahūd. 'The Ghetto', he wrote, 'is like the dream of some haunted painter' with many of the population only skin and bone and the children horrifying in their emaciation. 'The crowd of dark faces, with cavernous cheeks, half-hidden by twisted black elf-locks, that hung on either side, begging eyes and clutching hand' were even so, extremely hospitable. Their houses were different from the rest of Ṣan'ā', being built of mud rather than stone with a central terrace overlooked by higher rooms forming a focus for family life; they were scrupulously clean.

The Jews of Ṣan'ā', continued Buxton, were obviously a town-bred people with their high foreheads, narrow chests and tapering aristocratic fingers. The women showed him their embroidered trousers and the leggings of gold and silver that they wore on



9.3 The Turkish Governor-General's room in Ṣan'ā', showing French styles of decoration (Harris).

days of festival, when 'their hoods have as many colours as the coat of Joseph, and the head-gear of the children is adorned with every coin from the Maria Theresa Dollar and the golden ducats of a Venetian Doge to the half-rupee of India, which are gathered in regular patterns, clustering around silver horses or other fantastic objects sewn into the cloth; while their eyes are hidden by a silver fringe.'

Herbert thought the six gates mostly modern and ugly: they were watched by Turkish guard-rooms. He said that there were sixty-eight mosques but visitors were only allowed into two which were used exclusively by Turks. Buxton said that he did not enter any of them but he spotted a most attractive one with a fountain near the South Gate. He repeats the curious tale that there was a well within the Great Mosque which was supposed to be connected directly with Zamzam at Mecca. Nearby, he adds, was a house upon which tradition demanded that each passer-by should spit, although the reason for this had long been forgotten.

Five years later another Englishman, Arthur Wavell, also made a forbidden visit to Ṣan'ā', evading the attempts of the Ottoman authorities at Hodeidah to stop him. He had already been in disguise to Mecca and Medina and the first sight of the city reminded him of the latter. He was touched by the pride of the inhabitants in the magnificence of their capital and amused by their belief that it was under divine protection; it might be starved into submission but any attempt to take it by storm was foredoomed to failure.

This belief was soon put to the test for shortly after his arrival, the forces of the Imām Yaḥyā arrived to besiege the city and to fire their inaccurate, and thus extremely dangerous, artillery at it. The Turks were naturally convinced that he was a spy and he heard that at least two attempts were made to procure his murder. The ever hospitable Caprotti, now generally regarded as a mediator between Turk and Arab, felt it unsafe to keep him for long in his *samsarah*.

Wavell therefore hired an unfurnished house for a £1 a month and spent a further £40 in equipping it. It was near the citadel, and consisted of a porch with one room over it leading into a rectangular courtyard which contained the kitchen and was enclosed on two sides by a wall, the third side being the porch and the fourth the house itself.

Wavell, a soldier like his cousin, the future Field Marshal, kept an eye on military matters. He reckoned the wall which included Bir al-'Azab and Qā' al-Yahūd at about 12km in length. The one around the old city was formidable with clay works revetted with stone, often forty feet high and nearly that in thickness at the base. He estimated that siege artillery would be needed to breach them, although the extensions were not as impressive. There were towers and a parapet loopholed for riflemen. He counted eight gates.

The Government buildings, constructed by the Turks after their second occupation are at the eastern extremity of the town and Wavell thought them rather imposing although gloomy of

aspect for they are built of local black stone. In front of them was a dusty space used as a parade ground and on the other side stood the Bakirī Mosque, which had been built during the first Turkish occupation and restored during the second. Wavell regarded it as an imitation of St Sophia which was out of keeping with its surroundings although fine enough externally. The inside he thought tawdry with coloured glass balls, ostrich eggs 'and other preposterous objects' hanging from the roof. Wavell was much more impressed by the purely Arab mosques and prayed regularly in the Jāmi' Mosque, whose architecture he thought showed a Byzantine origin. He was shown around by its imām who showed him art treasures in stone and brass, Himyaritic inscriptions and a fine wooden doorway.

The siege lasted three months so by the end of this time Wavell came to know the city well. He put the population at 18,000 and admired the elegant dress of the upper-class Arabs—silk robes, girdled at the waist, large white turbans and square-toed sandals. They nearly all carried a shoulder-cloth which they wrapped round their heads in cold weather. He himself tried to buy a *sabikah*, a dagger worn cross-ways and almost as large as a sword-bayonet but was told that it was unsuitable for small men like himself and that he should content himself with a *jambiyyah*. He was surprised at the number of Levantines who traded mainly with the Turks and whose stores stocked such goods as Huntley and Palmers' biscuits. Wavell thought that the *sūqs* 'call for no special notice'. He did however think well of the local claret and *raki* although he was surprised to find no bookshop in the town. His Yemeni friends told him that they never had time to read books. He thought that Bir al-'Azab was more European in style and recommended future visitors to reside there. The air was believed to be purer and most of the senior officials preferred it.

Two visitors just before World War I were concerned with the possibility of building a railway from Hodeidah to the capital. Neither was particularly concerned to describe San'ā itself although Deutsch estimated the population at 50,000 including 8,000 Jews. He calculated that the railway would cost £625,000 and would greatly cut the journey by camel which often took six days, and although it could hardly be much cheaper than the average cost of £2.8s.9d. Beneyton was interested in the rare stones of San'ā which were polished and cost a few pence. These so-called 'Mecca stones' included agates, cornelians, the best of which was called 'roumani' (*rummāni*) because it resembled the inside of a pomegranate.

One of the last English visitors before the war was Wyman Bury, a Political Officer from Aden. He like other former soldiers, had an eye for the defensive system, regarding the two large howitzers on the crest of Nuqum as unlikely to be effective except against the city. The citadel would do little to guard against an attack from the obvious direction—from the north along the tamarisk-sheltered course of the brook Ālāf which rose from a spring inside the city and flowed northwards under the walls before flowing around Nuqum to end in Khārid valley. He says that the stream is known locally as the Sha'ūb and along it runs the only carriage road which circles around the outskirts of the town.

Bury reported that the Turks had recently strengthened the defences by establishing a sally-port at the citadel 'a zigzag outlet of massive strength, through which there is no admittance except on business.' More in use was the Bāb Sha'ūb, an entrance in the northern wall through which came donkeys carrying kerosene, cases full of grapes and other market produce and opposite it, the Bāb al-Yaman, through which went camels taking goods to Yarim, Ibb or Aden. Strategically, the most important gateway was 'the triple port of Bab es-Sba' (Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ), a name given to three adjacent gates, two of which face north and south, on either side of the narrow neck that joins the quarter of Bir al-'Azab to the main town, about 500 yards apart. The third is a massive central arch, crowned and flanked by a strong guard-house and quarters for troops and police. Through this arch, which is almost a

tunnel, runs the road joining the native town with the Ottoman quarter of Bir al-'Azab. Just inside was the Municipal Pharmacy which occasionally made up prescriptions accurately. Nearby was the fine building of the Military Hospital and 'the low rambling residence of the Vali is on the right, in a vast, walled garden, and on the left of the Midan' (where the troops drilled) 'is the Government School—a substantial building for resident scholars. State education is free throughout the Yemen when available at all.' Past the school was the Dīwān Arkān al-Ḥarb, a two storeyed house of vague architecture, that appeared to be a sort of Secretariat. Also in the quarter was a street of ostensible cafés, much frequented by the Turks and known to the Arab as 'Al-Casino'. It was possible but difficult to get a drink for 'the townsfolk of Sanaa spend a great deal of their time in watching for contraventions of the Sheria, in the hope of paying off old scores.' off old scores.'

The houses, said Bury 'are great, rambling structures, with bewildering passages and unexpected rooms, opening off dark, corkscrew stairs, and loopholes for musketry in their lower storeys.' A characteristic feature was the cement-lined vertical gutter leading from the place where the inmates poured water from great pitchers over themselves. The houses had stout, embossed acacia doors 'with a cunning bolt of smooth wood which can be drawn by a long cord from some upper eyrie, after inspection of the visitor.' Bury says that he never saw a stone house in the Jewish quarter.

He had little praise of Bir al-'Azab or its wall which he thought that an active man could scale without assistance. The houses he thought jerry-built with ill-fitting windows through which the rain could drive. However the fact that each house had its own garden, watered by its own well, provided much compensation. There were no shops worth mentioning in the district. Beyond the wall, outside the Bāb al-Rūm were gardens studded with occasional watch towers.

In the Jewish quarter there were long tortuous bazaars where one could buy cheap European fabrics, but the main *sūqs* had little to recommend them; the once famous brass and copper workers having given way to 'cheap shoes and meretricious goods from Europe, that denote a spurious civilization.' Yet San'ā still had its pride and Wyman Bury recounts the tradition that one of its citizens was setting forth on a long journey when a voice from the skies proclaimed the wonders of his native city and his folly in leaving it; he decided to remain at home.

Bury concluded 'Her population is unwarlike, yet rancorous; always ripe for sedition, yet shrinking from its bloody issue. There the city stands in her isolation and arrogance like a fat heifer among wolves, keenly watched from afar by warlike Sunni tribes amid their barren hills, prepared to risk much for the loot of her, while regarding her ancient splendour as but a vain snare, and her Zeidi inhabitants as no better than infidels.' This is a surprising statement for historically it has been the Zaydī tribes which have looted the town but Bury had been a Political Officer in South Arabia for some fifteen years and presumably knew the difference between the two groups.

When the Arab Bureau produced its *Handbook of Yemen* in 1917, Hogarth had little to add to recent accounts. Pierre Lamare, a French geologist who visited the city in 1922 reported that more Western comforts had arrived: the Imām had electricity and a motor car which apparently had been brought up in pieces on the backs of camels and locally assembled. From a Frenchman one may accept the statement that the wine resembled Chablis, and that the local distillation compared not too unfavourably with Marc du Burgogne.

In April 1922 Ameen Rihani, a Syrian-American, became the first author to visit San'ā. He was not a man to allow mere facts mar a good tale, so much of what he says has to be treated with caution. His journey was, of course, full of peril, for he was warned before starting that if he were to be discovered to be a Christian, his throat

would be cut, and also uncomfortable for the cockroaches in the hammām were larger than mice!

Other little details are of interest: the rent of one of the best houses in the city was three Maria Theresa dollars or six shillings a month. Mutton cost 1½d a lb, 3lbs of potatoes cost ½d and 155lbs of wheat six shillings. Someone told him that there were more treasures under Ṣan'ā' than in the houses but that they were guarded by *jinn*. He said that Sayyids needed permission from the Imām to invite him to dinner, although he was himself received by the Monarch whom he also saw sitting under his well-known tree dispensing justice.

In January 1926 the British Government sent one of its leading experts on Arab affairs, Sir Gilbert Clayton, to negotiate about frontier disputes. His diary has little topographical information and the most interesting part of his narrative is his account of the Friday prayer which he watched from a room in the palace put at his disposal by the Imām. Six hundred schoolboys waited by the gates as the Commander-in-Chief led four smart battalions marching with bands and bayonets. There followed the senior year of the Cadet School with special uniforms of long blue coats and orange turbans and then the Imām's infantry escort dancing along the route, waving their *jambiyyahs* and chanting. The Imām rode in a carriage with one of his sons, followed by cavalry, a few field guns, howitzers and machine guns. Upon his arrival at the Palace the Imām took up his station by a window and took the salute as the whole parade, led by the schoolboys, marched past him.

Other visitors about this time included the famous American philanthropist Charles R. Crane who in 1927 thought 'the architecture is ugly and I saw little that indicated taste of any kind in architecture, material, clothing or music'—although he did have a good word for the mosques. He was assigned a comfortable two storey house with an acre of ground with a *mafrāj* and understood that the whole property had cost 150 *riyāl*s. As a soldier received 2½ Maria Theresa dollars a month this was not an insubstantial sum by local standards. Soon afterwards Frau Weiss-Sonnenberg accompanied her Ambassador husband to a city of which the facades reminded her of Venice, but it was difficult to see the *sūqs* because of the curious crowds. She complained that she was compelled to wear a veil and always to walk twenty paces or more behind her husband.

In the 1920s and 1930s relations between the Imām and the British were seldom cordial and there was a very considerable increase in Italian influence. In 1926 the Italians flew the first aircraft into Ṣan'ā' and shortly afterwards the mechanic Romolo Cipressi started to run the arsenal and supervise such engineering projects as existed. By 1938 Italy had seven diplomats and twelve doctors in the country while Britain had only an Adeni clerk at Hodeidah. There was however a Scottish medical mission in Ṣan'ā'.

Some of these Italians have written accounts of what they saw and photographs become frequent. G. B. Rossi remarked that the minarets reminded him of Pisa and he put the area of the city at 365,000 square metres and the population at 60,000-48,000 Arabs, 8,000 Jews and 2,000 Levantines. Aponte and the Frenchman Robert Montagne produced good pictures but texts which add nothing new. Sandro Volta who was there in 1938 took twenty hours to drive up from Hodeidah and his first impression was of innumerable dogs covered with flies. He visited the Maqām, which he described as a complex of palaces and gardens and saw the soldiers arranging the seat on which the Imām gave audience to his subjects. He saw also the tower in which the Imām's son, 'Alī, was imprisoned, rumour had it, for conduct unbecoming a prince in riding a motor bicycle. The resident Europeans, in addition to the Italians, consisted of a Russian medical mission and a Frenchman suspected of being a spy.

The most important account of Ṣan'ā' in the 1920s was published by Carl Rathjens and Hermann von Wissmann in 1929.

In plan, they say, the city resembles a figure of eight on an east-west axis, the extremities being 5km apart. Its eastern end

climbs up the slopes of the Jabal Nuqum some 15m and brings the mound representing the Sabaeen palace of Ghumdān inside the walls as a foundation for the Citadel or Qasr. More than half the old town lies on the flat valley floor, indeed its westerly quarter is often cut off from the main part of the town in the rainy season. The floodwater which then inundates much of the valley streams through a three-span culvert, fitted with a grill, under the walls into the town where it finds a sandy bed twenty to thirty metres wide and leaves the town northwards in the same manner. The well-preserved walls, eight to ten metres high, which surround the old town are built mostly of large unbaked clay bricks. Even where they cross the culverts above mentioned, they are equipped, on their inner side, over their whole length with a patrol-way which gives them a total width of four metres. At intervals of fifty metres there are round tower-like bastions, 128 in number; and there are also at strategic points, such as the gates and culverts, several round towers. Of the four old gates, the Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ to the west, fell down after 1880, and the Bāb Sha'ūb had lost its towers. All the other gates, including those in the modern parts of the city, are strongly fortified and guarded, and shut at night, especially the two gates of the citadel, of which the one leading away from the city is always closed. All the gates, except those renovated in recent decades, are built in the same way; a tall passage leads between massive towers about ten metres along one of the walls to a heavy double door, which is set in the guard-rooms.

Outside, but joined on to the old town and also walled in, lies the palace area of the Imām, the Mutawakkil, which is certainly more modern with the garden quarter directly adjoining it. The link between these is a short street with towers to north and south and two gates, one admitting to the palace area and one to the garden city; there was once another into the old city. Here are the remains of the former palace, a mosque and a bath. A new mosque is being built there at present. A conduit, covered over even outside the walls in the southern plain and rich in small fish, flows through the palace area and waters the gardens. In the middle of the connecting street between the two halves of the city, the conduit is provided with an opening from which the inhabitants of the old town draw their supplies of water. The courtyard in front of the palace, where the Imām himself sits and receives petitions every morning is closed on the outside by walls and gatehouses. The northern wing of the palace seems to have been made out of the remains of the hospital; the broad, six-storeyed south wing has been recently rebuilt in good Ṣan'ā' style.

The westerly half of the city has more recently been walled in and is made up of several separate settlements. To the far west is the thickly built up Jewish quarter, and next to it, to the south east, is a small quarter, the Balaqah, with an indigent Muslim population. Inside the garden city, the hamlet of Bīr al-Bahmah, with its gardens, was once walled in separately, and the walls can still be seen as ruins, where they have not been incorporated into the bigger outside walls. Next to the smaller and more populated quarter of Bīr al-Shams lies the extensive quarter of Bīr al-'Azab. The walls have no patrol-way and are lower than those of the old town, while the towers are at much greater intervals (130m).

To the south of the old town on an empty stretch of land either side of the road to Aden, are barracks dating from Turkish times, now occupied by the King's soldiers, and various tower-shaped brick kilns. Then follows, in the corner between the old town and the garden city, the neglected Muslim cemetery where few graves are well kept up.

The alleys of the old town are narrow, twisting at random and covered in sand or dust; wheeled traffic could not go through them. Only a few of them go straight from the gates into the inner part of the city, at whose centre lies the *sūq*. There are many *culs de sac*, little quadrangular or irregular open spaces—often just the gaps left by collapsing houses. It is impossible to trace any clear town plan or any nucleus of an older city. The

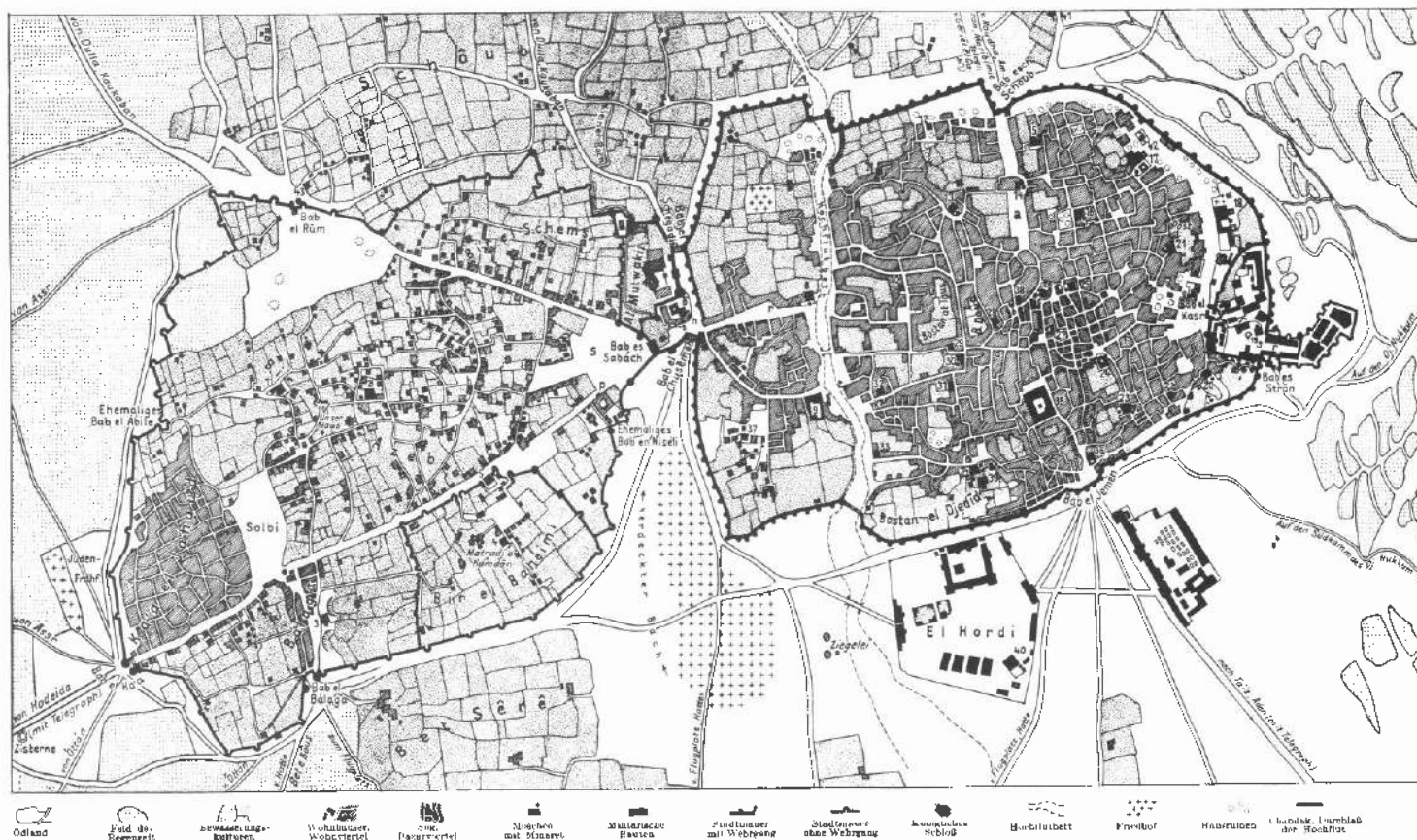


Fig. 9.1 Von Wissmann's map of San'a'

Mosques: 1 al-Qādi, 2 Hanzal, 3 al-Balaqah, 4 Bir al-Bahamah, 5 Sarh al-Kharj, 6 al-Mutawakkil, 7 al-Hurqān, 8 al-Nahrayn, 9 Qubbat al-Mahdi 'Abbās, 10 al-Quzali, 11 al-'Alami, 12 al-Nūr, 13 al-Filayhi, 14 al-Zumur, 15 al-Hudayr, 16 al-Tawāshī, 17 al-Madrasah, 18 al-Bakiriyyah, 19 al-Murādiyyah in Qasr al-Silāh, 20 al-Bāshah, 21 Salāh al-Din, 22 Nuṣayr, 23 Mūsā, 24 al-Madhab, 25 'Aqil, 26 al-Shahidawn, 27 'Alī, 28 Dāwūd, 29 al-Tāwūs, 30 Qubbat Talhah, 31 Ma'ād, 32 al-Washālī, 33 Abi 'l-Rūm (Barrūm), 34 al-Abhar, 35 al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, 36 al-Rudwān, 37 al-Taqwā,

oldest edifices are scattered about through the whole of the town east of the flood ditch. Although the most splendid palaces and mansions fell in the incessant fighting before 1912, there is still a magic beauty in the richer residential parts of San'a'. The builder's craft survives vigorously in the old traditional forms which it inherits intact, due to the unchanging needs of its inhabitants. Like the peasant's the townsman's house is as far as possible square in plan and the ground floor very plain and generally uninhabited, containing only granary, cellars and quarters for the animals. The roof is often surmounted with a single living room. The combining of several facades into one architectonic whole is alien to the Arab town. Each house, even if wall to wall with another, wants to be looked at for itself and pays little attention to the zig-zag course of the alleys. Next to tower dwellings that shoot up six storeys cower poor two-storeyed houses and even bazaar shops only four metres high.

The Jewish synagogues called *kanisah* are allowed to differ from other buildings only in the shining white of their walls, but every architectural resource is used to beautify the mosques, and above all their minarets, called *ṣawma'ah*. Usually their plan changes from a square at ground level to a broad cylinder, terminated by a slightly projecting gangway for the muezzin; above this again soars a hexagonal or octagonal tower, crowned by a dome often surrounded with a ring of spikes. The writers counted 36 mosques in the old town alone and there seem to be 57 in all. They are carefully maintained, and each Imām tries to add one to the number of the biggest and finest. The present Imām, too, is having a mosque built in the palace area, using

38 Maḥmūd, 39 al-Jadīd, 40 al-'Urdī, 41 Sha'ūb/Shu'ūb, 42 small tomb-mosque, 43 mosque.

a Sūq al-Jimāl, b Sūq al-Baqar, c Sūq al-Haṭab and Sūq al-'Arj, d Hammām al-Qū'ah (Saba'), e Hammām al-Maydān, f Turkish coffee-shop, g Hammām al-Sufrā, h school, i Palace once an Imāms' castle, j Dār al-Safī, k Qādi 'Abdullāh (al-'Amrī's?) house, m Hammām al-Tawāshī, n Hammām al-Mutawakkil, o Hammām al-Abhar, p al-Sanāyā, later Guest-house, q Italian dispensary, r Hārat al-Nahrayn, s Burjat al-Sharārah, t Dār al-Dhahab, u Bayt al-Mahfadi.

Sabaeen columns.

The Imām attaches great importance to his army and every Thursday afternoon he goes with all his troops to pray in the Great Mosque. Prayers are followed by a parade which he holds in front of his palace, and this brings out almost the whole male population of San'a' to watch it, and offers an unrivalled and colourful spectacle. The soldiers can only be distinguished from the rest of the spectators by their cartridge belts and rifles, while the officers have kept a few pieces of uniform from Turkish times. The soldiers, or *'askar*, are conscripted as a percentage of the population, and have to stay all their life long in the service, unless they can produce a replacement or buy themselves out for 100 dollars. Like the Yemenis in general, the *'askarī* likes clothes of indigo blue, a colour which runs easily and stains faces and hands with blue. In his turban is always stuck a bunch of aromatic herbs. Every European has a strong military escort and cannot leave his house except accompanied by an *'askarī*; but even he will be pressed round on every walk in the old town by a curious crowd.

The rich surround themselves with a circle of clients and friends, with whom they sit around for hours in a big room spread with carpets, smoking the narghileh, chewing *qāt* and discussing the events of the day. Their wives have similar but separate parties of their own, usually in the evening, at which specially engaged women perform pantomimes or dialogues. Here too the pipe is smoked and *qāt* chewed; in the more relaxed days of the Turks, there was music and dancing also, but this is strictly

forbidden by the Imām. The public street is almost closed to the woman of good family.

In the winter of 1933/4 the American anthropologist Carleton S. Coon spent some weeks in *Ṣan'ā'*, where the Imām permitted him to measure the heads of his soldiers. The party was billeted upon a wealthy Jew (who, he avers, had to meet all its expenses) and was told that this was the normal practice: the city was too sacred to be contaminated by the night-time presence of Christians. The European community he counted as six Italians, five Russians and two Germans. He saw two caged leopards and a hyaena in the Imām's gardens and the small basement room which served as the National Museum. He returned with tales of tribes near *Ṣan'ā'* which worshipped black heifers paraded with their horns garlanded, fire-jumping ceremonies and even human sacrifice!

Renewed negotiations for an Anglo-Yemeni Treaty in 1934 brought several official British visitors to *Ṣan'ā'*. Harold Ingrams was reminded of the Black Country by the sight of the city in rain: the minarets resembled factory chimneys. He thought it 'the greatest Arab city I had seen unspoiled by European influence.' He was interested to find that most of the best houses appeared to belong to officials rather than to merchants. Colonel Maurice Lake had difficulties because he did not know the Yemeni national anthem and could not recognise 'God Save the King' played by the Army Band—indeed the only tune that sounded familiar was 'Pop Goes the Weasel'. Lord Belhaven visited the head of the Jewish community who stressed how well all his people were treated by the Imām, with whom he had free discussions on the affairs of the ghetto.

Another visitor about this time who felt that 'Sanaa belongs to that limited number of cities which does not disappoint on closer acquaintance' was Hans Helfritz—a wildly romantic and rather absurd tourist who seems to have understood little Arabic. He continued, 'With its large squares, its broad straight street bordered with a succession of palaces, four, five or six storeys high, it has nothing in common with those familiar Arabian cities with their maze of narrow alleys.' From afar he thought that the city resembled a wasp with its narrow waist. He calculated that it contained 50,000 inhabitants, 48 mosques, 39 synagogues, 8 gates and 12 public baths.

He greatly admired the architecture which he felt that millenia had not changed. 'The lower part of (the) houses is built of stone, granite, green basalt or reddish and yellowish sandstone. The upper part . . . is of mud. The skilfulness of the constructor is astonishing. . . . Usually a loggia topped with brass and open all sides rises from the actual roof.' The decoration reminded him of the Alhambra and he wondered if Yemeni architects might have had a hand in that. Through the alabaster windows 'a soft, dusk-like, most soothing light pervades the house.' Helfritz claims to have made more than a hundred records of Yemeni singing while in *Ṣan'ā'*. Two more of his statements might equally well be fact or fiction; he says that a visiting Greek who had relations with an Arab woman was returned to the coast laden with chains on the back of a mule and that a man, in the presence of the Imām, shot one who had insulted him; the ricochet of his bullet hit two others, and he was acquitted of the crime because he, like the hero of a cowboy film, was evidently under the special protection of Allāh.

In the late 1930's there was a team of Scottish missionary doctors resident in *Ṣan'ā'*. One of them, Dr Petrie, wrote some accounts of the city which do not merit quotation. Much more important was the representative of the Natural History Museum in South Kensington, Hugh Scott, who spent some time in the Yemen in 1937-8. He found that tradition still demanded that he should wear a *kalpak*, Turkish style, when visiting senior officials. He learned that Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ had recently been demolished and moved a few yards further to the West. There



9.4 The palace of the Imām in *Ṣan'ā'*, in a photograph taken before 1962.

was now a great space fronting Bāb al-Qaṣr—a great gateway flanked with towers.

'If one bent on seeing the life start from Bir al-'Azab on a walk through old Sanaa, he must first cross the Burjet Sherara, the broad open space used as a parade-ground, where as like as not soldiers are drilling: he must go through the Bab al-Sabah and pass the small domed mosque outside the palace where the Imam daily performs his private devotions. Straight in front is a broad street of shops, the Harat an Nahrein, running east from the entry through the old walls as far as the dry flood-bed. If a less crowded thoroughfare is preferred, turn off on the south side along a narrow street which curves round to touch the dry watercourse at a point farther south. This quieter way and the streets opening off it on either hand lie between tall houses where there is much ground occupied by walled-in gardens, even within the old city walls, one this side of the sayl. . . . Nearly all the forty-four mosques of the capital are in the old city, and most stand in the crowded quarters east of the watercourse. More than twenty minarets rear their heads towards the sky. Charming glimpses of them appear in most cramped and unexpected places.

A little east of Al-Abhar and the 'square', a double right-angled turn opens into a space in front of the Great Mosque. In this great building the Imam is wont to lead the garrison, as spiritual head of his people, at the Friday prayers. But, though the vast oblong measures about 197 feet from south-west to north-east and nearly 214 from south-east to north-west, it has little to show outside but blank walls. On the south-west and south-east sides it is separated from all houses only by narrow lanes. On the north-east, towards the site of pre-Islamic Ghumdān and the present citadel, there is a wider street. But only on the north-west where is the broad oblong space called Waqf, can the famous sanctuary be viewed at all satisfactorily. For, though al-Jāmi' al-Kabir is in many parts of its structure rough and plain, lacking the more delicate finish and elaborate ornament of the smaller mosques, it is one of the oldest and most venerable buildings in the Muhammadan world. It preserves the primitive form of an open courtyard surrounded by covered spaces, the roofs of which are borne by rows of columns and arches. There are three rows apiece on three sides of the building, and five rows of columns in the broader covered space on the north-west side, in which is the Mihrab, giving the direction of Mecca. The pillars number about 177 in all. Happy is a non-Muslim if he catch a passing glimpse of these columned halls through one or other of the nine open doors in the side and back walls

of the mosque (the tenth door in use, in the middle of the front or north-west wall, is said to be only opened for the Imam). The twin minarets, roughly finished and white-washed, stand shining when viewed from outside the city but are difficult to see near at hand. They are placed far towards the back (south-east) of the building, unsymmetrically, one rising from the outer wall on the south-west side, the other from the eastern corner of the courtyard.

A perennial stream, flowing through the city from south to north, on the west side of the dry *sayl*, is covered in throughout its course within the walls, except in the palace precincts.

Bir al-'Azab consists mainly of large houses, often adorned with ibex horns for luck. There are numerous wells, the creaking of which resembled the cries of seagulls.

Scott was fortunate to see the Imām going out to lead the 'Id prayers at the Mashhad Shu'ūb, a vast quadrangular enclosure open to the sky with battlemented walls and a low square tower. He rode in a huge old four-wheeler with an attendant twirling a bright orange umbrella, some eight feet across, walking by its side. The procession was headed by yellow-coated boys from the Orphan School and some 6,000 troops took part.

Early in 1940 Freya Stark went to Ṣan'ā', the European population of which was two British doctors, two Germans, a Dane, about six Italians and some Greeks. As it was wartime she took notice of the military establishment, putting the garrison at 5-7,000 men, who were paid six *riyāls* a month. The purpose of Miss Stark's visit was to show propaganda films which she did among the harems. She met the two wives of the Imām, who lived 'as sisters' in separate but connected palaces with their husband moving between them.

During the war the British doctors left the Yemen and some time later were replaced by ones from France. The widow of one of these, Mme Louise Février wrote an account of her experiences from the summer of 1947 up to and including the siege of the city by the Imām Aḥmad. She had a house in Bir al-'Azab with European furniture, a *mafraj* in the garden and floors of beaten earth which her servant cleaned by sprinkling horse manure and sweeping it up with the dust. Their windows had to be kept shut because women nearby collected and made into 'cakes' human excrement for the baths. There was electricity only in the Palace and that was scarcely strong enough to light a bulb. Al-Maqām al-Sharīf consisted of two buildings separated by a park containing lions and oryx. The Imām lived in one with an old door painted red and white and decorated with silver while his ladies occupied the other. She made many friends including a princess who used to visit her in a closed carriage accompanied by a coachman who rang a large bell as a warning to the populace to move away and the Engineer in Chief of the Engineers in Chief who kept an aeroplane in his garden which he hoped to fly with the aid of a textbook. She gave a graphic description of the siege and of the subsequent looting when she saw tribesmen carrying off whole doors.

In April 1945 an American mission went to Ṣan'ā' to sign a Treaty establishing formal diplomatic relations. A member of the delegation, Richard Sanger, was impressed by the beauty of the city but his description contains little that was new.

After the war the American Minister at Jeddah was accredited also to Ṣan'ā' and paid a brief visit there in 1946. Foreigners were still unusual and followed everywhere. He had great difficulty in dealing with Yemeni officials and after a complaint was allowed as compensation to see the Royal Library of Arabic Manuscripts which no foreigner had viewed before.

In 1951 another French doctor, Claudie Fayein, worked in a hospital in Ṣan'ā' where nurses who gave the wrong prescriptions were put in shackles. People needing medicines had to beg the money for them from some of the Princes. Her account is highly romantic and she claims to have formed a friendship with one of

the wives of Imām Aḥmad who, at the age of 27, had been married to him for 15 years but had never seen him. She was one of the very few foreigners ever to reach the summit of the 'sacred mountain', Jabal Nuqum, which legend reported to be honey-combed with galleries full of the treasures of the Imām and which were guarded by a *jinn* with one profile that of a horse and the other that of a woman; all she found, however, was a fort of which all the garrison had taken leave. There are many picturesque but possibly unreliable details in her story for she heard much gossip from the women that she attended. She was told that the Viceroy al-Ḥasan had ordered that all boys should be married at 15 to keep them out of mischief. She thought that Yemenite architecture had been influenced by Babylon and recorded that many of the houses had descriptive names such as 'that of the Fat Woman', 'that of the man who limps' or even, in the case of one particularly grand 'Paris'. All foreigners had to make the first entry through the Bāb al-Yaman and people told her that no evil person or venomous snake could cross its threshold. Bab Khouzama, (Bāb al-Khuzaymah), was called after a lovely virgin who appeared to a Sayyid in a dream to lead him to the grave where she reposed on heaps of buried treasure which were distributed to the poor. Her description of the city itself has nothing new although she does recount that outside many of the houses there is often a block of masonry on which passers-by with heavy burdens may rest for a moment and pray for the welfare of the builder.

Dr Fayein recounts that while she was in the city part of the walls was destroyed by the rains. Tradition demanded that the repairs should be paid for by the butchers so when the money was demanded from them they illegally raised the price of meat. Their leaders were arrested and the remainder went on strike. Finally the Viceroy gave way and himself paid for the repairs; the butchers' leaders were released: the price of meat did not come down.

Much has been said of the external beauty of the houses of Ṣan'ā' and one may perhaps conclude with an account of the tribulations of living in one of the very grandest: the mansion of the Imām al-Badr, known as Dār al-Bashā'ir. The United Nations Peace-Keeper, General von Horn, thought that it must have been built exclusively for dwarfs. 'Loud cries and floods of curses invariably heralded movement from one room to another. . . . The steps were built so high that one progressed only at the cost of sharply lifted knees. The window-sills were even higher—as though specially built to prevent the inhabitants from looking out.' However the house was equipped with a row of four bathrooms, which appeared to share the same water. 'As soon as I had had a bath in number one and the water had gurgled down the plughole, it somehow mysteriously contrived to reappear to fill the bath-tub in number two. This spontaneous process then duplicated itself down the line until in desperation, the user of number four had to sit on his bath plug to prevent a flow of excessively soapy water welling up into his tub.'

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Chapter 10

The Urban Development of Ṣan'ā'

Introduction

Archaeological excavation in Ṣan'ā' has not, so far, been possible. Its urban growth can therefore be conjectured from the not infrequently equivocal literary evidence, the few inscriptions known to refer to the city and the sparse assistance provided by excavations for foundations, pipes and cables. Among other kinds of evidence are topography, street pattern, type of house, level of streets etc. Dr Lewcock was permitted a brief visit to the citadel (Qaṣr al-Silāḥ) but only a thorough examination of it from the inside might help towards establishing its architectural history. This is a serious gap in our researches on Ṣan'ā'. For these reasons our suggestions are tentative and open to modification should fresh evidence become available.

The pre-Islamic inscriptions are discussed by Professor Beeston in an earlier chapter. To recapitulate his findings, Ṣan'ā', by some time in the 3rd century A.D. was a *maḥram*¹ and a military headquarters of the Sabaeen state as well. Bayt Silḥin and Ghumdān enjoyed 'an equality of status as royal dynastic centres' at Ma'rib and Ṣan'ā' respectively. With these centres were associated Iḥṣarāḥ Yaḥḍab and his brother Ya'zal Bayyin (Ya'zal is derived from the same root as Azāl which Arabic sources claim was the ancient name of Ṣan'ā'). The location of the site of Ghumdān is the *point de départ* in discussing the early growth of Ṣan'ā' since it is the one place that can, with some degree of certainty, be identified.

The Literary Evidence

Ghumdān

No topographical details seem to figure in Arabic writing on Ṣan'ā' (at least in those authors consulted) before the first half of the third century. On the other hand, although there is an accretion of legend, certain details of these accounts are confirmed

from the inscriptions, and third century writers drew on earlier sources and in all probability on a living tradition.

The first Arabic author to describe Ṣan'ā' with some degree of precision is the geographer Ibn Rustah,² writing in Isfahān not earlier than 290/903 but presumably drawing on earlier sources. He speaks of the fortress (*qaṣr*) called Ghumdān close to the Jāmi' Mosque, built on a rock foundation.³ Inside this fortress is the well of Sām b. Nūḥ (Shem son of Noah)—this is to be understood as meaning simply that it was traditionally the oldest well in the city. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī identifies it as the well existing today on the eastern side of the Jāmi' at the shops (*ḥawānīt*) lying east of it.⁴ Al-Rāzī says it is under Ghumdān, opposite the first door of the Ṣan'ā' Mosque and is called Karāmah; it is used for drinking but is brackish.⁵

Al-Hamdānī writing probably a little later than Ibn Rustah, but, it must be assumed, with access to more and very likely better written sources and direct oral tradition, states that the first and oldest of the castles (*maḥāfiḍ* and *quṣūr*) is Ghumdān;⁶ then follow others, including Silḥin. He quotes the pre-Islamic poet 'Alqamah as speaking of both Ghumdān and Silḥin as ruins,⁷ but Ghumdān, in the Islamic period alone, was fairly frequently destroyed and subsequently rebuilt. 'Of the ancient side (*khadd*)⁸ of Ghumdān there remains a section/field of amazing, tangled (*mutalāḥik*)⁹ ruin opposite the first and second of the eastern doors of the Jāmi'.¹⁰ The rest of Ghumdān is a great *tell*¹¹ like a mountain and much of what is around it is of the dwellings of the Ṣan'ānīs. Of it is a house/room (*bayt*),¹² and on its *tell* Ibn Faḍl al-Qarmaḥī fortified himself when he entered Ṣan'ā' and he came to the Mosque, took possession of Ṣan'ā' and fell upon its ruler (*sulṭān*) and inhabitants.¹³ A verse of al-Hamdānī (the author)¹⁴ might be considered as referring to a supply of water of the *ghayl* type, if in fact it refers to Ghumdān of Ṣan'ā'. 'Its waters, their channels murmur, a flowing source drinking at which never fails

1 *Maḥram* can also mean a sacred enclave. Cf. pp. 37a, 39b, 40b.

2 *Kutāb al-A'lāq al-nafisah, Liber viarum et regnorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA, Leiden, 1892, VII, 109-13. Ibn Rustah is known to have been in Hijaz in 292/903 and probably had access to reliable informants.

3 Cf. al-Rāzī, *infra* p. 128a. Ibid, 75, says it was built on the rock which is on the base (*aṣṣ*) of Ghumdān. One version, *ibid*, 77, says it was built between al-Qal'ah al-Mulamlamah al-Khadra' up to Ghumdān. This rock was also said to be in Zuqāq Bani Thumamah.

4 Cf. index to Ahmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, ed. Husayn 'Abdullāh al-'Amrī and 'Abd al-Jabbār Zakkār, Damascus, 1974, 556.

5 Ibid, 17.

6 *Ṣifāt Jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884-91, 203.

7 *Iklīl VIII*, ed. Anastase-Marie al-Kirmīlī, Baghdad, n.d., 60. For the destruction of Ghumdān and Silḥin by the Abyssinians see Ṭabari, *Tārīkh*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879-1901, I, II, 28.

8 Ibid, 15. Dozy, *Supplément*, citing from Ibn Khaldūn, gives *khadd* the sense

of wall (of a fortress). Al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, 16, alludes to Ḥarrat Ghumdān as the site upon which Sām b. Nūḥ built. A *ḥarrah* is a stony tract of ground. Perhaps *khadd* is a corrupt reading.

9 Cf. Shams al-'ulūm, *op. cit.*, 81, 108, *rukhām talāḥaka laysa fīhi min shuqūqī*, marble without cracks.

This word appears in a verse by al-Hamdānī in *Iklīl VIII*, *op. cit.*, 16, referring to the rock in the side (*quṣr*) of Ghumdān.

10 Ibid, 7, if al-Kirmīlī's reading be accepted, says, '*Baqiya min ba'd ḥīṭāni-hi 'l-maḥārib al-muqābilah li-abwāb al-Jāmi'*'.

11 A *tell/tall* is a mound, often man-made. Ibn Hawqal, *Via et regna*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA, Leiden, 1873, II, 31, alludes to the big *tell* in Ṣan'ā' known as Ghumdān.

12 The *bayt* might be a temple, but this statement is obscure.

13 Yahyā b. al-Husayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, Cairo, 1388/1968, I, 196.

14 *Iklīl VIII*, *op. cit.*, 17.

to satisfy (*wa-miyāhu-hu qanawātu-hā tatahaddaru, yanbū'u 'ayn-in lā yuṣarridu shurbu-hā*).¹⁵ 'Alqamah b. Dhī Yazan alludes to fields (*jurīb*) lying at the foot of it.¹⁵ The builder of Ghumdān was Abū Sharaḥ b. Yaḥqab who was the king (*malik*) of Ghumdān.¹⁶ One of the Mss. has, correctly, Ilisharāḥ b. Yaḥqab.

Al-Rāzī¹⁷ (ob. 460/1068), drawing on a chain of Traditionists going back to the first century of the Hijrah, says, 'The first stone laid upon stone in the Yemen was Ghumdān—Sharāḥīl¹⁸ al-Ḥimyarī built it. A thousand years after him Ilī Sharaḥ Yaḥqab built al-Qaṣabah.' Al-Rāzī¹⁹ quotes Tradition that the Prophet ordered Ghumdān to be demolished; or this took place in the days of Abū Bakr or 'Uthmān. He adds, 'It is said that the generality (*'ammah*) of the construction of the Qaṣabah of Ṣan'ā' was constructed with the debris of Ghumdān only.'

The term *qaṣabah* poses a problem. *Tāj al-'Arūs* accords to *qaṣabat al-balad* the senses *al-qaṣr*, *al-ḥiṣn*, *al-madinah*, *jawf al-ḥiṣn*, *al-qaryah*; *qaṣabat al-qaryah* means the middle of it [the *qaryah*]. A further difficulty is that in the northern Yemen a *qaṣabah* means a circular defensible dwelling tower. Al-Hamdānī²⁰ says, 'The people of the North (*ahl al-Sha'm*) call it Ṣan'ā' al-Qaṣabah.'

Al-Qaṣabah may mean here *al-madinah/al-qaryah*, the city, but we have come to think that it probably means the lower citadel—now Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, though in the course of its history it would seem to have had several different names. This would explain the name Ṣan'ā' which means 'well fortified', as an epithet or synonym almost of al-Qaṣabah.

In brief, then, both the inscriptional and literary references point to Ghumdān as the original nucleus of the city in approximately the three to four centuries before Islam. Over several centuries of the Islamic era the historians seem to indicate that the Ghumdān site was occasionally fortified, dismantled, and re-fortified.

Qaṣr al-Qalīs

The eastern point of contemporary Ṣan'ā' is formed by a roughly oblong citadel on a foothill, part of the lower slope of Jabal Nuqum, commanding the rest of the city (plate 1), much of the stonework of which is of comparatively recent date. This upper citadel is linked with the lower citadel to the west of a fortified corridor. On each side of the upper portion is a circular tower (*nawbah*), the two serving as bastions incorporated in the fortifications. The stonework of these two towers is of the same type as that of the lower stonework of Bāb al-Sitrān (The Gate of Columns), opening to the south. All are constructed of large hewn stones fitted together with fine joints. It is suggested that they belong to a class of pre-Islamic Sabaean structures, to take a case in point, like certain of those at Dawram/Taybah overlooking

Wādī Dahr.²¹ Bāb al-Sitrān has a well-protected bent gateway—one enters between two outer bastions into a passage to the left from which one has to turn to the right to enter the citadel. Such skewed entry is typical of other ancient cities in south Arabia including the city gates of Ṣa'dah and Naqab al-Hajar (in the latter case first to the right then left).

Al-Hamdānī alludes to al-Qalīs, a descendant of Ilī Sharaḥ, to whom Qaṣr al-Qalīs is attributed, and Nashwān b. Sa'id²² (ob. 573/1117) states that al-Qalīs was a *qaṣr* in Ṣan'ā' which belonged to the kings of Ḥimyar—then Abrahah al-Ḥabashī dwelt there after that. Two Islamic histories²³ contain a poem on a medieval battle at Qaṣr al-Qalīs which Mudrik b. Ḥatīm won over the Zaydīs about the end of the first quarter of the 7th/13th century. In commenting on the verses of Aḥmad b. 'Isā al-Radā'ī (which he took down from one of the Abnā'), al-Hamdānī²⁴ states that Ghumdān and al-Qalīs are two fortresses (*maḥfid*) in Ṣan'ā'. The verse itself says that Tubba' and Bilqīs built them, but al-Hamdānī quotes a variant that Yaḥqab Shar(a)ḥ and Bilqīs built them.

It is strange that al-Hamdānī (in such of his writings as are extant) does not comment on Qalīs the eponym, and Qalīs Abrahah's church. The explanation that suggests itself for the conundrum of Qalīs = church and fort, is that the eastern fortification was known by, say, 250 H., or even before Islam, possibly some time after Abrahah (ob. 569-70 A.D.) constructed his church, as Qaṣr al-Qalīs in order to distinguish it from Qaṣr Ghumdān. Qalīs as a person has every appearance of being purely legendary. The existence of the eastern Qaṣr as a pre-Islamic fortification, though of lesser fame than Ghumdān, then, is credited by Yemenis of the 3rd/9th century.

A verse of Tha'labah b. 'Amr²⁵ would appear to refer to the garrisoning of Ghumdān also, by the Abyssinian invaders:

Were I in Ghumdān, there guarding its gate
Men of the Abyssinians and a snake, familiar.²⁶

The Jabbānah north of Ṣan'ā' wall is stated²⁷ to have been built on the site of the camp of the Abyssinians on a field (*jirbah*) which had come into the possession of an Abnā' family. It is then evident from the Arabic sources that these points were garrisoned by the Abyssinians, the two fortresses and an advanced outpost to defend Ṣan'ā' from attacks from the north. All three would be taken over by the Persian Abnā'. When the Yemeni prophet al-Aswad al-'Ansī who had occupied Ṣan'ā' in opposition to the Abnā' and other supporters of Muḥammad, was assassinated there in 11/632 there was, according to al-Balādhurī,²⁸ a town wall (*sūr al-madinah*). The murderers entered al-Aswad's house by an irrigation channel (*jadwal*) according to some traditions—this immediately calls to mind the likelihood that it would be a *qanāt/ghayl*.

15 Ibid, 19. Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., I, II, 928-29, attributes a similar verse to Dhū Ḥādan al-Ḥimyarī.

16 Ibid, 24.

17 Op. cit., 20.

18 Sharāḥīl is of course the same as Ilī Sharaḥ which latter is written as two words by al-Rāzī. A verse in *Iklīl VIII*, 17, has Dhū Sharaḥ.

19 *Iklīl II*, 86, states that in a *musnad*, or Ḥimyar inscription, of Nā'it is recorded that 'Amr Yan'ar Dhū Ghumdān a descendant of Ilī Sharaḥ was the first to begin the *rashīd* (building finely and strongly and rising high) of Ghumdān after its ancient construction.

19 Ibid, 216, 218. He mentions (p. 203) talismans which were on 'the first/ancient Gate of Ṣan'ā' (*Bāb madīnat Ṣan'ā' al-awwal*) in the place known as al-Qaṣabah.'

20 *Ṣifāḥ*, 55.

21 Cf. P. M. Costa, 'La Moschea Grande di Ṣan'ā'', *Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Naples, 1974, XXXIV, 487-506.

22 *Iklīl II*, 86-7, *Die auf Südarabien Bezüglichen Angaben Nashwān's in Sams al-'ulūm*, ed. 'Azimuddin Ahmad, GMS, XXIV, Leyden-London, 1916, 88.

23 Muḥammad b. Ḥatīm al-Yāmi al-Hamdānī, *al-Sim' al-ghāfi*, ed. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and the early Rasiūlids in the Yemen*, GMS n.s., XXVI, London, 1974-78, I, 188, and al-Khazraji, *The Pearl-strings (al-'Uqūd al-'lu'lu'iyah)*, ed. Muḥammad 'Asal, GMS, III, IV, Leiden-London, 1906-18, 38.

24 *Ṣifāḥ*, 240.

25 Al-Mufaḍḍal, *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. C. J. Lyall, Oxford, 1921, 563.

26 So the commentary—perhaps alluding to talismans or even the popular belief of a guardian snake, but it could be rendered, 'a friendly black (*aswad*)'.

27 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 90, 210.

28 *Futūḥ al-buldān; Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1870, 106.



10.1 Qaṣr al-Silāh, the citadel on the east of Ṣan'ā'. The highest point of the Qaṣr is at the top of the picture. A narrow linking passageway runs down to the lower section of the Qaṣr at the bottom of the photograph.



10.2 Qaṣr al-Silāh. Another bastion of the same type on the eastern side of the upper citadel.



10.3 Qaṣr al-Silāh. Bāb al-Sitrān from the outside.

The Districts al-Qaṣī' and al-Sirār

By the 3rd/9th century Ṣan'ā' was divided into two districts, seemingly controlled by the Abnā', of Persian origin, in the east and by the Arab Banū Shihāb in the west. These are known as al-Qaṣī' and al-Sirār respectively, the names persisting to the present day though oddly enough they are not used by al-Hamdānī. The latter²⁹ tells us that 'the origin of those of the Banū Shihāb who settled in Ṣan'ā' and in the East (Mashriq)³⁰

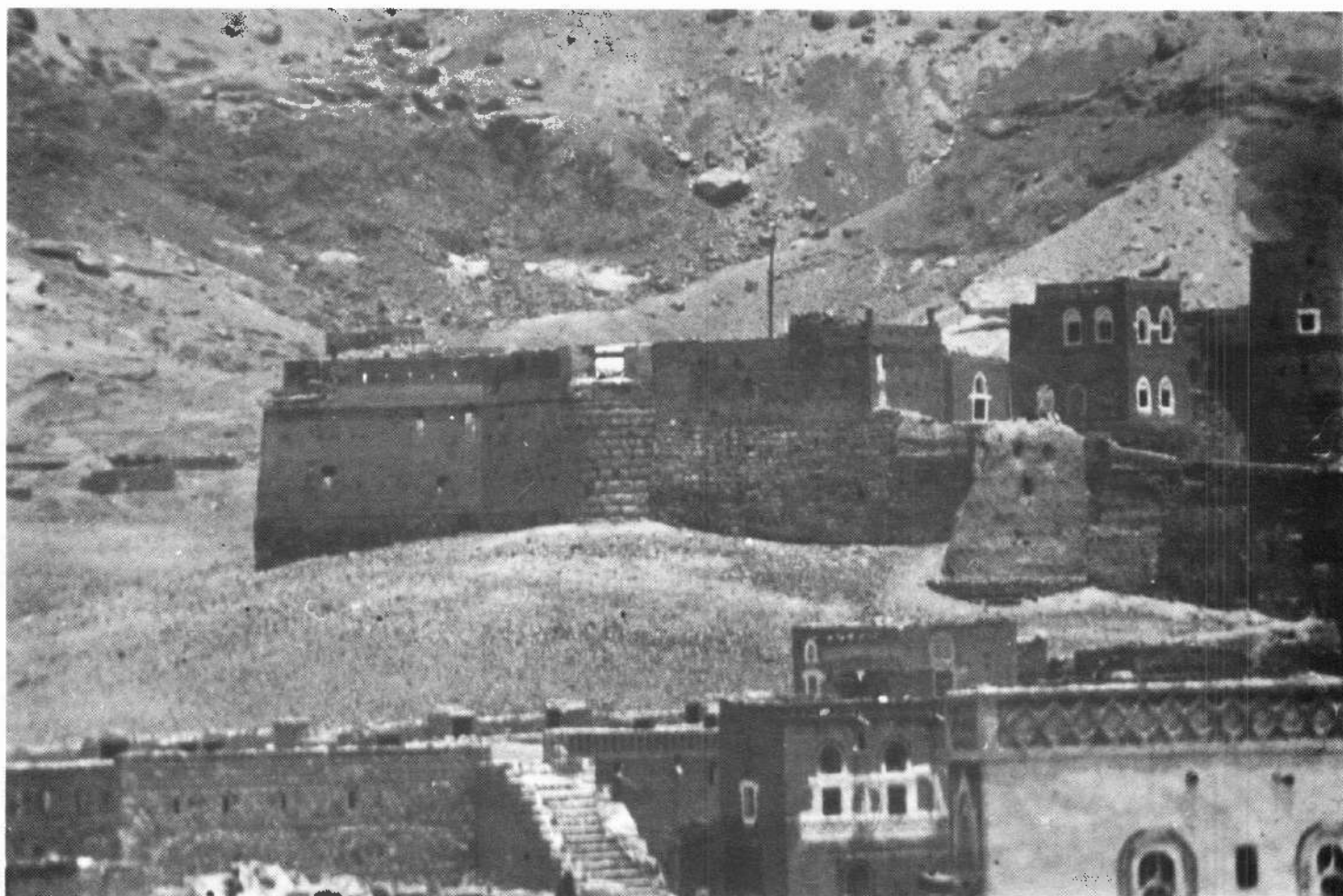
of it (Ṣan'ā') is from Ṣa'dah. They went to the Āl Dhī Yazan to aid and support them, and Ḥimyar gave them as fief (*aqṭa'at-hum*, or "assigned them" ?) those fertile lands they have at Azāl (Ṣan'ā') and what is around it, of which are Bayt Sibṭān/Sabaṭān with its river (*nahr*, perhaps a *ghayl*?) and farms (*ḍiyā'*).³¹ The *nahr* was a permanent stream. He adds that they possess most of Haql Ṣan'ā',³² including Maydān 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr³² and other

29 *Iḥlāl* I, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwa', Cairo, 1963, 413.

30 The Mashriq is the area approximately east of a line drawn from Ṣan'ā' to Ṣa'dah. Al-Akwa' says it is Khawlān al-'Āliyah and part of Sinḥān.

31 Haql Ṣan'ā' is said to be the Bīr al-'Azab area.

32 'Abbād b. al-Ghamr al-Shihābī was contemporary with the 'Abbāsīd governor, Ibn Barmak—cf. *Iḥlāl* I, op. cit., 414 seq.



10.4 Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, seen across the rooftops of the city. The central bastion, which is actually a complete circular construction, is composed of giant boulders

cleverly fitted together in a kind of stonework which is as ancient as any in the city. It almost certainly predates the 5th/11th century.

places. The Banū Shihāb, one can only suggest, would have supported Sayf b. Dhī Yazan whose military camp (*mu'askar*) and dwelling, according to Ibn Khurdādhbah,³³ was Ghumdān, and they were rewarded in this way. Sayf defeated the Abyssinians in 575 A.D.

A *sarār* is the wadi-bottom and best part of it and good fertile ground (*baṭn al-wādī wa-atyabu-hu wa-mā tāba min al-arḍ wa-karuma*).³⁴ This description fits exactly al-Sirār of Ṣan'ā' and it would be natural for farming tribesmen to be settled there.

Al-Qaṣī', although it seems to have no known accepted meaning, is reminiscent of *qaṣī'ah*, land subject to *kharāj*-tax which the ruler gives as fief.³⁵ Speculative as it is, one is tempted to suggest that the district might have been a settlement assigned to the Persian Abnā' when they came to the aid of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan.³⁶ It is said to be of the high part ('*ulu*') of Ṣan'ā' at the Qaṣr and from near Bāb al-Yaman northwards, whereas al-Sirār is the *sifl* or low-lying part of the city.³⁷ Bādhān is stated to have accepted Islam in 628 A.D. Perhaps by this time the Banū Shihāb had already developed al-Sirār to some extent, but held no strongly fortified places there comparable with Ghumdān and the

Qalīs. About the mid 4th/10th century al-Qaṣī' was stated to be a quarter (*rub'*)³⁸ of Ṣan'ā'.

It is possibly to be envisaged that, under the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid governors, Ghumdān and the Jāmi' Mosque were, perhaps with other buildings, distinct from either district, and neutral ground in the wars between the people of al-Qaṣī' and al-Sirār in which the merchants (*tujjār*) and non-arms-bearing inhabitants (*du'afā'*) of Ṣan'ā' 'suffered detriment'.³⁹

The Shihābis of Rub' Banī Shihāb,⁴⁰ though once friendly with the Abnā', fell out with them, and on one occasion even fled from their side (*shiqq*) of Ṣan'ā', but they must have recovered since one of the Banū Shihāb was governor in 218/833.⁴¹

The poet and leading man of the Shihābis, 'Abd al-Khālīq . . . b. Muḥammad al-Jawhar, who invited Muḥammad b. Yu'fir to help the Shihābis against the Abnā' about the mid-3rd/9th century, calls the Abnā' slaves ('*abid*') of the (pre-Islamic) *qayl*, Dhū Yazan⁴²—which they certainly were not, and also the low persons (*safalah*) of Fāris.⁴³ In other verses he says of them,⁴⁴

Full well I know that they were born
But to buy and sell merchandise,
To [work] at [sesame]-oil presses, butcheries and tanneries.⁴⁵

33 *Kiṭāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA, Leyden, 1889, VI, 136. He wrote about 230-34/844-48.

34 *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥij*, article *srr*.

35 Cf. *Tāj al-arūs*, V, 474, citing the Prophet when he *agja'a 'l-nāsa 'l-dūra*, i.e., accommodated them in the houses of the Anṣār. *Al-Qāmūs*, III, 70, says that *qaṣī'ah* consisted of places (*mahāll*) in Baghdad which the Caliph al-Manṣūr assigned (*aqṭa'a*) to people to inhabit (*li-ya'marū-hā*). Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, op. cit., 57, speaking of a poet to whom the 'Abbāsids assigned property in Ṣan'ā' (*iqṭa'a 'u la-hu amwāl-an*).

36 According to al-Rāzi, op. cit., 413, the house of the Persian Wāḥb b. Munabbih (latter half of the first century H.) was in al-Qaṣī'.

37 Al-Rāzi, 198, speaks of a Ṣan'ānī, 'the door of whose house (*dār*) in Ṣan'ā' in

al-Sirār faces al-Rahabāh', the latter north and slightly to the east of Ṣan'ā'.

38 Al-Rāzi, op. cit., 111. One might however read *rab'* in the sense of 'settlement' here as in *Iklīl*, 402, *Rab'* Banī Shihāb.

39 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 228. For 'detriment', *taḍarrur*, cf. pp. 92b, 164a *passim*.

40 *Al-iklīl* I, 402.

41 *Ibid*, 372.

42 *Ibid*, 401.

43 *Ibid*, 404. Al-Radā'i (Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 241) speaks of Qaḥṭān and al-ahrār min Sāsān, the free men of Sāsān, i.e. the Abnā'.

44 *Ibid*, 381. Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah*, 58, mentions another Ṣan'ānī poet who used to satirize *al-sūqah wa-l-suqqāy*, the subjects (perhaps here, *pace* Lane, the people of the *sūq*) and of low standing.

45 *Ma'āṣir wa-majāzīr wa-madābiḥ*.



10.5 Qasr al-Silāh. Bāb al-Sitrān from directly in front. The stonework of this gateway is of the same type as the two bastions in plates 10.1 and 10.4 above.

That annoy their neighbour, and to weave *mulā'ahs*.⁴⁶

From these lines it is clear that by this time the Şan'ānīs who called themselves Abnā' were traders and craftsmen in the Market and possibly tanners along the banks of the Sā'ilah, as Ibn Rustah describes. Since 'Abd al-Khāliq, with true tribal hauteur, despises trade and handicrafts, it may be that the Shihābīs still continued as tribal farmers as opposed to the Abnā' burghers. Whether the Market was considered part of al-Qaṭī', or was directly under protection of the current rulers at Ghumdān, we have no indication.⁴⁷

At this point it is appropriate to introduce Ibn Rustah's account of Şan'ā' which can be taken as applying to the latter half of the 3rd/9th century.

Ibn Rustah's Description of the City of Şan'ā'

It is the city of the Yemen—there not being found in the (highland) Yemen, or the Tihāmāh or the Hijaz, a city greater,

more populous or prosperous, of nobler origin or more delicious food than it. It is an inland highland city with a temperate climate; throughout the year the fragrance of its air is spring-like (*rabi'ī*), being temperate and good. The same bedding is laid out in a room (*makān*) and is not moved from that room for years on end because of either heat or cold.

Wheat (*ḥinṭah*) with them ripens twice a year, barley and rice⁴⁸ thrice or (even) four times. Some of their fruits and grapes also ripen twice a year.

Şan'ā' is, then, a populous city, with fine dwellings, some above others, but most of them are decorated (*muzawwraqah*) with plaster (*juṣṣ*), burned brick (*ājurr*) and dressed stones. Some have their foundations (*asās*) of plaster and burned brick and the rest of fine dressed stones; some have a ground-floor (*arḍī*) constructed of plaster and burned brick, some with plaster [only]. Most of their roofs are covered with pebbles (*ḥaṣā*)⁴⁹ because of its abundant rains.

Its rains fall at predictable times—of this they have prognostications in which they never err. During the summer (*ṣayf*) months they have rains for one month, and from autumn

46 Pl. *mulā'*, defined by Lane as two oblong pieces of cloth sewn together to cover the body—just as indeed one may see today in south Arabia.

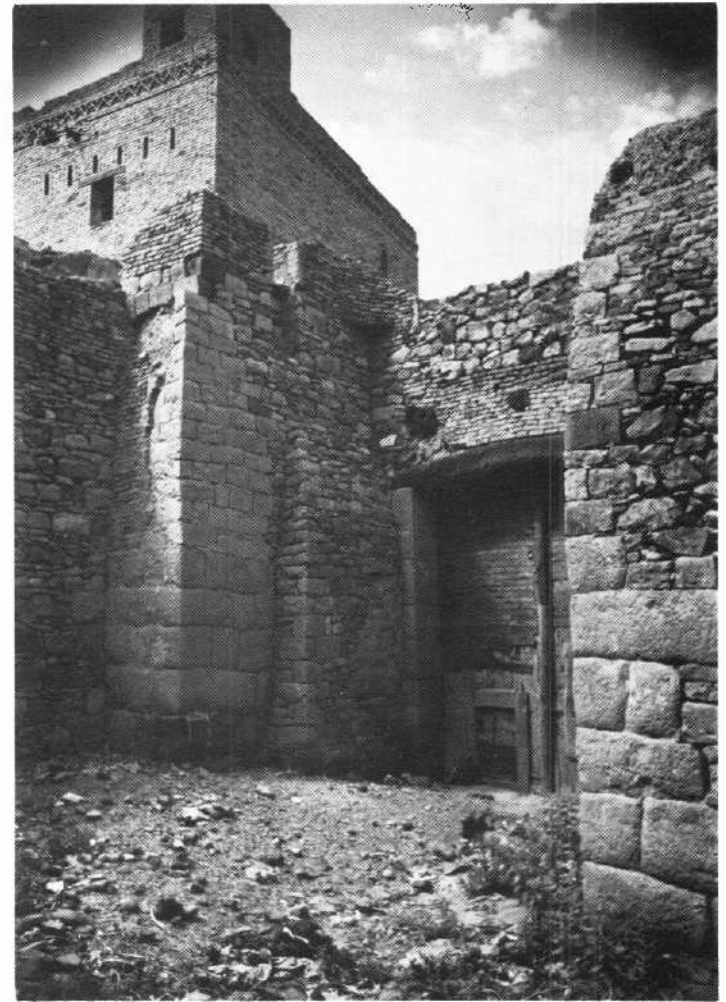
47 Ahmad Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Yaman 'abr al-tārīkh*, Cairo, 1382/1963, 209, maintains that Ḥārat al-Sirār is in the middle of Şan'ā' and used to include the Dāwūd, Filayḥi and Abhar Quarters, but he does not include the Sūq Quarter in it.

48 It is unlikely that rice was ever cultivated in Şan'ā'. It is sown in Ḥarāz, Bura' and al-Liḥb according to *Bughyat al-fallāḥīn* ('The cultivation of cereals in mediaeval Yemen', *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1974, I, 53).

49 Clearly a reference to *qaḍāḍ*, cf. p. 479b seq.



10.6 Qasr al-Silāḥ. Bāb al-Sitrān. The long passage which forms a sheltered entrance to the gateway.

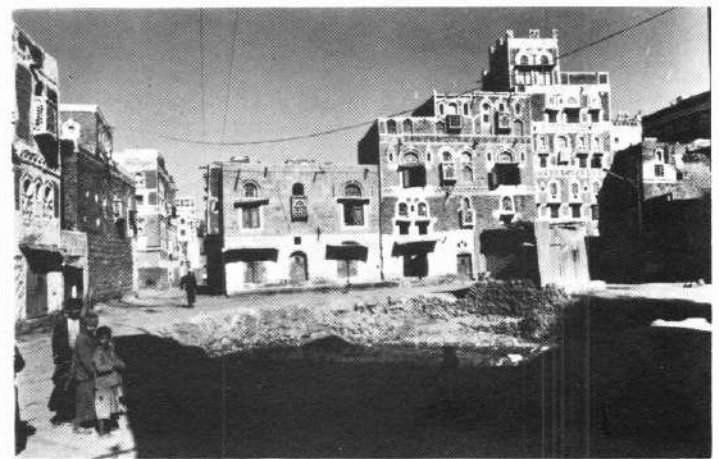


10.7 Qasr al-Silāḥ. Bāb al-Sitrān. Seen from the angle as one approaches the gate down the passageway.

(*kharif*)⁵⁰ a full four months; the rains with them then cease and they have no rain at all until the corresponding time of the next year. During their rainy season their rain usually begins a little after the '*aṣr*' (late afternoon). It is possible for the sky to be quite clear and for no sign of rain to be seen, yet people urge one another to hurry up and finish their work for fear of the (impending) rain. As they finish their work the clouds begin to build up and they have rain, most of it from the '*aṣr*' to sunset. The flood (*sayl*) scours away all the dust (*qidhā*) in it and washes that entire district. That water runs to their fields (*mazāri'*) in channels they have already made for that purpose, so that not a drop of these waters goes to waste.

In ancient times the [Ṣan'ānis] had no wall (*sūr*),⁵¹ but one was introduced after the rebellion (*fiṭnah*) of Ibn Yu'fir,⁵² their king.

Their town has a street (*shāri'*)⁵³ splitting it into two halves and penetrating through to a wadi in which the floods (*suyūl*) flow on the days of rain, as broad as, or somewhat less, than the Tigris, it being called al-Sirār⁵⁴—on both of its banks are establishments (*quṣūr*)⁵⁵ built of plaster, burned brick and stone—most of these establishments belong to the tanners (*dabbāgh*)—the entrance to the alleys (*ziqqah*) of the town also opens out onto it. Its market is in an area (*nāḥiyah*) close to the north side of it (*qiblat-hā*)⁵⁶ and part of this street. Each of its (of Ṣan'ā' or its



10.8 Al-Qalis. A large circular hole in the ground lined with coarse rubble stonework is all that remains of the lower level of the walls of the domed eastern section.

Sūq?) lanes has two entrances/means of access (*bābān*,⁵⁷ lit. two doors), one opening on to this street (splitting the town into two) and the other to the town wall (*sūr al-balad*).

Its Jāmi' Mosque in the vicinity of its wall is constructed of

splits it (reading *yashuqu-hā* for *yashtaqu-hā*), flowing when the rain comes in the months of summer (*ṣayf*) and pouring into Saywān so that becomes like a lake (*buhayrah*). Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me that at one time great pools used to form when there were heavy floods, at the Sharārah area. For Saywān some writers read Sinwān.

50 Unless there has been a drastic change in the weather there is certainly little or no rain in Kharif (23 September to 22 December).

51 See *infra* p. 129a-b. The *Hudūd al-'ālam*, trans. V. Minorsky, London, 1937, written in 372/982, 147, says, '(The town) has a stone wall.'

52 Yu'fir rebelled in 247/861 and made himself master of Ṣan'ā'. His son Muḥammad was recognized by the 'Abbasid Caliph as governor of Ṣan'ā' in 259/873.

53 The street would be that which runs from about Sūq al-Ḥalaqah to the present day bridge across the Sā'ilah. Is it to be identified with Sikkat al-Shihābiyyin of *Sīrat al-Ḥādī*, 390 (cf. n. 97)?

54 Ibn Khurdādhbah, op. cit., 136, writing about 250/864 says, 'Ṣan'ā''s wadi

55 Dozy, *Supplément*, *qasr* = *salle*, *cenaculum*, *pavilion*, etc.

56 Assuming the Ṣan'ā' Sūq stands today more or less where it was in Ibn Rustah's time this places much of the north of present-day walled Ṣan'ā' outside the 3rd/9th century northern wall.

57 It is suggested that as old Ṣan'ā' today has no doors or gates to lanes in the Sūq, that *bāb* does not have the sense of gate in this context.

stone and plaster. It is a large mosque and the *fuqahā'* of that district mention that this mosque was built by command of the Apostle of God during his life-time, and that, on the site of the *miḥrāb* (prayer-niche), is the grave of one of the prophets⁵⁸ which used to be venerated in times past before the construction of the Mosque for that reason, and that one of the Companions of the Prophet was in charge of the construction of it. Facing al-Masjid al-Jāmi', and about ten cubits (*dhirā'*) from it, in proximity to it is a fortress (*qal'ah*) the foundation of which is of rock,⁵⁹ it being known as Ghumdān, the seat of the Tubba's. Sām b. Nūḥ (Shem son of Noah) built it, and their *fuqahā'* mention that it was the first building to be built after the Flood, its elevation (*samk*) being extremely high. Most of the area around it has been reduced to rubble and the stones taken from it have been re-used, so that some of them say that the quantity of stone extracted from it rendered it unnecessary to transport stone to that place from elsewhere.⁶⁰

In this fortress is a well from which water is drawn right up to the present day and they say that it is the well of Sām b. Nūḥ. There is a second well there, that in which a Muslim was found murdered during the Caliphate of 'Umar. Seven persons took part in killing this man, and 'Umar had them all put to death in retaliation for him. 'Umar declared, 'Were the (whole) population involved⁶¹ [in killing him] I should slay them in retaliation for him.' This is a well-known Tradition which Sa'd b. al-Musayyab⁶² and others related on the authority of 'Umar and others about 'Umar. When the place of ascent (*marqā*) that still remain of the building of Ghumdān is ascended the whole of Šan'ā' (can) be overlooked.

The Mosque of Šan'ā' has twenty-two muezzins all of whom perform the call to prayer each (time of) prayer, one following the other, except in the particular case of the sunset prayer. Then they begin with one voice to pronounce the *iqāmah*⁶³ while they are walking from the minaret (*manārah*) to the row (*ṣaff*, of those at prayer), and by the time they reach the row they will have completed pronouncing the *iqāmah*.

In each of their dwellings is a well from which drinking water is drawn—the well water is preferred to the water of the running sources⁶⁴ they have. One of their *fuqahā'* described how he weighed a little water from their wells against a similar amount of Tigris water and found the well lighter than the Tigris water. Near almost every one of the Šan'ā' mosques is a drinking place (*siqāyah*) containing water for the passer-by (*li-l-sabīl*), a wash-place and place for performing the ritual ablutions (*mutawaḍḍa-n*) (sic), each being plastered (*muṣahraj*).⁶⁵

In it is a great arch (*ḡāq*)⁶⁶ constructed (*'uqqida*) of stone in the vicinity of the butchers⁶⁷—the people of Šan'ā' say that at this place sixteen prophets were slaughtered in ancient times.

Their grain is husked wheat (*ṣa'amu-hum al-burr al-naqiyy*)⁶⁸ and *'alas*⁶⁹ which resembles wheat (*ḥinṭah*) except that it is finer than wheat in ears not resembling the ears of wheat. They are enclosed in two husks, one being the husk of what is enclosed in the ear, and the other a husk something like rice-husks. It is hulled of its husk, ground and made into bread, its flavour being found nicer than that of wheaten bread.

They have also choice fruits such as various kinds of apples, *barqūq*, i.e. *mishmish* (apricot), various kinds of peaches (*firsik*), i.e. *khawkh* (peaches), kinds of pear (*ijjāṣ*)⁷⁰ not to be found in Khurāsān and many other varieties of pear (*kummathrā*) as well. They have, as they maintain, almost seventy varieties of grapes,⁷¹ and palms in their villages but not in their capital (*qaṣabah*). They have bananas⁷² in quantity in every place ripening with them every forty days—their fruit is (then) cut, yet the cropping never ceases! They have also tender beans (*baqillā*),⁷³ sugar-cane, walnuts, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates, figs, quinces, fine unsweet melons eaten with sugar, cucumbers (*qiththā'*) and various sorts of vegetables. Citrons (*utrujj*)⁷⁴ they have, plentiful, large and sweet to taste. They also have sweet smelling herbs (*rayāḥin*), of various kinds, roses, jasmine, narcissus, and varieties of lily (*sawsan*)—sometimes all are found (flowering) at the same time. They also have much honey. Beef (*laḥm al-baqar*) they prefer to the meat of plump sheep (*al-ḡa'n al-samīn*), all being bought at the same price.⁷⁵

From them are imported leather, sandals of unscraped skins (*ni'āl musha'arah*),⁷⁶ leather mats, the valuable striped material (*burūd*), cloth of a single colour (*muṣmar*), and cloaks (*ardiyah*),⁷⁷ a cloth of *burd* fetching five hundred dinars with them. (They also export) different kinds of bezelstones (*fuṣūṣ*), Baqarānī and Sa'wānī⁷⁸ vessels, onyx (*jaz'*), various kinds of beads (*kharaz*)—a bezel stone of Baqarānī can cost one hundred dinars or more. They have a market on its own in which only *mizmār*-flutes are sold—these they tie into bundles and arrange in their shops (*ḥawānit*). They have many *khāns*⁸⁰ and places in which are many people making vessels of onyx and various kinds of beads (*kharaz*).

None of their mosques possesses a courtyard (*raḥabah*) except al-Masjid al-Jāmi'. Their leading men (*zuḥūh*) are people descended from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan,⁸¹ (men of) the highest rank and nobility, in which they surpass the leading men of the other districts; they are a people (*qawm*) who [in their origins] go back to liberality and generosity/nobility (*karam*).

58 Al-Rāzi, op. cit., 205, seq., names this prophet Ḥanzalah b. Šafwān.

59 This is confirmed by al-Rāzi (p. 122b).

60 Perhaps this explains why one sees pre-Islamic pieces of cut stone in the Sūq Quarter.

61 Reading *tamālā'a* with *al-Muwaffa'* for the text's *tamālā*, but the latter is permissible.

62 This Traditionist died at Medina in 93 or 94/711-13. The second well is discussed by al-Rāzi, op. cit., 218.

63 The second call to the Prayer pronounced by the muezzin in the mosque before each of the five Prayers. The second call marks the point at which the Prayer commences.

64 Presumably by sources (*'uyūn*) he means the subterranean *ghayis*.

65 *Muṣahraj* might mean provided with a *ṣiḥrīj* or tank.

66 Al-Hajari, *Masājid Šan'ā'*, Šan'ā', 1361/1942, 66, mentions a ruined mosque, al-Ṭāq, in Ḥāfat al-Washālī. He gives its exact location. It does not seem however to be located in the vicinity of this exact known to Ibn Rustah.

67 See p. 131a, and al-Rāzi, op. cit., 27, 180, 203.

68 Cf. *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, section 48f and n. 377.

69 See 'The cultivation of cereals. . .', op. cit., 43 sez. It is not much grown now in the north. Nashwān b. Sa'id, *Shams al-'ulūm*, 75, calls it the noblest of grains, and it is preferred by the kings of Ḥimyar. It is still valued for its flavour.

70 Cf. E. Rossi, 'La stampa nel Yemen', *Oriente moderno*, Roma, 1938, VXIII, 574, for the different application in the Yemen of certain of these names of fruit.

71 E. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato a Šan'ā'*, Rome, 1939, 166, names twelve types. Cf. al-Hamdāni, *Šifāh*, op. cit., 196; Mohammed Hassan, *Qalb al-Yaman*, Baghdad, 1947, 83, forty-one types at Šan'ā'; *Bughyat al-fallāḥin*, Cairo Ms., Ms., 95a-b.

72 Ibn Rustah is incorrect here if he is referring to Šan'ā', where neither

palms nor bananas grow—they grow at lower levels in the mountains and in the Tihāmah.

73 Cf. *Šifāh*, op. cit., 197.

74 The *utrujj* (mod. *itrānj*) is only grown in the upper part of Wādī Ḍahr nowadays. For a type called *kubbār*, see *Šifāh*, 200.

75 Ibn Rustah seems to be incorrect here unless Šan'ānī tastes have completely altered. Mutton is greatly preferred today to beef. Cf. pp. 235a, 543a.

76 According to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, op. cit., 146, Hamdān produces Yemeni shoes for pilgrims (*na'layn-i Yamani-yi mash'ar* (sic)).

77 Probably simply a length of cloth.

78 A full list of the precious stones of the Yemen is supplied by the *Šifāh*, op. cit., 202, including triangular *Baqarān* bezel stones with a red surface over a vein (*'irq*) of white over a vein of black; a source of it is Jabal Ānis. Sa'wānī comes from Wādī Sa'wān close to Šan'ā'—it is a black bezel with a vein of white. *Jaz'* is of two kinds, *muwashshā* and *muṣayyar*, and among the places where it is found are Nuqum, Sa'wān and Ḍahr. Of *jaz'* are manufactured tablets, flat plates, sword-hilts, knife handles, ointment pots and bowls (*alwāḥ wa-ṣafā'ih wa-qawā'im suṣuf wa-nuṣub sakāḥin wa-madhāḥin wa-ḡiḥfah*). Most of these would be made in Šan'ā'. Silver was found in al-Raḡrāq and unworked iron in Nuqum and Ghumdān (sic). Cf. Ibn al-Faqih, *Kitāb al-Bulḍān*, ed. de Geoeje, BGA, V, Leiden, 1885, 36, for the 'aqiq, agate, of Šan'ā' districts (*makhāṣif*), exported to Basrah.

79 This is clearly wrong. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī has proposed the solution—Ibn Rustah has been told of bundles of *qaṣab*, millet-stalk—this he has understood as 'pipes, flutes' (sing. *qaṣabah*), a ludicrous error. Millet (sorghum) stalk is in fact sold this way.

80 By *khāns* Ibn Rustah probably means *samsarāhs*.

81 Who expelled the Abyssinian invaders with the aid of the Persian Abnā' and Banū Shihāb etc.

Their mutton and beef have a special quality, which is that they do not cook except over hot coals—fuel heats them without cooking them.⁸²

Their landed properties are of the most splendid kind with the most abundant fruit and finest state of cultivation. These are of three categories—one of which is rain-land,⁸³ one drawing its water from springs and one from wells from which water is drawn by camels and oxen, and one, the finest and most highly valued, depends upon water from the dam (*al-sadd*). The dam is a barrier which has been constructed at the mouth of mountains surrounding places near their landed properties. At the lower parts of that dam they have set up outlets (*afwāh*)⁸⁴ from which they make the water run in rivers (*anhār*) that they have excavated, to their landed properties.

Before the governorship of Ibn Yu'fir their villages were tithe-land (*'ushriyyah*), but then Ibn Yu'fir, instead of that, assessed them as due to pay two hundred thousand dinars.⁸⁵ The people of the town (*balad*) carry out their transactions in *muṭawwaq* dinars and *sudaysi* dirhams, and coppers (*fulūs*). The rate of exchange⁸⁶ of the dirham sometimes rises from sixty to a hundred to the dinar, and coppers are twenty-four to a dirham, the weight of each dirham being a sixth of a dirham [weight].⁸⁷

They have large pumpkins (*qar'ah*) each like a large jar sold cut up, by the maund (*mann*)—the bigger they are the tenderer.

Their women are free women (*ḥarā'ir*).⁸⁸ The people go about during the day-time to attend to their wants and gather in the salons of the *fuqahā* and others after the prayer of nightfall (*al-'atamah*) until the time when the drum set up on Ghumdān is beaten. The people of the town hear this, and whoever is found before the sound of the drum out of doors is not intercepted, but anyone found after that is put in prison and punished.

Shī'ism (*tashayyū*)⁸⁹ is the predominant (article of faith) with most of its inhabitants and the rest of the Yemen, and their most frequent of oaths is that they say, 'By the right (*haqq*) of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī.'

Though al-Maqqisī⁹⁰ (who wrote in 375/985) actually visited the Yemen he says less about it than Ibn Rustah. 'Ṣan'ā' is the capital city (*qaṣabah*) of the north (*najd*) of the Yemen. It has Mashāyikh the like of whom I have not seen in all the Yemen with regard to presence/appearance and intellect. Moreover it is an ample town (*balad raḥb*) abounding in fruits, with cheap prices, good bread (*akḥbāz*) and profitable trades (*riḡārāt*), larger than Zabid.' The port of Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah is 'Aththār.

Fortifications in Ṣan'ā' from the Late 3rd/9th Century

The historical references to the walls and other fortifications in Ṣan'ā' from the late 3rd/9th century are bedevilled by a lack of topographical precision and the ambiguity of certain terms they

employ. In the first place when they allude to Ghumdān one cannot be absolutely sure that they mean the traditional site by the Jāmi' Mosque or the eastern fortifications now known as Qaṣr al-Silāh. Niebuhr about the 12th/mid-18th century calls the Qaṣr al-Silāh by the name Ghamdān (the modern pronunciation, not Ghumdān). It is possible that for some indefinite period before Niebuhr Ṣan'ānis had come to apply the name Ghamdān to the Qaṣr al-Silāh though there is still a living tradition that Ghumdān is applied to the area east of the Jāmi'.

According to al-Rāzī,⁹¹ 'When Ibn Yu'fir pulled up the Qaṣr and uncovered it, he found the construction of its foundation (*asās*) was on a mountain/hill (*jabal*), as I have heard.' Assuming he means Muḥammad b. Yu'fir, recognised by the 'Abbāsids as governor in 259/871-2, who (re-)built Ṣan'ā' wall, the Qaṣr in question should be Ghumdān since Ibn Rustah says Ghumdān was a fortress (*qal'ah*) existing at this time. It could however be the eastern fortified enceinte which now forms part of the present-day Qaṣr al-Silāh.

Imām al-Hādī's Manoeuvres In and Around Ṣan'ā'

To Ṣan'ā' city, doubtless much as described by Ibn Rustah, came the first Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq, and the account of his battles⁹² there supplies important topographical details though it is not easy to interpret them.

Al-Hādī entered Ṣan'ā' on a Friday in Muḥarram 288/January 901.⁹³ He proceeded to the Jāmi' Mosque for the Friday Prayer, and while he was so engaged his enemies came from al-Sirr north east of Ṣan'ā'. There was a disturbance at Darb al-Jabbānah—the Quarter(?) of the Jabbānah or Muṣallā north east of the city. (It was founded in the Prophet's time and, later, the 'Abbāsīd governors had residences there—it appears to be a separate enclave.) Some soldiers had already come from it against the Darb while al-Hādī was still at the Prayer. Whether this last-named Darb means the walls, a city-quarter or a fort, it is probably to be located at the Qaṭī' Quarter of Upper Ṣan'ā'. Perhaps it was the lower citadel. Fighting broke out near al-Hādī's house but he drove out his opponents and killed some at the Jabbānah. Subsequently a force he despatched against Ghaymān south east of Ṣan'ā' was out-flanked and driven back on Jabal Nuqum, but al-Hādī came from Ṣan'ā' to 'Alib and chased away his enemies there.

The enemy returned, camped and massed at the foot (*aṣl*) of Nuqum. Al-Hādī issued forth from Darb al-Qaṭī' and battled with them but was unable to dislodge them from Nuqum. The enemy massed again and entered al-Qaryah from (*min*) Darb al-Qaṭī'. This is probably to be interpreted as an entrance from the south side of the Qaṭī' Wall or Quarter of Ṣan'ā', and penetration to al-Qaryah lying probably on the high ground between the present-day Qaṣr al-Silāh and Nuqum mountain, now called Ḥaḥr al-Ḥimār. Al-Hādī came out to meet the enemy, sent his son to meet them, and despatched a contingent against them from Darb al-Jabbānah, and came out in person, following his son,

new documents, Brussels, 1971, 53 passim.

89 Al-Maqqisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA. Leiden, 1906, III, 96, says, 'The followers of Abū Ḥanīfah predominate in Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah and the Jawāmi' (mosques) are in their hands.' In the Yemen they used the *qir'at* 'Aṣim then the reading of Ibn 'Amr (of the Qur'ān) throughout the province (*iqlim*). He says that the Sunnah is in Ṣan'ā', but in the Sawād of Ṣan'ā' there are fanatical Shī'ah (*shurāt ghāliyyah*). He calls the 'Alawīyyah (Zaydī Imāms) ruling in Ṣa'dah 'the most just/moderate of the people (*a'dal al-nās*).' *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 203, says that the Shāfi'ī school appeared in the Yemen in the third, or more likely the fourth century of the Hijrah. Al-Hamdānī, *al-Ikhlāṣ*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, 1368, 66, who is strongly anti-'Alawī, says that Busr b. Arjāh was sent to the Yemen by Mu'āwīyah. 'He struck off the heads of seventy-two of the Abnā' at Bāb al-Mayra' and this place was called al-Masra' and the Abnā' apostatized from Shī'ism (*al-tashayyū*) from that day to this.'

90 Op. cit., 86.

91 Op. cit., 180. A variant reading for pulled up is *rafa'a*, raised up.

92 *Sirat al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq* is the source for his manoeuvres.

93 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 178; *Sirah*, op. cit., 208, is less informative.

82 On account of the height of Ṣan'ā' it is difficult to bring water to a high temperature, and therefore to stew meat.

83 For the text's *a'dhā* which seems totally corrupt, *a'qār*, rain-lands should probably be read, as in *Ṣifah*, 199.

84 Lane says that *fuḥah*, when talking of a rivulet, can mean 'the place of its pouring into a *kiṣamah*'. He quotes the *Tāj al-'arūs* as giving *kiṣamah* the sense of a subterranean conduit. This seems appropriate here. *Anḥār* is often used in the sense of *ghayl* = *qanāt*.

85 It appears that Ibn Yu'fir substituted the *ḡamān* system of a guaranteed fixed tax for the Islamic tithe.

86 For the *ḡarb* of the text *ṣarf*, change, rate of exchange must certainly be read. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī, *Sirat al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut, 1392/1972, 389, speaks of a famine in 292/904-5, 'and the *makkūk* reached a hundred dirhams and forty-eight *dirham-an asdās-an*; the rate of exchange (*ṣarf*) in those days being a hundred and twenty dirhams to the dinar.' For the *makkūk*, a grain measure, see W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden, 1970, 44.

87 Cf. p. 304a. *Hudūd al-'alām*, 147, written in 373/982, make twelve Zabid dirhams equivalent to one dirham in weight.

88 For free-born men and women, see Irfan Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān*:

from Darb al-Qaṭī'.⁹⁴ Darb may here again simply mean Wall or Quarter but it could be a walled fortress that would impede the enemy's penetration into the city. Al-Hādī expelled the enemy from al-Qaryah to seek refuge in Nuqum mountain.

On 'Id al-Fiṭr while al-Hādī was at the Muṣallā (al-Jabbānah), the enemy raided Ṣan'ā' Gate—no indication is given of which gate.⁹⁵ A Yu'firid force advancing from the west reached the Maydān of Ṣan'ā' but was repulsed and al-Hādī returned to Ṣan'ā'.

Yet once more al-Hādī's foes came to Nuqum and entered al-Qaryah. This time al-Hādī despatched one contingent from Darb al-Jabbānah, another from Darb Ibn Zāmar, and himself issuing forth from Darb al-Qaṭī', he expelled them from al-Qaryah. As the poet 'Abd al-Khāliq⁹⁶ mentions Zāmar among a list of Persian Abnā' families, the Darb Ibn Zāmar Quarter might perhaps be located on the north side of al-Qaṭī', most likely within the area of the present town or lower citadel of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

The Yu'firids now attacked from the west—coming to Maydān Ṣan'ā' they also brought in an army from the area of al-Sirār. To counter them al-Hādī brought out his left wing from Darb al-Qaṭī', came out himself at the head of his forces from Darb Ibn Zāmar, and drove them out into the Qā', the flat open land west of Ṣan'ā'.

Unable to extract money from the townsfolk to pay his soldiers, and himself falling sick, al-Hādī had no choice but to evacuate Ṣan'ā' after courageous attempts to hold it against great odds. It is noteworthy that throughout his military operations there is no allusion to his holding Ghumdān or the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, unless indeed the Darb of al-Qaṭī' is a fort or walled enceinte. Maydān Ṣan'ā' is probably to be located where it is today, i.e., in front of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, but it may have been a very much bigger area at that time.

Qarmaṭīs, Yu'firids, Ḥātimīs, Ayyūbids and Rasūlids

When, in 294/907, the Qarmaṭīs entered Ṣan'ā' from the Sikkat al-Shihābiyyīn⁹⁷ of al-Sirār Quarter, probably the street Ibn Rustah describes as bisecting the city, they made for Ghumdān and the Jāmi' Mosque. They killed all the Sayyids they found in the Dūr al-'Alawiyyīn, this possibly being a distinct Quarter of the city, and, if so, perhaps in al-Qaṭī'. The Yu'firids re-occupied Ṣan'ā' after the death of 'Alī b. Fadl al-Qarmaṭī in 303/915.

The geographer al-Mas'ūdī⁹⁸ speaks of 'the temple (? bayt) Ghumdān which is in Ṣan'ā' city in the land of the Yemen. Al-Dahhāk built it in the name of Zuharah (the Planet Venus) and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān destroyed it. In this time of ours, i.e., 332/943-4, it is a ruin which has been demolished and become a mighty tell. The wazīr 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Jarrāḥ, when he was exiled to the Yemen [311-12/923-25], built a drinking place (*siqāyah*) in it and excavated a well. I have seen Ghumdān—heaped up ruins (*radm*) and a mighty tell the structure of which has fallen in (*irtadam*) and become a mountain of earth as if it always was [so]. He adds that As'ad b. Yu'fir, Lord of Qal'at Kuḥlān, Lord of the Yemen provinces at the present time, thought of re-building Ghumdān but was dissuaded from this.

Al-Dahhāk's founding of the temple of al-Zuharah might be dismissed as an Iranian legend grafted on to Yemeni history, but

al-Hamdānī does refer to a bayt as part of Ghumdān, in whatever way this is to be interpreted.

Historians consulted give no indications regarding Ghumdān until 545/1150-51⁹⁹ when the Zaydī Imām's troops and people of al-Sirār came to the Maydān, took the houses of al-Qaṭī' and approached al-Darb which they besieged. The Imām gave a banner to one of his men which he managed to plant on the topmost part of al-Darb whereupon the besieged capitulated. Al-Darb might mean the Qaṭī' Quarter, a wall, or more likely a fort there, but it could, less likely, also mean Ghumdān. Only five years later, in 550/1155-5,¹⁰⁰ the Zaydī Imām re-took Ṣan'ā' from Ḥātim b. Aḥmad, after being forced to leave it, and demolished al-Darb which Ibn Ḥātim had built in Ghumdān. This was a fortified *darb* which he had built like al-Qāhirah in Egypt in that he made it a round wall (? *darb mudawwar*) a spear's length above the ground, dressed with clay (*makhṭūm-an bi-l-ṭīn*) to the top of it—upon which he constructed a wall of four storeys (? *sūr-an 'alā arba'ah suqūf*). He took into this a number of the houses of Ṣan'ā'.

Twenty years later, in 570/1174, 'Alī b. Ḥātim, in apprehension of an attack on Ṣan'ā' by Tūrānshāh the Ayyūbid, commenced to destroy Ṣan'ā' Wall (Darb)¹⁰¹ and betook himself with his treasure (*khazā'in*) to mount Birāsh. Tūrānshāh however spent only a single day in Ṣan'ā' before hurriedly leaving for the south. When 'Alī b. Ḥātim returned he rejected the advice of the Ṣan'ānīs to re-build the Darb/Sūr, only too well aware that the Ayyūbids would return to the attack. So he ordered that the demolition be completed, the razing (*kand*)¹⁰² of the Khanādiq and the destruction of Ṣan'ā' Wall (Sūr). Again in 584/1187 'Alī b. Ḥātim ordered Ghumdān and the Wall (Sūr) of Ṣan'ā' to be destroyed (they must meanwhile have been re-built) in face of the northward advance of the Ayyūbid Ṭuḡtakīn.¹⁰³

Only a few years later Ṭuḡtakīn rebuilt the Ṣan'ā' Wall that 'Alī b. Ḥātim had destroyed,¹⁰⁴ and added to it on the west side, the area from the flood-bed (al-Sā'ilah) to Bāb al-Sabaḥah, bringing within Ṣan'ā' boundaries the garden known after him as Būstan al-Sulṭān,¹⁰⁵ constructing houses and terraces (*ma'ārij*)¹⁰⁶ and leading Ghayl al-Barmakī to it. He built the Sultanīc Palace (al-Dār al-Sulṭāniyyah) in Ṣan'ā' within which he set up a *ḥammām* and a pool (*birkah*) from which rose a fountain (*shādhruwān*) and he led runnels (*anhār*) around it. The Dār al-Salṭānah was destroyed about the dates 610-13/1213-17 by the Zaydī Imām¹⁰⁷ when leaving Ṣan'ā', along with the houses of the Ghuzz, but as it occasionally figures in the histories later on it must have been restored.¹⁰⁸

Ibn al-Mujāwir¹⁰⁹ mentions the great tell where Qaṣr Ghumdān had been, adding that on the place of the Qaṣr, Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Rasūl built a *qaṣr* of huge size (*'aẓīm al-haykal*) in 618/1221. Al-Simṭ al-ghālī¹¹⁰ states that the Rasūlid Amīr al-Malik al-Ashraf, later to become monarch, was sent by his father, the ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, to Ṣan'ā' in 684/1285-86 and at the same time he recalled his other son, al-Malik al-Wāthiq Ibrāhīm, who had arrived in Ṣan'ā' the previous year. After campaigning in the north al-Malik al-Ashraf camped at al-Raḥabah¹¹¹ from which he 'ascended to the Qaṣr of our Lord al-Malik al-Wāthiq in

⁹⁴ Ibid, 183.

⁹⁵ Possibly opening on to the Maydān? The attempt seems to have been to cut him off from the town.

⁹⁶ *Iḳfī* I, 401.

⁹⁷ They were brought in through the efforts of Muhallab al-Shihābī on 'Ashūrā' day.

⁹⁸ Maḥḥūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-77, II, 55. Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis*, ed. O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951-54, 182, says that al-Mas'ūdī in his book *Murāj al-Dhahab*, mentions that the Qaṣr Ghumdān was brought into good repair (*yu'mar*) a second time, more beautiful than it was at first.

⁹⁹ *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 302.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, I, 311. The description of the fort might seem to fit the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ better than a site in the middle of Ṣan'ā'.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, I, 224. Cf. *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, 19, where it is called *al-darb alladhī li-l-madinah*.

¹⁰² This is based on the account in al-Malik al-Ashraf, *Fākihāt al-zaman*, Rylands Ar. Ms. 253. *Kanada* means 'to cut'; cf. Persian *kandan*, to raze. Cf. *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 324; *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 27.

¹⁰³ *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 329. Abū Makhramah, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala, 1936-50, II, 101, says that he destroyed the Wall of Ṣan'ā' and put it back.

¹⁰⁴ *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 337.

¹⁰⁵ Dār al-Sulṭān was built at Mashāhid Hamdān with stone taken from the Mashāhid (*al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 468).

¹⁰⁶ Lit., places of ascent. The sense is unclear.

¹⁰⁷ *al-Simṭ al-ghālī*, I, 168.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, I, 468. The Qaṣr here mentioned must, in the context, be the eastern Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit., 181.

¹¹⁰ Op. cit., 554.

¹¹¹ Al-Raḥabah was obviously a place of assembly or muster from early times.

al-Manẓar (i.e. al-Rawḍah) where he stayed all that day.' The soldiers (*al-ʿasākīr al-mansūrah*) then came out of Ṣan'ā' and made for the hard/open ground (*al-aṣṣāb*)¹¹² and the troops (*al-junūd*)¹¹³ 'mustered for his entry'. The gates of the town were choked with people come to see the ceremonial entry. 'His entry . . . was by Bāb al-Naṣr (lit. Victory Gate) and when he entered by this gate and faced (*hādha*) the Qaṣr¹¹⁴ belonging to our Lord al-Malik al-Wāthiq, silk cloth with gold borders was spread for his horse.' He scattered money from the roof (*saḥ*) of the Qaṣr to the people and then continued on his way to al-Dār al-Sulṭāniyyah, doubtless passing in procession through the town to Bustān al-Sulṭān.

It is suggested rather tentatively that Bāb al-Naṣr¹¹⁵ is to be identified with the present-day Bāb al-Sitrān, or possibly with a gate a little to the west of it. This would identify the Qaṣr of al-Malik al-Wāthiq with our present-day Qaṣr al-Silāh.

The Gates of Ṣan'ā'

Three gates of Ṣan'ā' figure in al-Rāzī's history of the city, but it is difficult to be at all precise about their dating or location. Quoting earlier sources he¹¹⁶ speaks of 'the church (*kanisah*) of Ṣan'ā' at its Gate which is near/next its [the city's] northern (side)', a little after the time of the Prophet's negotiations with the Abnā' leader Bādhān. This Bāb Madīnat Ṣan'ā' at one time had two snake talismans, one of iron and the other of brass.¹¹⁷

The second gate is Bab al-Maṣra'. One of these talismans 'that made of iron, is on the Bāb al-Maṣra' where the blacksmiths (*al-ḥaddādūn*) work today.' If the blacksmiths' street is situated where it is in our own century the Gate would be located north of Sūq al-Ḥalaqah and probably about the northern end of their sūq on the northern border of the market area in general. Elsewhere al-Rāzī¹¹⁸ says that Maṣra' al-Jazzārīn was built in the age of Sām b. Nūḥ—i.e. long before Islam, but there are various rather legendary traditions about it. He adds, 'It is today the place where oil (*safīṭ*) is sold and the place of the blacksmiths when you want to go down to Sūq al-'Iraqiyyīn, the place of Masjid Ibn Zayd. The cemetery of Ghumdān was where today the blacksmiths in Ṣan'ā' sharpen (*yahuddū*).' The editors¹¹⁹ of al-Rāzī suggest that the ancient Maṣra' al-Jazzārīn is on or near the site of Masjid al-Shahīdayn lying north on the edge of the market complex. All these indications would tend to locate Bāb al-Maṣra' about the northern limit of the city on the road that leads via the Camel Market to Bāb Sha'ūb.

A suitable location for Bāb Ṣan'ā' would then be somewhere on the north east edge of the market complex, perhaps opening onto a much more extensive Maydān than that we know today. An appropriate siting would be on the east side of Sūq al-Milḥ

which may have been the open space immediately inside the gate. Was salt brought this way from Ma'rib?

The third gate, Bāb al-Kishwarī¹²⁰ had the brass talisman on it. Al-Rāzī says, 'It was known as Darb al-Kashāwir, but is known today as Darb Ibn 'Abbās on the edge of the Sūq of Ibn Mā'iz of the area (*min nāhiyah*) of al-M dāwir of Ṣan'ā'.' It has not been possible to identify any of these places, or even propose an identification, though *al-Simṭ* mentions al-Madūrah on Nuqum.

The authorities consulted are almost devoid of any reference to the Gates of Ṣan'ā' after the brief allusion to the attack on Bāb Ṣan'ā' in Imām al-Hādī's occupation of the city until 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (438-59/1047-66), as reported by Ibn al-Mujāwir,¹²¹ walled it round with stone and plaster (*jīss*) and set seven gates in the wall:

1. Bāb Ghumdān, leading to the Yemen.¹²²
2. Bāb Dimashq, leading towards Mecca.
3. Bāb al-Sabaḥah, leading to Maḥallat al-Sabaḥah.¹²³
4. Bāb Khandaq al-A'lā, from which the flood (*sayl*) enters.
5. Bāb Khandaq al-Asfal, from which the flood comes out to irrigate the land.
6. Bāb al-Naṣr, leading to Jabal Nuqum and Birāsh.
7. Bāb Shar'ah, leading to Bustān al-Sirr.

Bāb Ghumdān is to be sited somewhere directly north of the present day Bāb al-Yaman but fairly close to it. Bāb Dimashq is obviously the main gate leading to the north, but its location depends on where the line of the northern wall of the city ran in the 5th/11th century. Perhaps it is to be identified with al-Rāzī's Bāb al-Maṣra' and it might be located to the south of the Camel Market (Sūq al-Jimāl) of our own time. Bāb al-Naṣr may possibly be Bāb al-Sitrān. Bāb al-Sabaḥah suggests Bāb al-Sabāḥ on the western side of old Ṣan'ā' that lasted till some time after 1962. The upper and lower Khandaq gates would in all probability be in the openings (*manāshir*) under the walls across the Sā'ilah, but the actual sites of the Khanādiq are unlikely to have been where they were, until they were recently demolished. Bāb Shar'ah is totally uncertain. If it leads to Wādī Sirr it might be plotted somewhere east of Bāb Dimashq. *Shar'ah* is suggestive of *shari'ah*, a way to water.¹²⁴

The first three gates are described as *makhḍūmīn*—probably the same word as *makhṭūm* (*bi-l-ḥīn*), dressed with clay, but in this case with *jīss*, either as a plaster or between the joints of the stone.

In the chronicles for the year 596/1200 the name Bāb Sha'ūb appears for the first time in the sources consulted—probably for Bāb Dimashq. If, as is conceivable, Ibn al-Mujāwir's Bāb Shar'ah is a mis-reading for Bāb Sha'ūb we should have to adjust our proposals to some extent.¹²⁵

Al-Ṭabarī, op. cit., I, 1864, records that the prophet, al-Aswad al-Ansī, about 11/633, summoned the people and they assembled (*ijtima'ū*) at *Rahabah min Ṣan'ā'*. Cf. A. F. L. Beeston, 'Warfare in ancient south Arabia (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.)', *Qahtan*, London, 1976, 69, *rhbt*, parade ground. Al-Malik al-Ashraf arrived at Ṣan'ā' (evidently from the north) on 8 Rabi' I, 686/23 April, 1287 and unloaded (*ḥaṭṭa*) in the Maydān (Hicoichi Yajima, *A chronicle of the Rasūlid dynasty of Yemen*, Tokyo, 1974, 19). This would bring him directly below the eastern Qaṣr.

112 This variant is to be preferred to *al-aṣṣāb* of the text. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, *ṣalab*, *terrain en jachère*,—here the hard open ground north of the walls.

113 *ʿAsākīr* and *junūd* may be different categories of soldiers.

114 Al-Khazraji, op. cit., I, 247, calls it *al-Qaṣr al-sa'īd*.

115 The identification given Niebuhr (I, 333) in Ṣan'ā' of a gate called Bāb Sughayyar (?) with Bāb al-Naṣr seems dubious but not impossible—by its very name a Victory Gate should be imposing, not a Small Gate (Sughayyar)!

116 Op. cit., 79-80.

117 Ibid, 203. Al-Hamdani, *Ṣifah*, 201, says vipers (*afāṣ*) do not harm at Ṣan'ā' 'because of a talisman there was there at Bāb al-Maṣra'.

118 Ibid, 27.

119 Ibid, 575.

120 Ibid, 204. Kishwar/Kashwar is said to be one of the villages (*qurā*) of Ṣan'ā'. One Ms. reads Bāb Darb al-Kishwarī/al-Kashāwir. As Kishwar is a Persian name and the two gates already mentioned are probably on the north side of Ṣan'ā', the guess may be hazarded that it was part of the southern side of al-Qaṣī' where the Abnā' were settled.

121 Op. cit., 179. *Adāra sirā-hā 'l-Malik al-Agharr . . . bi-l-hajar wa-l-jīss.*

122 The Yemen means 'the south' in contradistinction to al-Shām, 'the north'.

123 Cf. *al-Simṭ al-ghāfi*, I, 182.

124 A *mashra'* is defined by al-Akwa', *al-Iklīl* I, 415, as a *mawrid li-l-mā'*, way to water. The vocalisation of this word is uncertain, and in Ṣan'āni dialect a *shur'ah* means a *rimmah*, a bad smell—this suggests a dump for rubbish, carcasses of animals.

125 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi'i, *al-Badr al-muzīl*, Cairo, 1345/1926, 7, names the nine gates of Ṣan'ā' as Bāb al-Yaman, Bāb Khuzaymah, both on the south, Bāb al-Balaqah, south west, Bāb al-Qā', west, Bāb al-Rūm, north west, Bāb al-Shaqādīf, north, Bāb Sha'ūb, north, Bāb al-Sitrān, south east, Bāb al-Sabāḥ, west between Bīr al-'Azab and Ṣan'ā'. Bāb Sharārah was the tenth. Bāb al-Sabāḥ was however demolished by the Turks, but they left Bāb Sharārah—people abandoned the old name however and called Bāb Sharārah Bāb al-Sabāḥ.

Outline Theory of the Growth of Šan'ā' till circa the 7th/13th Century

On the basis of the evidence available Šan'ā' appears to have undergone its major development in the pre-Islamic age—the assumption that Islam made any immediate radical alteration in the way of promoting or retarding its growth is to be avoided. The fortified Ghumdān *tell*, it may be supposed, protected the Sūq in the low-lying area north and east of it, but of this there is no literary and, as yet, no archaeological evidence. At a later, still ancient but unspecified, time, a fortification was constructed to protect the eastern side of the town, possibly the lower citadel with two out-lying towers on the high ground to the east of that. Ghumdān and its sūqs and the eastern fortification were possibly separated by an intervening space of open ground part of which still remains as Maydān Šan'ā'. About the third quarter of the 6th century A.D. Abrahah built the Qalīs to the south of the present-day Maydān in the near vicinity of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. It seems likely it was built on open ground—there is at least no record of Abrahah having demolished existing structures to create a site for his cathedral. This cathedral gave the name Qaṣr al-Qalīs, for the time being, to the eastern enceinte.

It is conjectured that some pre-Islamic building could have existed before Islam west of Ghumdān. Since the Banū Shihāb were brought in to support himself by Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and, by the second Hijrah century, were in control of al-Sirār Quarter, lying mainly west of Ghumdān, as Arab historians tell us, the probability is that about 575 A.D. they had already begun to settle in this area. As they were basically tribal farmers they may have settled al-Sirār rather thinly—at any rate this may be reflected in the large garden areas there still showing, centuries later, in the Manzoni and von Wissmann maps.

Ghumdān was then the first nodal point in Šan'ā', and the Qaṣabah, whether it means the town centre or the fortified eastern enceinte was largely constructed before and/or after Islam from the debris of a great building—more likely a complex of buildings. There must surely have been a sūq associated with Ghumdān—which would likely be Sūq al-Ḥalaqah (discussed on p. 161 seq.) and the Sūqs al-'Arj and al-Ḥaṭabah that at one period may well have been on the edge of the market complex—as also the Sūq al-Baqarah.

The Jāmi' was, early in Islam, constructed in a field¹²⁶ belonging to the Abnā' west of and under the shadow of Ghumdān. It is unknown whether this was a space contained by an urban area, if, at this period it extended to the west of Ghumdān, or whether it was built in open ground westward of Ghumdān.¹²⁷ It seems more likely that Ghumdān did not constitute the western extremity of Šan'ā' town at this period. Was this Jāmi' a new centre to off-set the Qalīs? There are one or two pointers in fact to the site having been associated with pre-Islamic pagan religion. One of these is the persistent reference to al-Ḥajar al-Mulamamah¹²⁸ which still remains today incorporated in the Jāmi' Mosque—suggesting a relic of litholatry—and the absence of any information about it makes one suspect its deliberate suppression. The other is the tradition of the location of grave of the pre-Islamic Prophet Ḥanzalah b. Šafwān on the west side.¹²⁹ It may be remarked that the graves of Ḥanzal and Ḥanzalah b. Šafwān, long

tombs, side by side, are also to be seen near Bōr in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.¹³⁰

The Islamic Era

The main source for the early Islamic history of Šan'ā', al-Rāzī, writing in the first half of the 5th/11th century, provides topographical data based on earlier but not infrequently conflicting traditions. As so many of the places he mentions have disappeared without known trace many unsolved puzzles remain.

The governor of Šan'ā', appointed by the Caliph 'Uthmān, Ya'lā b. Umayyah,¹³¹ had his houses (*dūr*) along with those of Āl Ya'lā behind the Jāmi' Mosque, to the west of it at the door of the Jāmi' known as Bāb al-Shihābiyyīn.

The governor of the Yemen on behalf of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Manṣūr, Ma'n b. Zā'idah had a Dār al-Imārah, probably a residence combined with administrative offices, 'fi qiblat Masjid al-Jāmi', i.e., north of the Jāmi'—this, Muḥammad al-Akwa'¹³² avers, is actually known up to the present time, though it has undergone many changes.

Most famous of all 'Abbāsīd governors, al-Barmakī¹³³ who arrived in Šan'ā' in 183/799, built his Dār al-Barāmīkah, later known as Dār al-Ḍarb (the Mint), at Sūq al-Tabbānīn, the Straw-sellers' Market. If the latter is to be identified with the present Sūq al-'Arj this would place it somewhat north of the Jāmi' Mosque, but the text places it much further west, at Masjid al-Kharrāz. Dar al-Barāmīkah had doors/gates with large arches: it was extensive, and the whole quarter (*nāḥiyah*) consisted of his own house (*dūr*) property. Two arches of Dār al-Ḍarb remained standing until 407/1016-17. It became a *ṣāfiyah*¹³⁴ which the ('Abbāsīd) governors used to take because there was a *dār* in it and shops (*ḥawānīt*).

The achievement for which al-Barmakī is most celebrated is the excavation of the Ghayl called after him, though it is possible that this may have incorporated earlier *ghayls*¹³⁵—the historians do not say. Were the course of this and other *ghayls* known for certain, and were there some indication of the dates of their construction more light might be thrown on the early development of Šan'ā'. Were some early *ghayls* excavated before or by the Abnā'?

Al-Barmakī's founding (or re-founding) Masjid al-Kharrāz in al-Sirār¹³⁶ may indicate a 2nd/8th century expansion or development of this district.

Al-Rāzī¹³⁷ alludes to residences of the governors hailing from Iraq and their suites, to the left and right of the Jabbānah, an area also patronised by local merchants and the wealthy. One has the impression of a fashionable banlieue. This, it might well be, gave the name to the market known as Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn¹³⁸ *extra muros* which we propose to locate in the long street that today runs northwards from the Sūq al-Jimāl to Bāb Sha'ub, quite near the Jabbānah.

By the latter half of the 3rd/9th century Šan'ā' was walled. To judge from Ibn Rustah's account the northern wall probably ran a little north of the Sūq area as we know it today, and south of a much more extensive Maydān Šan'ā' than that which we now know. As the Jāmi' lay in the vicinity of the southern city wall, the latter most likely extended with its gate, a little north of the present wall, to Qaṣr al-Silāḥ.

Ghumdān continued to be fortified and dismantled until late in the 6th/12th century, and, depending on how Ibn al-Mujāwir's statement is to be interpreted,¹³⁹ a huge castle may or may not

126 As noted (p.461) sunk gardens within the walls were probably often originally clay pits for making bricks.

127 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 70, mentions a Dār al-Ḥawk, or weaving establishment, set up in Buṣṭān Bādhān on the Mosque site.

128 *Masājid*, 24. It is also called al-Šakhrāh al-Mulamamah.

129 Ibid, 30.

130 'Hūd and other pre-Islamic prophets of Ḥaḍramawt'. *Le Muséon*, Louvain, 1954, LXVII, 175.

131 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 165.

132 *Ikhlāṣ* I, op. cit., I, 370.

133 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 106.

134 Cf. p.20a.

135 See Chapter 2.

136 Ibid, 106.

137 Ibid, 91.

138 Ibid, 27 *passim*. Cf. *Šifāh* op. cit., 241, the poem of al-Radā'i on routes. Leaving Šan'ā', the camels go first by 'Wādī Sha'ub wa-bi-ha 'l-masil'—in it is the flood-course.

139 One cannot but feel that this 'huge castle' is more likely to have been the fortified enceinte on the east (Qaṣr al-Silāḥ) than Ghumdān.



10.9 The Sūq. Aerial view. The Great Mosque, in the lower left hand corner, and the large *samsarahs* are visible.

have been constructed there in the second decade of the 7th/13th century; but towards the end of the century the eastern Qaṣr had become the seat of the garrison of Ṣan'ā'. It may indeed have assumed a superior military importance to Ghumdān long before that date.

Ibn Rustah's street splitting Ṣan'ā' in two halves may be identified with that commencing at the bridge over the Sā'ilah, running south of Masjid al-Ṭāwūs to Sūq al-Ḥalaqah and Masjid 'Alī.

To try and trace the growth of the city by studying the pattern of the spread of mosques is quite frustrating—many have disappeared entirely and, of those extant, only such dates as those



10.10 The Great Mosque and the Sūq, seen from the air.

recorded of enlargement and repairs are known. Many have been re-founded with different names. Nevertheless a necklace of mosques encircling the northern boundary of the Sūq includes Masjid al-Shahidayn, possibly founded about the 2nd/8th century, 'Aqīl (the name suggesting an 'Alī-id founder) which is small, this being an indication of early date, Maḥmūd, believed ancient, and Dāwūd (7th/13th century), near the Cattle Market, in al-Sirār Quarter, just west of the main Sūq. Ibn Yu'fir's 3rd/9th century wall should probably be located just north of them.

Al-Ṭāwūs, named after a 1st/7th century Traditionist, Ṭalḥah, originally small, and believed old, Ma'ād, founded by Ma'ād of Hamdān at an indeterminate date before 900/1494, may indicate the western limit of building even as early as the 3rd/9th century.

On the north east two mosques, al-Akhḍar/Khuḍayr in Zuqāq Abī Maṣār, founded in the 2nd/8th century and the even older Masjid al-Madrasah, founded by a Companion of the Prophet, may originally have been an enclave *extra muros*.

On the north west al-Filayḥī Mosque was founded in 655/1266-67, its founder being buried there. Arguing that a mosque is built to meet the needs of an urban growth, this Quarter should have been developing before that date.

Al-Filayḥī and the adjacent al-Quzālī¹⁴⁰ Quarters were inhabited by Jews as well as Muslims at a date unknown. Jews similarly lived in al-Ṭawāshī Quarter (named after the mosque built there in 1028/1619). It was near an ancient Masjid 'Abbās which is not now known.

Arabic sources consulted do not confirm statements by Jewish sources that Jews were compelled to move from any part of Ṣan'ā' until, of course, the Messianic troubles of the 11th/17th century.¹⁴¹ Jews are thought to have lived dispersed among Muslims (and, at the early period, Christians also).¹⁴² The presence of the 5th/11th century synagogue in Tinnars' Lane of al-Qaṭī' Quarter argues some concentration of Jewish dwellings in its neighbourhood.

Ṣan'ā' seems to have grown, however sparsely, beyond the Sā'ilah to the west bank by the 3rd/9th century unless the tanners' establishments were outside the city limits. As the Khanādiq, the

¹⁴⁰ Al-Quzālī is approximately 200m south west of al-Filayḥī mosque.

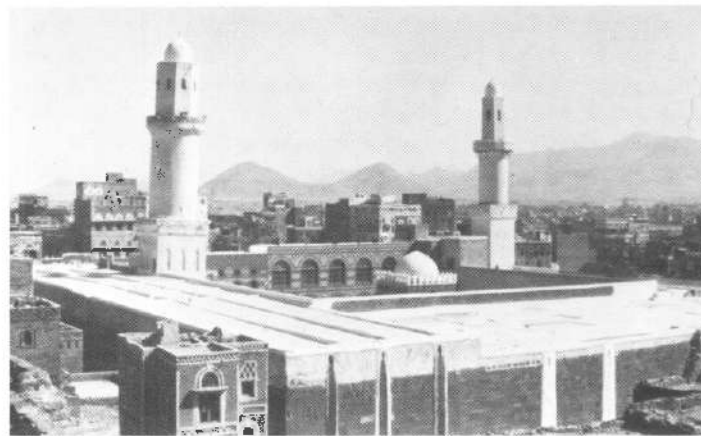
¹⁴¹ This is of course negative evidence. Nevertheless the Jewish settlements on the north side of Ṣan'ā' could quite well be due to the growth in numbers of the community or for economic reasons. The theory that they were forced to move from place to place may be a projection into the past of the

event of 1679. Goitein (C. Rathjens, *Jewish domestic architecture in Ṣan'a, Yemen*, Jerusalem, 1957, 70) mentions a Mōri Joseph al-Qaṭī' of a family that must have resided in al-Qaṭī' Quarter—unfortunately dates do not seem to be known.

¹⁴² See p.45a seq.



10.11 The Suq, seen from the air on the western side.



10.12 The Suq. A view looking south from one of the highest *samsarāhs* on the west side of the Sūq; with the Great Mosque in the middle distance.

walls carried on arches over the Sā'ilah on the north and south sides of Şan'ā'. were demolished in 570/1174 there must, some time previously, have been a north to south wall on the western bank. The road from Bāb al-Sabāḥ running south east and the main road towards the Sā'ilah from Bāb al-Sabāḥ as shown on the von Wissmann map suggest an enclave projecting westwards from the Sā'ilah. Ṭuḡtakīn's additions may have been to annex Bustān al-Sulṭān to the south side of this enclave by the last years of the 6th/12th century. This at least seems a reasonable working theory.

The Nuqum Flood-course

During the governorship of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf over Şan'ā', some years prior to 73/692, 'came the flood (*sayl*) of Birk al-Ghimād/Ghumād¹⁴³—it was a place of assembly (*majma'*) for the Arabs and embassies when they came to Şan'ā' to its kings, so that the proverb about it was coined. The Nuqum flood used to flow towards it and it was filled with earth before this date, and it (Birk al-Ghimād) became incorporated with the dwellings and houses of Banu 'l-Walīd. Then a mighty flood came down and destroyed these dwellings, carrying off the goods.'

This flood-course is to be identified with an ancient water-course through the northern part of the city that can still be observed in times of heavy rains. Although its path was interrupted centuries ago by the construction of the north east wall of the city across its bed, in the vicinity of Masjid al-Bakiriyyah, water still flows at such times to a heavy volume both above and beyond the wall.

The catchment area was once the vast north western face of Nuqum whence the rains collect in a wadi which flows past the north corner of the upper citadel of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ and originally entered the city between the lower citadel and al-Bakiriyyah, where the pronounced depression of its channel can still be observed in the outside profile of its wall. Thence the wadi flowed between the modern Maydān al-Qaṣr and Masjid Şalāḥ al-Dīn, past the doorway of the latter, and down into the north eastern corner of Sūq al-Milḥ, where, even today, with only the catchment within the walls, it runs 30cm deep after heavy rains.

143 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 111. This cannot be the place or places in al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, 203-4. *Birk*, he defines as stones like those of the *ḥarrah* (laval-tract), difficult, biting each other (? *muta'addah*) in which it is difficult to walk. Proverbially it is a distant place.



10.13 Sūq al-Jimāl, the Camel Market, from the air. With the school on bottom right and the mosque of al-Zumur in the centre. The *maydān* on the left leads up to Bāb Sha'ūb.

The stream is diverted around the north edge of the Sūq, and then taken out past Masjīd 'Aqīl to Sūq al-Jimāl, then at the side of Masjīd al-Zumur and through Bāb Sha'ūb, at which point the flood is sometimes almost a metre deep, to join the Sā'ilah further north.

In this context must be taken the words of al-Rāzī,¹⁴⁴ quoting earlier sources. 'Its (Ṣan'ā') wadi is Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn, and this place is near half of the town (*balad*), and, 'this wadi of its is the Sūq, meaning Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn today—into which flows the flood-water (*sayl*) of the Qaṣabah of Ṣan'ā', the water of al-Qaṣabah coming out to the Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn.'

We consider there is little doubt that, here, al-Rāzī must mean by al-Qaṣabah, the lower citadel, and the wadi containing the Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn is the present day Sūq al-Jimāl, as stated above, running down to the present-day Bāb Sha'ūb.

The catchment of Nuqum is now diverted away, outside the city wall, to join the other stream outside Bāb Sha'ūb. It is not impossible that the course has been substantially diverted within the city. Nowadays the flood would have to reach considerable heights and flood the Sūq before it would spill over to flood the Jāmi' Mosque at a lower level. The Jāmi' was flooded in 265/878-9 but there is no indication known to us whence the flooding came.

Qāḍī 'Alī Abu 'l-Rijāl expressed the opinion that originally this wadi flowed past al-Filayḥī Mosque, to join the Sā'ilah to the west.

The suggestion may be hazarded that Bāb al-Shar'ah of Ibn al-Mujāwir above, might be the gate through which the Nuqum flood-water entered Ṣan'ā'.

Ṣan'ā' Population in the Early Islamic Period

Ṣan'ā' population fluctuated considerably owing to such causes as drought, famine, plague, the frequent wars and doubtless administrative or economic factors.

Al-Hamdānī¹⁴⁵ states that in the Islamic period the city gradually grew till after 290/903, then became ruined/depopulated

(*kharibat*) but soon recovered and 'today is almost as it was and is increasing'. In the first half of the 5th/11th century it was in a ruinous state.¹⁴⁶

Al-Rāzī¹⁴⁷ gives some absurd statistics for the period before its destruction (often repeated by later authors), of 120,000 houses and in al-Qaṭī' alone, a Quarter of Ṣan'ā', there were 70,000 *miskīns*.¹⁴⁸ These are supposed to be the statistics about the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and the figures dropped owing to the Qarmaḥī occupation and other wars. He quotes inconsistently with the above, another figure of 1,000 houses for al-Qaṭī' which if it was a Quarter of Ṣan'ā', would give a total for the city of 4,000 houses. If the arbitrary figure of ten persons per house is assumed, this would give a population of 40,000 persons—which is reasonable but guesswork.

In As'ad al-Yu'firī's time (286-88/899-901) the impossible figure of 30,000 houses is quoted. This might be a possible figure for the population. A census of houses purported to have been made some time after 345/956 gives the still impossible figure of 14,000. Another conflicting figure given by al-Rāzī for some period after 344/955 is 6,500 houses, perhaps a little high, but credible.

Statistics given for 353/964 seem to show a heavy drop in population to a very low level. A census records 1,040 houses (*dār*) of which 35 belonged to the Jews. During the interval 344-65/955-75, 74 houses of *dūr al-nuzūl*,¹⁴⁹ thirteen baths (*ḥammām*) and an uncounted number of mosques and *siqāyahs* had been destroyed. When the shops (*ḥawānīt*), both those flourishing and those that had been destroyed, were counted they amounted to 700 but many were in ruins, there were 106 mosques still in use, 12 baths, 54 sesame presses and 33 mills (*maṭāḥīn*) for red blossom of the *dawm*-palm (*firḍ*) with which hides and skins are tanned.

The Ottoman City

The first Turkish occupation lasted ninety years, beginning in 946/1539. Although Pedro Paez¹⁵⁰ commented in ca. 1000/1590 that the city declined after the Turks had taken it, it does not seem from the amount of new building work datable to this time that this decline can have persisted very long.

The city walls were twelve feet thick, made of clay and 'to outward shew as fair as a stone wall'.¹⁵¹ At the lowest levels there was a plinth of 'hard grey stone'.¹⁵² Near the city gates the walls were built to full height of 'bluish stone'.¹⁵³ On the inside there was a continuous plinth of stone and gypsum to a man's height.¹⁵⁴ Small round (semicircular?) towers projected from the wall as bastions at roughly forty metre intervals; some of them were battlemented,¹⁵⁵ and some were entirely built of stone.¹⁵⁶ The clay walls had to be repaired annually after the seasonal rains.

At this period the Turkish governor appears to have lived in the citadel.¹⁵⁷ Near it, in 1005/1597, the governor Ḥasan Pasha erected the great domed mosque al-Bakīriyyah. He is reputed to have laid out a fine wide street as a setting for his mosque, which was lined with trees throughout its length, from the gate of the citadel to Bāb Sha'ūb. The open square in front of the citadel gate is also said to have been formalized at this time, and Ḥasan Pasha built Ḥammām al-Bakīriyyah (Ḥammām al-Maydān) on it as a *waqf* to support his mosque. The area of these urban improve-

144 Op. cit., 105.

145 *Al-Ikhlāṣ* VIII, op. cit., 7.

146 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 18.

147 Ibid, 111-15. For *miskīn* (poor) Zabārah, quoting the passage, reads *maskan* (dwelling).

148 Dwellings? It is possible *samsarahs* might be intended but this would be a high figure for them.

149 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, Cairo, 1359 H., 16, quoting *Munajjam al-'umrān fi 'l-mustadrak 'alā Mu'jam al-buldān*.

150 See p. 108a.

151 J. Jourdain, 1018/1609. See p. 108b.

152 Pieter van den Broecke, 1026/1616. See p. 109a.

153 Ibid, and Green. See p. 109a.

154 Green. See p. 109a.

155 J. Jourdain, 1018/1609.

156 W. B. Harris. *Journey through Yemen*. London, 1895, 300.

157 Pieter van den Broecke, 1025/1616. Niebuhr mentions that in his day, the mid-12th/18th century, there were still two palaces in the citadel in which several princes of the royal blood resided. (Heron trans. I, 376).



10.14 The wall of the old city crossing the Sā'ilah, flood course.



10.15 Panorama of the south side of the city at Bāb al-Yaman. From a photograph taken about 1930.

ments became the fashionable Ottoman quarter in the city.¹⁵⁸

The western end of the city was still largely open gardens and orchards, although contained within the walls.¹⁵⁹ There, 'the principal people have their gardens, orchards, and kiosks or pleasure houses'.¹⁶⁰

The Turks favoured Bīr al-'Azab and Bīr al-Shams to the west of the walls for their country houses.¹⁶¹

In 987/1581-2 there was a great flood in the Sā'ilah. It destroyed the buildings and gardens around and beyond the southern Khandaq, the floodgate through the city wall. It also destroyed many houses flanking the wadi bed within the city.¹⁶²

In 1029/1619-20 there was another damaging flood in the Sā'ilah which finally destroyed the ancient arches of the northern Khandaq, partly ruined in 601/1204-5. As a result the governor ordered the widening of the wadi bed; subsequently the southern and northern Khandaqs were rebuilt to accommodate the new dimensions of the wadi.¹⁶³

The Turks built a large barrack building in Ṣan'ā', which seems to have been that south of Bāb al-Yaman which was demolished in the second Turkish occupation, but its location is not known for certain.¹⁶⁴

The City During the Second Zaydī Dynasty

The Turks withdrew from the Yemen in 1040/1630; Ṣan'ā' once more became the seat of an independent Zaydī Imām.

There now began a period of prosperity for the city which lasted for nearly two centuries; it is well attested by the quality and quantity of buildings erected during this time.

Considerable damage was done, however, by a flood which came down the Sā'ilah ca. 1085/1674-5, destroying the southern Khandaq.¹⁶⁵

In 1090/1679 the Jews were expelled from the old city. After a temporary sojourn in the Tihāmah they were permitted to return to Ṣan'ā', but not to the old city. Instead they were allowed to build a Jewish quarter on the western side of Bīr al-'Azab next to a village which appears to have been in existence before this time, al-Bawniyah; the new quarter became known as Qā' al-Yahūd. It soon had its own sūq and fourteen synagogues, as well as houses 'as handsome as the best in Ṣan'ā''.¹⁶⁶

An important new palace was built in a garden on the western side of the city, surrounded by its own defensive wall; it appears to have been erected by Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim, who came to the throne in 1120/1708,¹⁶⁷ but it is possible that it dates from the preceding century. This palace, known as the Mutawakkil Palace, from the traditional title of the Imām, al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh, had at its centre a tall square block. At the beginning of the 13th/19th century another palace was built there,¹⁶⁸ the new building being that shown in the centre of Cruttenden's drawing made in 1252/1836 (p. 111).

Between the wall of the palace and enclosure and the city wall lay an open parade ground, closed by gates at the ends, that on the north called Bab Soghair (Shaqādīf?) and that at the south Bāb

158 Al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, verbal communication.

159 Sir Henry Middleton. 1020/1611. See p. 108b.

160 Ibid.

161 Al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā Sālim, verbal communication.

162 *Ghāyat al-amāni*, II, 756.

163 Ibid, I, 388.

164 Cf. R. Manzoni, *El Yemen*, Rome, 1884, 120.

165 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-Wazīr, *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 105b.

166 Niebuhr, op. cit., I, 379.

167 Niebuhr, op. cit., I, 375.

168 U. J. Seetzen in *Monatliche Correspondenz* of Baron von Zach, Gotha, 1813, 181.

Intibāh.¹⁶⁹ Beyond the last gate a wide space was enclosed outside the ancient Bāb al-Sabāh, the western gate of the city. In this square were erected, before 1139/1726-7, the public baths of al-Mutawakkil and the tomb of Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim.

In 1175/1761 the Imām ordered the destruction of all the synagogues and of all storeys on Jewish houses higher than nine metres above ground level.¹⁷⁰

The synagogues were afterwards rebuilt,¹⁷¹ but the Jews henceforth observed the edict that their houses should remain low. At the beginning of the 13th/19th century walls were built around Bīr al-'Azab and al-Qā'¹⁷² The old Bāb al-Sabāh remained, but a new western gate, Bāb al-Sharārah, was built on the other side of the Maydān al-Mutawakkil,¹⁷³ which now became completely enclosed by walls (cf. pl. 12).

Two other gates gave access to the Maydān. Bāb al-Intibāh on the north opened into the parade ground in front of the palace. On the northern end of this space another gate, Bāb al-Shaqādīf, gave access to the countryside. On the eastern side of the Maydān the ancient screen walls of Bāb al-Sabāh were complemented by a new screen wall which had the effect of creating a separate forecourt to the gate. It was in this forecourt that Bāb al-Intibāh was situated. On the southern side of the Maydān, just beyond the forecourt, Bāb al-Khuzaymah opened to the southern cemeteries and the countryside.¹⁷⁴

In the new walls around Bīr al-'Azab and al-Qā' there were six gates. Bāb al-Nizaylī and Bāb al-Balaqah opened to the south, Bāb Qā' al-Yahūd and Bāb al-Abilah to the west, and Bāb al-Rūm and Bāb al-Shiari (sic) to the north.

Within Bīr al-'Azab there was a subsidiary walled area on the southern side, Bīr al-Bahmah, entered through a gate within Bīr al-'Azab (see map, p. 118).

There were three open squares inside the new walls. Between Qā' al-Yahūd and the rest of the area was a long public space known as Ṣulbī Qā' al-Yahūd;¹⁷⁵ and inside Bāb al-Rūm and Bāb al-Sharārah there were wide parade grounds (pl. 10.20). Parts of all three remain to this day.

There were also wide open spaces in the old city which have since been built over. In particular the area between al-Filayhī and the northern edge of the sūq was an open *maydān*, following the line of the ancient wadi-bed (cf. pl. 12).

In 1225/1810, Ṣan'ā' still seemed to a visiting German 'the finest city I have seen in the Orient. . . even Constantinople would not be excepted if it were not for its mosques',¹⁷⁶ and in 1252/1836 Cruttenden still speaks of the city with unstinted admiration, in spite of the brief sacking by tribesmen it had received in 1234/1835;¹⁷⁷ 'the houses are large, and the windows of those of the higher classes are of beautiful stained glass.' Many of the mosques had their 'domes gilt, particularly those with tombs of Imams'.¹⁷⁸

The city was extensively sacked in 1268/1851, and again in 1270/1853.¹⁷⁹ When Stern saw it in 1275/1858 he described Bīr al-'Azab as 'a large tract of waste land, varied by cemeteries and fragments of former dwellings'.¹⁸⁰ Even allowing for exaggeration, his impression is shared by other mid-13th/19th century travellers:

'Now half-ruined. There are hardly any inhabitants in Bīr 'Azab . . . Three-quarters of Bīr 'Azab ruined . . . Public buildings like the mint were demolished by people looking for gold.'¹⁸¹ In 1287/1870 Halévy wrote 'the Imam's authority does not extend outside Ṣan'ā' and Sha'ūb has been sacked.'¹⁸² The village of Sha'ūb lay at the northern gate of the city.

Halévy also reported that, although the underground channel called al-Ghayl al-Aswad continued to flow, Ghayl al-Barmakī had dried up.¹⁸³

The City During the Second Ottoman Occupation: Statistics

In 1289/1872 a Turkish Governor-General once more entered Ṣan'ā' and the city became the centre of administration of the Yemen until the final withdrawal of Turkish control after the Armistice of 1337/1918.

The Turks did not do a great deal to improve the city, being often engaged in quelling revolutions and repelling attacks by tribesmen on Ṣan'ā' itself.¹⁸⁴

Reports of conditions in Ṣan'ā' in the first fifteen years of the Turkish occupation speak of the decayed state of the city, and of the greatly reduced population, as little as 20,000 according to Millingen in 1291/1874, and 23,000-24,000 according to Manzoni ca. 1296/1878.¹⁸⁵ But later the population recovered. F. T. Haig¹⁸⁶ (1887) estimated the Ṣan'ā' population at about 35,000, but asserts it was once several times as much, judging by the ample spaces and masses of ruins. The Jews numbered approximately 5,200 and there were about 60 Christians, mostly Greeks.

The Turkish *sālnāmahs* are obviously not very accurate either:¹⁸⁷

Date	Population	Muslim males	Households	Household size
1298/1880	24,000	22,000	5,000	4.40
1305/1887-88	27,500	25,000	5,000	5.00
1311/1893-94	27,500	25,000	8,000	3.12

These statements conflict but, as McCarthy points out, 'it is slightly more likely that, due to the approximate nature of these statistics, the later number would be more correct.' He suggests that the average Ṣan'ā' household would be between six to seven members (male and female).

Zwemer and Burchardt both thought it had increased to at least 50,000 before the great siege of the city by tribesmen in 1322/1904 drove many inhabitants away again.¹⁸⁸ All informants tend to agree that the Jewish population constituted about 1/5 of the total, and the Turkish garrison less than 1/10. Zwemer and Harris both stressed how flourishing the town had become by 1309-11/1891-93.¹⁸⁹ The gateway of Bāb al-Sabāh was removed by the Turks, the name being transferred to Bāb al-Sharārah further west.¹⁹⁰ Zabārah,¹⁹¹ for the early part of the 14th century H.

169 Niebuhr, *Plan of Ṣan'ā'*. The plan is extremely inaccurate; it was presumably drawn from memory long after Niebuhr left the city. The position of the gate names is confused on the map, but from later evidence these appear to have been the names used in Niebuhr's day (see below). In fact, the northern gate is also marked both Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb Intabāh, whereas the southern gate is marked with the name Bāb Hadīd. Bāb al-Sabāh is shown between 'Bāb Sogair' and Bāb Hadīd, but no opening is shown for it.

170 Niebuhr, op. cit., I, 379, but see p. 418.

171 A. A. Isaacs, *Biography of H. A. Stern*, London, 1886, 114, says there were eighteen in 1275/1858.

172 Cf. Cruttenden, in *Gf*, VIII. See p. 111a. Manzoni, op. cit., 127, made their circuit 6494m.

173 *Al-Badr al-muzīl*, 7.

174 Manzoni, op. cit., 104.

175 *ibid*, 127.

176 U. J. Seetzen, op. cit., 180.

177 J. Halévy, 'Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen', *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, 16.

178 Cruttenden, op. cit., see p. 111a.

179 Halévy, op. cit., 16.

180 H. A. Stern, op. cit., 122. See p. 112a.

181 Halévy, op. cit., 16, writing of his visit in 1869. See p. 112a.

182 *Ibid*, 17.

183 *Ibid*, 21. Al-Ghayl al-Aswad continued a strong stream until 1392/1972.

184 See p. 99a-b.

185 Millingen, 'notes on a Journey in Yemen'. (*Gf*, 1874, but see page. 112b; Manzoni, op. cit., 129.

186 F. T. Haig, 'Report of a journey to the Red Sea ports, Somaliland and southern and eastern Arabia', *Church Missionary Society* reprint, London, 1887.

187 Justin McCarthy, 'Ottoman sources on Arabian population', Paper delivered at the First International Symposium on Studies in the History of Arabia, University of Riyadh, 1977.

188 S. M. Zwemer, *Zigzag Journeys*, New York, 1912, 40; H. Burchardt, 'Reise durch Südarabien', *ZGEB*, Leipzig, 1902, 593 seq. Cf. p. 95.

189 Op. cit. and W. B. Harris, op. cit., 107.

190 *Al-Badr al-muzīl*, 7.

191 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 16.



10.16 Panorama of the north side of the city showing the city wall. From a photograph taken in the early part of this century.



10.17 Bāb Sha'ūb. A photograph taken by Mittwoch, before its destruction after the 1962 coup.

(commencing in 1882), quotes the figures 5,000 houses, 50,000 inhabitants, 30 mosques and 20 baths.

In 1972 there were reckoned to be 16,662 houses in Şan'ā'. Of these 4,730 were over 50 years old and 1417 between 25-29 years old—i.e., by the last year or so of Imām Yaḥyā's reign the number of houses is calculated at 6,247 and the growth since 1918 was reckoned at 1.3 per cent, while in the period up to the coup of 1962 growth was at the rate 2.4 per cent.¹⁹² These statistics however give an erroneous picture as they do not take into account houses demolished and rebuilt—of which there are many.

A rough estimate—it is little better than a guess—would be that the population fluctuated between 30,000 to 50,000 persons in times of maximum security and prosperity, but it might drop

well below the lower figure after a plague or famine.

In 1295/1878 enormous floods did great damage to the city, more than 100 houses being ruined.¹⁹³

The barracks built in the First Turkish Occupation were also destroyed in 1295/1878. In 1305/1887 large new barrack buildings were being built outside the city, on either side of the road south of Bāb al-Yaman.¹⁹⁴ A military hospital had already been built by then.

The fortifications of the city were further improved by the construction at regular intervals of towers, a 'few hundred yards outside the walls, somewhat resembling martello towers'.¹⁹⁵ Most of them were doubtless destroyed in the siege of 1322/1904 but several fine *nawbahs* of grey stone near the city may be identified with these towers.

One of the first acts of the Turks was to restore the mosque of al-Bakīriyyah,¹⁹⁶ and the tree-lined road between the citadel, the mosque of al-Bakīriyyah and Bāb Sha'ūb again became the centre of the fashionable quarter of the town; it was here that the foreign rulers had their shops and cafés, as well as the new Military Academy, two civilian schools and an Industrial School.¹⁹⁷

Bir al-'Azab once more achieved its earlier importance as a residential suburb. 'Here reside the Wālī and most of the senior officers.'¹⁹⁸

After the prolonged siege by tribesmen in 1322/1904 the walls of the city were severely damaged, in some places being reduced to ground level.¹⁹⁹

'Before the siege there were some 70,000 inhabitants, now the number was reduced to 20,000' wrote Herbert, an eye-witness in 1905. Although Şan'ā' eventually recovered its prosperity, and the walls were rebuilt, another intensive siege by Imām Yaḥyā in 1329/1911 did widespread damage.

The gateway of Bāb al-Yaman was afterwards rebuilt in brick and stone to a new design by a Turkish military engineer, together with a stretch of the wall on either side of it.

192 Husayn al-'Amrī, note to al-Rāzī, op. cit., 114-15.

193 Manzoni, op. cit., 392.

194 Haig, op. cit., 474 seq.

195 Harris, op. cit., 301.

196 A. J. B. Wavell. *A modern pilgrim in Mecca*, London, 1912, 244.

197 Ibid, 242; Burchardt, op. cit., 593 seq.

198 Wavell, 243.

199 A. Herbert, *Ben Kendim*, London, 1924.










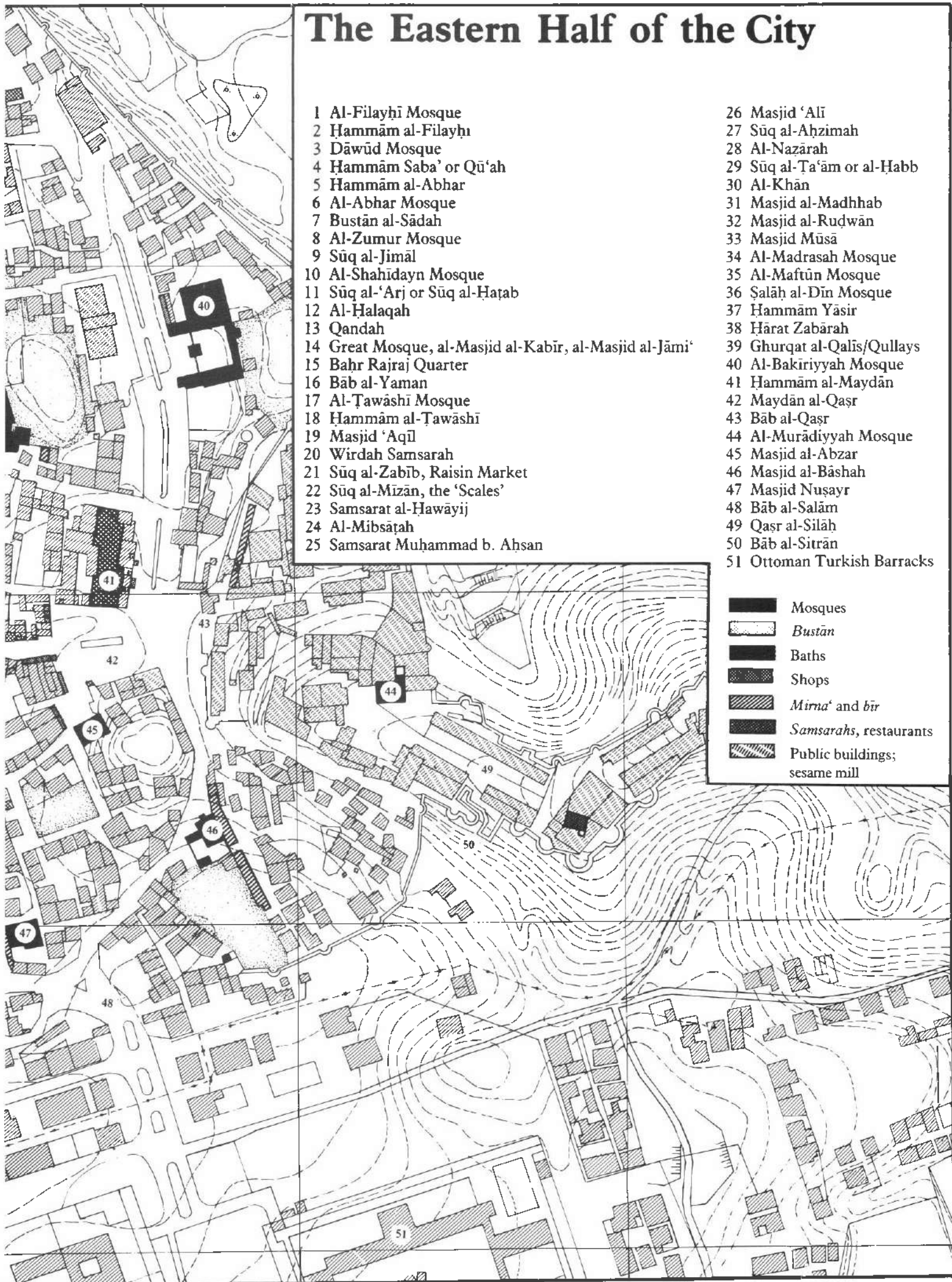
10.18 The wall of the old city of the southern side near Bāb al-Yaman photographed in 1974.



The Eastern Half of the City

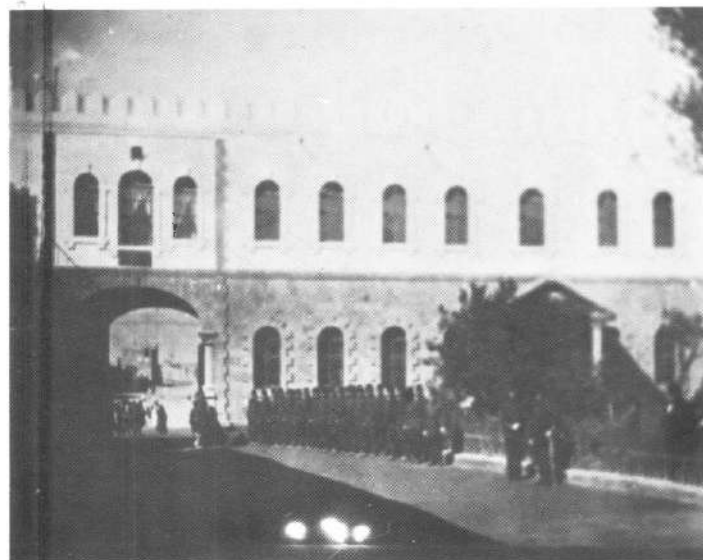
- 1 Al-Filayhī Mosque
- 2 Hammām al-Filayhī
- 3 Dāwūd Mosque
- 4 Hammām Saba' or Qū'ah
- 5 Hammām al-Abhar
- 6 Al-Abhar Mosque
- 7 Bustān al-Sādah
- 8 Al-Zumur Mosque
- 9 Sūq al-Jimāl
- 10 Al-Shahīdayn Mosque
- 11 Sūq al-'Arj or Sūq al-Ḥaṭab
- 12 Al-Ḥalaqah
- 13 Qandah
- 14 Great Mosque, al-Masjid al-Kabīr, al-Masjid al-Jāmi'
- 15 Bahr Rajraj Quarter
- 16 Bāb al-Yaman
- 17 Al-Ṭawāshī Mosque
- 18 Hammām al-Ṭawāshī
- 19 Masjid 'Aqīl
- 20 Wirdah Samsarah
- 21 Sūq al-Zabīb, Raisin Market
- 22 Sūq al-Mizān, the 'Scales'
- 23 Samsarat al-Hawāyij
- 24 Al-Mībsāṭah
- 25 Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ahsan
- 26 Masjid 'Alī
- 27 Sūq al-Aḥzimah
- 28 Al-Nazārah
- 29 Sūq al-Ta'ām or al-Ḥabb
- 30 Al-Khān
- 31 Masjid al-Madhhab
- 32 Masjid al-Ruḍwān
- 33 Masjid Mūsā
- 34 Al-Madrasah Mosque
- 35 Al-Maftūn Mosque
- 36 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Mosque
- 37 Hammām Yāsir
- 38 Ḥarat Zabārah
- 39 Ghurqat al-Qalīs/Qullays
- 40 Al-Bakiriyyah Mosque
- 41 Hammām al-Maydān
- 42 Maydān al-Qaṣr
- 43 Bāb al-Qaṣr
- 44 Al-Murādiyyah Mosque
- 45 Masjid al-Abzar
- 46 Masjid al-Bāshah
- 47 Masjid Nuṣayr
- 48 Bāb al-Salām
- 49 Qaṣr al-Silāḥ
- 50 Bāb al-Sitrān
- 51 Ottoman Turkish Barracks

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
|  | Mosques |
|  | Bustān |
|  | Baths |
|  | Shops |
|  | Mirna' and bīr |
|  | Samsaraks, restaurants |
|  | Public buildings;
sesame mill |

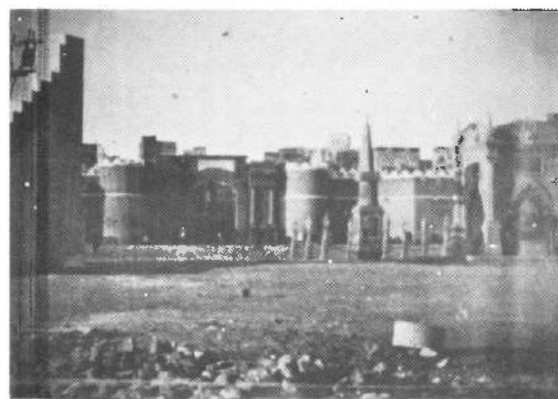




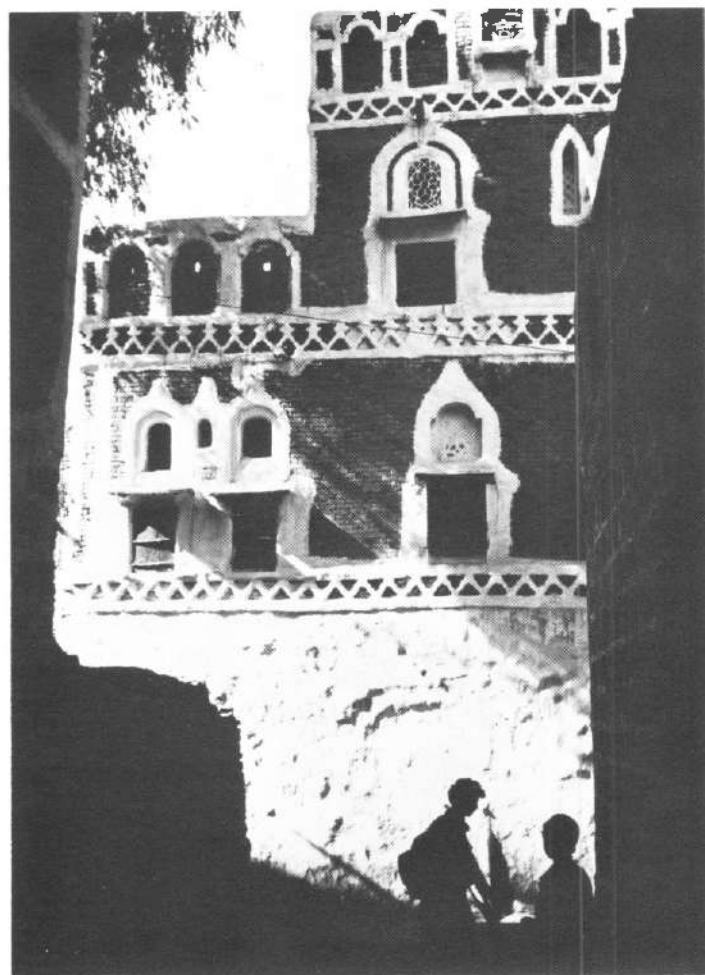
10.19 The Turkish Hospital.



10.20 Bāb al-Sabāh in a 19th century Turkish photograph (University Library, Istanbul)



10.21 Bāb al-Yaman in a 19th century Turkish photograph (University Library, Istanbul)



10.22 A characteristic street scene. Trees which are growing in the market gardens behind the houses are sometimes visible.

The City Under the Ḥamīd al-Dīn Imāms

The withdrawal of the Turks in 1338/1919 was followed by a period of consolidation and reconstruction. The Imām built a splendid new palace next to the old site in Bustān al-Mutawakkil, and in this the first electricity in the city was installed.²⁰⁰

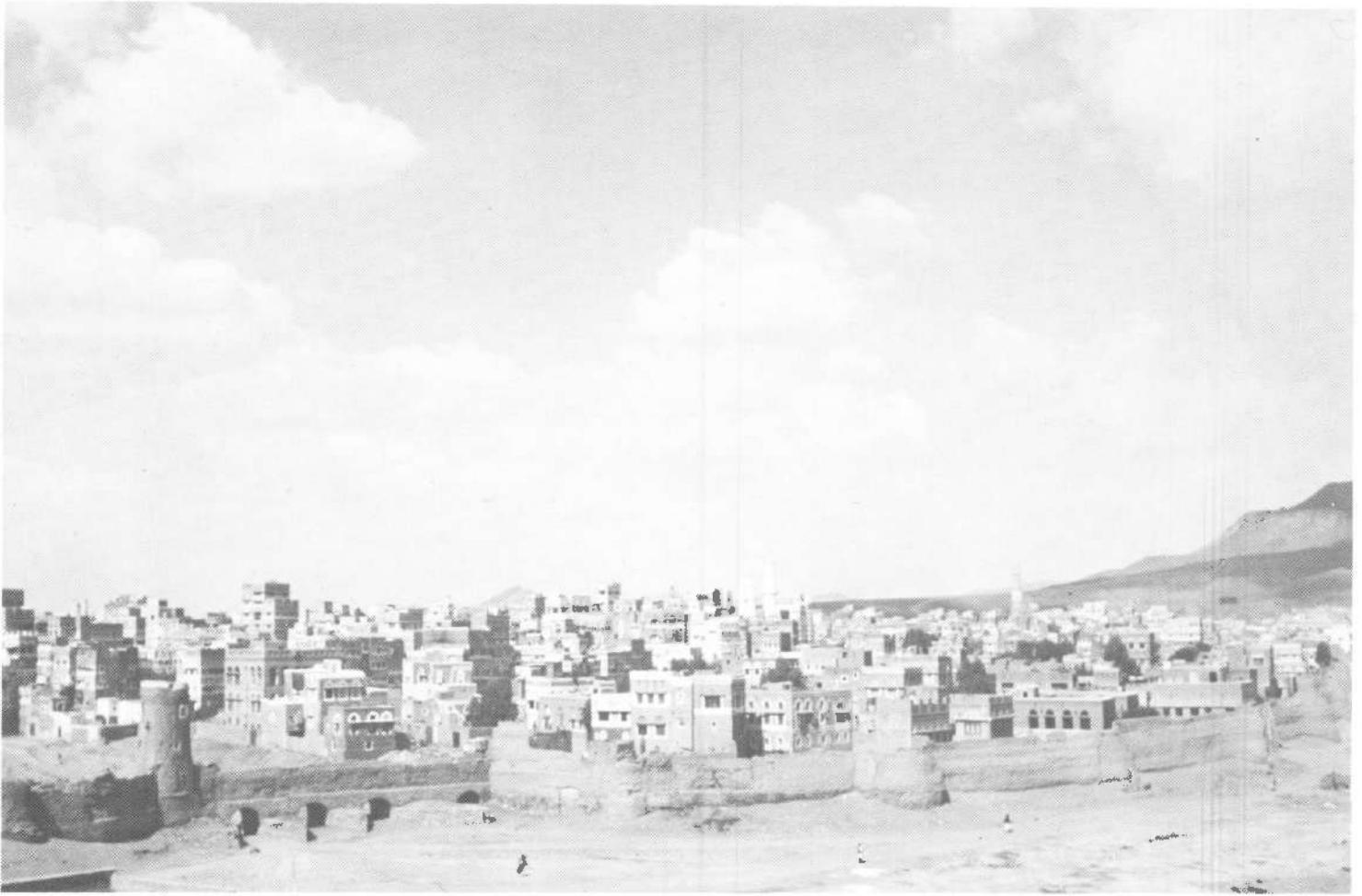
Inhabitants flocked once more into Şan'ā' and within a decade it had recovered to a population of 50,000.²⁰¹

The new Imām engaged in some public works, founding an Orphan School, al-Madrasah al-'Ilmiyyah, and extending the Great Mosque.

On the whole, however, little change took place in Şan'ā'. The city was sacked by tribesmen in 1368/1948. During this attack many large houses suffered internal damage, the Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan was pillaged (and has been closed ever since), and some damage was done to houses, especially those in Bīr al-'Azab, by fire. Life quickly returned to normal, however, with the physical form of the city much as it had been before, but the new Imām ruled from Ta'izz.

200 P. Lamarc, 'L' Arabie Heureuse', *La Géographie*, Paris, 1924, XIII, 1-23.

201 C. Rathjens & H. von Wissmann, 'Sanaa, eine südarabische Stadtlandschaft', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1929, 329-53; G. B. Rossi, *Al-Yemen*, Torino, 1927, estimated the population as even larger at 60,000.



10.23 View of the old city from the south west, with the Sā'ilah in the foreground.



10.24 In al-Mahdī 'Abbās's time, following the Friday Prayer, the Imām's or Governor's mounted escort performed exercises in the *maydān* before the Government palace. (1) pairs bearing lances chasing round after pairs (2) round

tower (*qasabah*) (3) mosque (4) house (5) Governor (6) mountain tribesmen (7) *Shawush* of soldiers (8) Governor's servants (9) wealthy townsmen (10) Tihāmah Arabs (11) mountain tribal soldiers (12) water camel (13) Bāniyāns (14) Jews (15) Strangers in Turkish dress. (Baurenfeind-Niebuhr)

Chapter 11

Administrative Organisation

The Administration of Old Ṣan'ā'

That the Imāms interested themselves in the Government of Ṣan'ā' is evident in their concern with the fixing and revision of the Statute of Ṣan'ā' (*Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*) by which the city's markets were regulated. The indications are that further inquiry will reveal a certain uniformity in the government of all the principal cities under Zaydī control, in respect of market law, price fixing, the organization and policing of the wards or quarters of each urban community. The government official in charge of Ṣan'ā' was the *ʿāmil*, and in the year 1234/1818-9, this was Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaymī¹ of the Qāḍī class. Yemeni biographers not infrequently record that such and such an official acted as *ʿāmil* or *ḥākim* in Ṣan'ā' at some stage in the course of his career. The *ʿāmil*'s varied duties could even include ordering the market folk to decorate the *sūqs* in honour of a Turkish notable visiting the city—as at the beginning of the 12th/18th century.²

In Imamic Ṣan'ā' of the Ḥamid al-Dīn there was a *ḥākim* or judge for the city, but Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs us that there was also a judge called Ḥākim al-Maqām, at the Maqām al-Imām, i.e., the Imām's residence, who would act when two contending parties came to the Imām when he would be set to arbitrate between the parties (*li-'l-faṣl bayn al-khaṣmayn*). To take a case in point, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Wazīr was Ḥākim al-Maqām up to the dynastic revolt of 1948—but anyone of the appropriate standing might act as *ḥākim* and this was often done by 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr himself, the Imām at Ṣan'ā' for a few short weeks in 1948. Qāḍīs who give decisions, and depend for their living on fees paid them by litigants, are known as *ḥākim al-sabīl* in the popular usage (*al-'urf*) of the Yemen, this is because they have no stipend assigned them (*taqrīr*) from the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl). Some of these were quite notable persons as for instance the 12th/18th century Ismā'il b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣiddīq whom al-Mahdī al-'Abbās made one of his *ḥukkām* of Ṣan'ā'.³

Imām Yaḥyā was accustomed to hear cases sitting under a pepper tree (*ḥawāyijih*) in the courtyard of his palace.⁴ In fact

also three tribal *ḥākims* usually resided in Ṣan'ā', the *ḥākims* of Hamdān whose capital is Qaryat al-Qābil of nearby Wādī Ḍahr, of Sinhān with their capital at al-J rdhar, and Banu 'l-Ḥārith with theirs at al-Rawḍah. These places being so near the capital they were allowed to reside there.

The Turks had introduced an innovation when they set up the Court of Appeal (Majlis al-Isti'nāf al-Shar'i) in 1289/1872, and this continued in existence after their departure. The Appeal Court was described by an embittered scholar at the time as being manned by 'listeners to lies and devourers of bribes'.⁵ This court was retained by the Imāms, and, even when it ruled against him, its decisions are stated to have been accepted by the Imām. Zayd al-Daylamī was the president of it, then Yaḥyā al-Iryānī; Imām Aḥmad appointed al-Wādī' of Ṣa'dah to it.

The Imām normally dealt only with cases of the *ḥadd* category in which, for example, there was the question of the offender's hand being cut off, and with executions. The documents pertaining to such cases were brought to him, and he scrutinized them and confirmed the decisions. He might even order an execution. The *ḥākims* held court in their houses, as in the 'Amrī house in al-Sā'ilah Quarter where there was a special entrance for those coming into the court from the street. If anyone disagreed with the decision of the *ḥākim*—who must be a *qāḍī*, though a *qāḍī* was not necessarily a *ḥākim*—the case went up to the Appeal Isti'nāf Court. During the first Ottoman occupation, doubtless because the Turks follow the Ḥanafī school of Islam, we find a Ḥanafī Sayyid acting as a *ḥākim* in Ṣan'ā'.⁷ The jurists were, up to 1962, drawn from the Ma'had Dini, or Religious College, as were most, if not all, of the other government officials in the Zaydī districts. As a comment on the distribution of offices as between the two main sects in the Yemen, the saying, '*Mā amr illā Shawāfi' wa-mā 'askar illā Ziyūd*', may be quoted, meaning that the civil posts were occupied mainly by Shāfi'is and the army posts by Zaydis; this may, however, be a partial view. Before

1 He seems to be described in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 1, d, as 'the respected *ḥākim*'.

2 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 930.

3 *Al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 156, seq.

4 Nazih, *Rihlah*, 180, *inter alia*, describes this; cf. Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert*, London 1930, 104 and 108, for a picture of this tree.

5 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 30. *Sammā'ūn li-'l-kadhḥ akḥūlūn li-'l-suḥt*. Qāḍī Ismā'il's collection includes the proverb, *Shaff al-ḥākim wa-lā ghuzr al-shuhūd/alf shāhid*, as in *Jemenica*, 91, no. 612. That is to say, the partiality of the *ḥākim* is more serious/important than a large number of witnesses.

Ibid, 113, no. 314, *Idhā qad gharim-ak al-qāḍī fa-man tishāri*, 'If your oppo-

nent is the *qāḍī*—with whom can you contest/are going to law? this expresses the hopelessness of getting justice when the *qāḍī* is partial to one of the contending parties.

For verses attacking corrupt *qāḍīs* see *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 767-9.

6 Ibid, II, 266, mentions a *ḥākim* of the *Diwān* of the Imām (al-Mahdī al-'Abbās (12th/18th century)) and one of the *qāḍīs* in Ṣan'ā'. Cf. Ibid, II, 19. Nazih, op. cit., II, 265, has actually a photograph of the 'Amīl of Ṣan'ā', Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Qādir, taken in 1936.

7 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 816. He was a *fayṣal fi 'l-ḥukūmāt*, an arbiter in legal cases.



11.1 A qāḍī of Ṣan'ā' and his family.

1962, I was informed, there were many officials deeply learned in the law, but a large number of these ulema were murdered in Ṣan'ā' following the *coup d'état* of 1962, and there does not seem to be any complete substitute for the Ma'had Dīnī now.

Ordinary day-to-day cases in Ṣan'ā' were dealt with by the shaykhs and *ʿaqils*, and it was only when such affairs started to enter into the province of the *sharī'ah* courts,⁸ that these courts dealt with them. So petty market or street squabbles, fights, frauds, were not really noticed by the *sharī'ah*, though the Imāms were careful to see that here also no point where Islamic principle was concerned should be neglected. The level at which the *sharī'ah* is interested in market law may be deduced from studying such a legal treatise as the *Sharḥ al-Azhār*.⁹

The 'Amil or Governor, among his other duties, scrutinized the current prices of articles of merchandise as submitted to him by the Shaykhs and Clerk(s) of the Markets. The Governor¹⁰ would, in cases of fraud, punish not only the actual offender, but also the Shaykh of his particular market. He is described in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* as *Dhu'l-Wilāyah*.¹¹

In Imām Yaḥyā's day the Government Offices continued to be at Bāb Sharārah where they had been set up by the Ottoman Turks. The functions of the 'Amil of Ṣan'ā' are identical with those assumed by the earliest Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq, well over a thousand years ago at Ṣa'dah, where, it can be postulated, his practice could well be continuing many precedents from before the Islamic age. Though his stay in Ṣan'ā' itself was brief, punctuated by skirmishes, warlike clashes and encounters, and he had finally to leave it when his demands for loans and assistance from the townspeople to maintain his tribal troops were rejected by them, al-Hādī's practice at Ṣa'dah was considered by the Zaydī Imāms as their model. It would certainly be applied in Ṣan'ā' and other Yemenite towns under their control. Al-Hādī used to 'make the round of the markets and streets (*sikak*), we being with him,' says a contemporary.¹² 'If he saw a wall leaning to the side he ordered its owners to put it right, or a foul (*fāsīd*) road he ordered it to be cleaned, a dark back part (*khalf*) of a house he ordered its inmates to put a light in it

for the passers-by and a person making his way to the mosque etc. If he saw a woman (un-veiled) he ordered her to don the *ḥijāb* (veil), and if she was an old woman¹³ he ordered her to cover herself. He it was who introduced veils (*burqu'*) for women into the Yemen and ordered them to adopt them.'

There follows an account of al-Hādī's surveillance of the markets and price fixing.¹⁴ In brief as Imām he assumed also the functions of the Islamic *muḥtasib* like his contemporary the Zaydī Imām Uṣrūsh in Ṭabaristān. The selection made of his legal pronouncement contains much that affects the city and its markets.

There is much evidence of the application of *sharī'ah* legislation to the Statute (*Qānūn*) of Ṣan'ā'—first of all in the matter of price-fixing (*tas'ir*) discussed in al-Ḥaymī's 'Preamble',¹⁵ and fundamental to the Statute as a whole. There is the prohibition of the interception of commodities imported to the market by merchants from the town, and there is *al-radd bi-'l-'ayb*, rescindment of a sale in the event of goods turning out to have a defect concealed by the vendor—which is known to be also pre-Islamic—and even the regulation that a water-vessel must be covered.¹⁶

'Urf, Customary Law.

Tark al-'ādah 'adāwah, Abandonment of custom is hostility

In his preface to *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, al-Sayāghī states that every Yemeni town (*baldah*) has many Statutes (*qawānīn*)¹⁸ which order the social customs (*'ādāt*) of these towns and other transactions confirmed by the *sharī'ah*—indicated in many legal (*fiqhī*) problems by such expressions as '*illā li-'urf*, unless there be a custom', (not of course clashing with the *sharī'ah*), or '*bi-ḥasb al-'urf*, according to custom', or '*al-muqaddam al-'urf*, the custom is preferred'. This statement does not, of course, apply to the Yemen alone, and the Mukallā marriage laws¹⁹ for instance, would have their Yemeni counterpart, while there are customary laws for agriculture, fishing, navigation, hunting, agriculture, etc. Tribal customary law, *Ṭāghūt*²⁰ and *Man'ah* are yet of another category. Yemenis say '*li-kull qaryah silf*, each village has its (customary) precedent'.²¹ The *silf* of 'Dhū Ghaylān' was stated to be the *silf* of the Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn tribes when we were at Baraṭ.

One heard, says al-Sayāghī, from one's forefathers, that there were statutes to cover such social gatherings as mournings (*ma'ātim*), weddings, etc., that defined, even limited what had to be provided by way of meals, and gifts (*rifd*, pl., *arfād*) by relations, friends and guests, for the groom and bride, supplies (*ma'unāt*,²² possibly aid contributions), and interchange of invitations to weddings (*ḍifāh*). These probably closely resembled the laws and customs of the Quarters of Tarim town and al-Mukallā.²³ Ṣan'ā' also had sumptuary laws on the dress of brides and on maintaining dowries at a moderate level (or attempting to do so)—as in Ḥaḍramawt of the present century. All this says al-Sayāghī, is in accordance with the aim of the 'Law Giver'.²⁴

8 Nazih, *Riḥlah*, 28, describes the *maḥkamah shar'iyyah* at Hodeidah.

9 For the 'Judiciary' in general in the 20th century Yemen, see al-Ṭayyib Zayn al-'Abidin, *The role of Islam in the state, Yemen Arab Republic (1940-1972)*, Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1975.

10 *Qānūn*, section 49.

11 *Ibid*, section 21, ch. II. A strange piece of information is that the Deputy of the 'Amil is responsible for seeing butchers clear the bones from the abattoir (p.190a), but 'Amil is most certainly a misprint for 'aqil.

12 Cf. 'Alī b. Muḥ. al-'Abbāsī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq*, Damascus 1972, 386.

13 *Min qawā'id*. The noun *tasattur*, rendered as 'cover herself', might refer to the *ṣitārah*, the large cloth with which the Ṣan'ānī woman covers herself from head to foot when outside.

14 Cf. p.163b.

15 See p.182a.

16 See p.225a.

17 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 362, no. 1070, i.e. Leaving off

customary kindness, stirs up hostility.

18 Further research into these *qawānīn* should be undertaken before they disappear from memory and the documents get lost.

19 Cf. my 'Recent marriage legislation from al-Mukallā with notes on marriage customs', *BSOAS*, London, 1962, XXV, 3, 472-98.

20 For *Ṭāghūt* see my remarks in A. J. Arberry, *Religion in the Middle East*, Cambridge, 1969, II, 11, and more fully, C. Rathjens, 'Ṭāghūt gegen schērī'a', *Jhb. des Linden-Museums*, Stuttgart, 1951, 172-87. At Ṣa'dah it was remarked in 1973 that in relations between themselves tribes use *Ṭāghūt* but if the Government enters into a case it uses *sharī'ah*.

21 Cf. *Jemenica*, 89, no. 596, *silf al-bilād*.

22 *Ma'unah* means also, *une contribution extraordinaire, imposée par le prince quand le trésor public était épuisé, une imposition fixe*, etc., Dozy, *Supplément*. The Zaydī ulema argued at some length on the validity of such a tax.

23 Cf. my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London 1951, pref., 27.

24 Al-Shārī, the Prophet.

In such families as al-Akwa' you have the *mahr al-mithl* a fixed dowry²⁵ for marriages that take place within the Akwa' family—which is very large and widely distributed. Certain ordinances also regulated the clothing of each class and distinguished it in its outward appearance, so that not to follow it would be a loss of esteem. However, it seems that any sort of sumptuary law such as this last is unknown nowadays, nor is it known in the living memory or through the report of elderly persons.

When a person dies, relatives to this day provide food, wheat, ghee, money (*burr, saman, fulūs*),—this is an effect a sort of loan or debt which must be returned when an appropriate occasion arises, but the custom seems nowadays to be mainly confined to the *qabā'il* tribesfolk, and is not, it is said, found in the towns.

Al-Sayāghī deduces from the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* that there were additional codes or statutes to those in the document itself, for each market in the town, to which reference would be made, these being kept in the custody of the Shaykhs. To judge from a parallel type of document, a collection of papers which I copied from the *dallāls* of Shibām of Ḥaḍramawt, these are likely to be agreements between the people of any given market or their headmen, following upon some dispute. Additional Ṣan'ā' documents, al-Sayāghī considers, would contain particulars of the taxes (*jibāyah*) levied (presumably by each market organization) on the rich, those of middling wealth, and the poor, and the duties obligatory on the Shaykh of each market of raising small and important matters to the 'Āmil, the Governor of Ṣan'ā'.

Control of the Markets

The Market was governed by the Chief Shaykh (Shaykh al-Mashāyikh) who is elected by the Shaykhs, or, as one informant stated, by the 'āqils (perhaps indeed by both) of the various markets (Mashāyikh al-Aswāq), and it appears that each sūq has a Shaykh. Their general duties are laid down in section 49 of the *Qānūn*. The Chief Shaykh holds in his hands the regulations (*qawā'id*)²⁶ issued by the *Hākim*. The main duty of the Chief Shaykh, like the Islamic *muhtasib*, seems to have been to keep an eye on weights and measures. The Shaykhs of individual markets would presumably be elected from among the 'āqils and *umanā'*, 'honest men', of each market. The Chief Shaykh was responsible

to the Governor, and this office of Shaykh al-Mashāyikh still exists (1972). In the period of the first Ottoman occupation an office of *Ṣubāshī* over the Ṣan'ā' Sūq was set up—one *Ṣubāshī* is recorded as having killed a man from Sha'b on account of an old hatred between them.²⁷

The Shaykh al-Sūq was described as the head/president (*ra'īs*), and the 'āqil as the manager (*mudir*), of inferior standing to the Shaykh al-Sūq. There are 'uqqāl of the tailors and porters,²⁸ and the porters in fact still have 'uqqāl to this day. Sometimes the posts of Shaykh in the markets are, it is said, hereditary in families, but this would be practice not law. In 1972 the Shaykh Mashāyikh Ṣan'ā'²⁹ was Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Watāri, the Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Ḥārāt wa-l-Aswāq, i.e. Shaykh both of the Quarters and of the Markets. Enquiries elicited the statement that the Jews had no part in electing the Shaykh al-Mashāyikh.

The Quarters (Ḥārah/Ḥārāt) of Ṣan'ā'

The earliest division of Islamic Ṣan'ā' into the two districts of al-Qaṭī' and al-Sirār still exists today in its topographical sense. The city, however, can be said to be composed of a number of Quarters or Wards, mainly called after the mosque of each Quarter, though, to judge by *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*³⁰ this is not invariably so. The boundaries between Quarter and Quarter if defined, and they seem to have been defined not so long ago, are not exactly known to the man in the street. This is in direct contrast to the towns of Ḥaḍramawt which are closer in their organization to tribal structures, and where the limits of each Quarter are exactly determined—or in active dispute—and energetically maintained by the men of the Quarter. So much is this so that affrays break out if one Quarter on ceremonial occasions attempts to infringe on the ground claimed by another.³¹ In Ṣan'ā' the organization of the Quarters, although bearing some relation to that of Ḥaḍrami towns, has lost the independence the latter enjoyed, and been brought under the control of strong central governments. It is urban rather than tribal in its aspect. Probably, in the Yemen as a whole, if such inter-Quarter rivalry existed, it has disappeared as anachronistic, and under the disapproval of rulers not bound up with the local society—in which way they would to some extent

25 Yet a writer in *Ma'rib*, Ta'izz, 13 Rabi' II, 1392/26 May, 1972, commenting on an article in the preceding issue, 'The cost of dowries (*ghalā' al-muḥūr*) in Shar'ab' blames this on the fathers. Though the Government has limited the *mahr* and *daf* (which I have rendered as 'dowry and bride price') it can do nothing if people do not observe this law. 'We in Ḥashid', he says, 'have met together among ourselves and limited the dowries (*muḥūr*) so that they do not exceed a thousand *riyāls* for the virgin, and 750 *riyāls* for a woman previously married. Regulations (*qawā'id*) were written down, the Mashāyikh, ulama and 'youth' (*shabāb*) signed them, and committees were formed from each village to keep an eye and watch (on them).' Both the person arranging the marriage and the person being married must take an oath (*yamin*) with the local committee not to pay one more *riyāl* than the prescribed sum. In some villages where they broke the regulations they were fined 5,000 *riyāls* paid by the person arranging the marriage and the person being married, to the village chest of the tribe.

Qāḍi Ismā'il states that the *mahr* is expended on silver jewellery for the bride, but the *sharīf* goes to her father to help him meet the expenses of the marriage. In Yemeni villages when a man marries it is customary for the people of the village to bear a share of the cost and to help out those in whose houses the marriage is taking place with corn (*ma'ākil*) and sheep-and-goats when there are guests from outside the village. This aid (*ma'ūnah*) becomes a fixed debt held in trust (*fi dhimmaḥ*) of the people giving the wedding until such time as a marriage takes place in another house and they return to it what it gave to them. So people say, 'Al-'irī fi 'l-bayt wa-'l-gharāmah 'ala 'l-qaryah, The marriage takes place in the (one) house, but the charge is the responsibility of the (whole) village'.

Goitein, *Jemenica*, 44, no. 236, has an amusing expression for somewhat these circumstances, 'Bint qashshām u-sharīf bint al-mām, The daughter of a leek-seller but the dowry of the Imām's daughter!'

26 Presumably this collection still exists.

27 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 65 b.

28 Cf. *Qānūn*, sections 26 & 48, viii.

29 Niebuhr in R. Heron, *Travels through Arabia*, Edinburgh, 1892, 87, speaks of the 'Emir es Suk' who regulates sales and markets, but he is probably to be identified with the Shaykh al-Sūq of the *Qānūn*.

30 E.g., Ḥārāt Abi Maṭar, H. Hammām Saba' called after the public bath, H.

Mu'ammār, H. al-Nahrayn, Ḥāfat Qandah, Ḥāfat Samrah, pp. 9, 140, 70, 140, 87. One hears sometimes *saḥḥah*, an open square or space, used for *ḥājah* or *ḥārah*, a quarter, e.g. Sarḥat al-Wādī for Ḥārāt al-Wādī.

An interesting name is Ḥārāt Ṭubūl Khānah, lying south of the street leading from the Ṭalḥah Mosque to Hammām Saba', seemingly the Quarter where the drum-band performed or was stationed.

The *Ṭabl-khānah* under the Rasūlids performed at various official occasions such as those recorded in Hikoichi Yajima, *A chronicle of the Rasūlid dynasty of the Yemen*, Tokyo, 1974. The drums of the drum-band were beaten on joyous occasions (*furjah*), often at a procession (*zaḥf*) (47), which had, sometimes anyway, musical instruments and cymbals (*ma'āzif wa-ṭanj*) accompanying it (45). The drumming might continue for three (185) or seven days (*duqqa 'l-ṭabl-khānah/yakhdum al-ṭ.*) (87, 175, 181). It is sometimes called *ṭabl-khānah arba' bi-arba'* (sense uncertain, 99, 116, 127), and it might be taken (*shilat*) to a victorious *amir* accompanying gifts to him and he would return with it—in fact mostly victories seem to have been celebrated (50). At a wedding the beating lasted seven days, and the 'ever-victorious soldiery (*al-'askar al-manṣūr*)' made a play with horses (no doubt after the manner of the Niebuhr sketch at San'a', p. 143). Other occasions upon which it played were for the *khizānah*, i.e. the revenues remitted to Ta'izz leaving Aden port and city (53), and at a *zaḥf* when foundations of a building were laid (58). Cf. pp. 57, 74, 98, 104, 183-4. *Amirs* seem to have had their own *ṭabl-khānahs* (Khazraji, *al-'Uqūd*, text I, 139, II, 1). I recall on my arrival at the Ṭihāmah village al-Muḥarrāq, on 31.X.66, the drummers, servants of the Shaykh, came to meet us and drum us to his hut. These are African type populations, *akhdām*—I hazard a guess that the Rasūlid drummers were also drawn from this group.

Cf. G. R. Smith, *Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, I, 20b. *passim*, II, Glossary.

Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, IV, 13, gives a full description of the *Ṭubūl-Khānah* in Egypt with the various instruments, but so far there is no known account of the composition of the Rasūlid band.

31 Cf. my 'The Quarters of Tarīm and their tanṣūrah', *Le Museon*, Louvain, 1950, LXIII, 277 seq. and my 'Wards and Quarters of towns in South-West Arabia', *Storia della città*, Roma, 1978, VII, 43-8.

be resembled by the Sayyids of Tarim—or as that of these Ḥaḍramīs, not even native to the town.

The same sentiment over boundaries and territories was still felt, however, by the tribesmen of the northern Yemen who jealously preserved their territorial integrity from infringement by other tribes with whom they did not happen to be at war, if these tried to cross their country in full tribal panoply—today conditions are probably still as they were. A case in point is that, in 1073/1662-3, the son of the Imām had to make peace (*iṣlāḥ*) between the Dhaybān and 'Iyāl 'Abdu'llāh tribes because 'war (*al-sharr*) had broken out after his arrival, between the people of al-Rajaw of Arḥab and the people of the country because of their beating of the drum (*ṭabl*) in the country of al-Rajaw'.³² Again, in the following year, on the occasion of the Feast of the Sacrifices (*'Id al-Naḥr*) war broke out in 'Amrān between the tribes of the town and the 'Iyāl Sirayḥ, because the latter had entered 'Amrān with drums—the principles of proud incomppliance with that being observed by the tribes (*qawā'id al-qabā'il*). Between them the two factions lost four souls, and the son of the Imām who was there that day had to separate them and remove the mischief (*fitnah*) from the Yemen.³³ Each Quarter (*Ḥārāḥ*) has an 'āqil³⁴ or headman, and these 'uqqāl would, at any rate in times past, be responsible to the Governor (*'Amīl*). The *Qānūn* (section 20) mentions a Shaykh al-Madīnah³⁵ once, but he may be similar to, or identical with, the *Shaykh al-Mashāyikh*, and al-Watārī (supra) was described as the Shaykh of both the Quarters and the Markets—it may be that the two offices were always combined. It is to be presumed that he headed the 'uqqāl in their relations with the Governor.

The 'āqil is responsible for dealing with any incident (*ḥādithah*) in his Quarter, and for *farq*,³⁶ i.e., any sort of impost or tax payable by the Quarter as a unit—this sum the 'āqil will apportion out (*yuhaddid*) among the people of the Quarter to pay.

The 'āqil must find out about any stranger (*gharīb*) in the Quarter and make enquiries to ascertain whether he be a thief or other malefactor. He makes arrangements for dealing with flood-water and its effects, and probably other natural calamities.

At emergencies in the Quarter one shouts out, '*Yā ghāratāḥ yā ghāratāḥ!*'³⁷ This is if, for example, robbers be discovered, or there should be an attack upon a person. A woman would give this cry out of fear if she is being beaten by her husband to a point beyond reason. The people would then run up (*yihibbū*) to help, for example, in dissuading a man from belabouring his wife, or to stop a fight, or to cope with thieves. A casual helper intervening is known as *fārī min shārī*, an intervener from the street. A proverb speaks of a *mifārī wa-mlaqqū ḥijār*,³⁸ an intervener and picker-up of stones—i.e., to add force to his argument! Seeing two boys fighting in the street a woman might shout out in order to induce passers-by to separate them, '*Ilayk ilayk ghayr*'³⁹ '*alā akhū-k/ibn-ak/ṣadiq-ak*, Look out you, your brother/son/friend is being assaulted'. It is a shaming action

(*'ayb*) to cry, '*Yā ghāratāḥ*', without satisfactory cause—any person who does so would be fined.

In the event of a fire a man shouts out, '*Baytī ḥiriq*, My house is on fire!' At this, the Quarter people run up to his assistance, carrying with them their own gear, such as the ladders they normally use when renewing the plaster (*quṣṣ*) on their houses, and they pour water on the fire.

The 'āqil of the Quarter has a list of the persons in it. At the time of, say, a flood (*sayl*) a money levy (*gharāmah*) is made upon the men of the Quarter, to pay for the digging of a channel (*sāqiyah*).⁴⁰ The 'āqil then produces his sheet (*bayāḍ-ah*) with the names and makes an apportionment of, say, two *riyāls* per head (*farq mablagh riyālayn*), saying,⁴¹ 'Your contribution (*farq-ak*) is two *riyāls*.' He checks off the payments against his list.

The money will be applied to making a channel to lead off the water to al-Sā'ilah al-Kabirah—Aḥmad b. Aḥmad Qaryah of Hamdān, who told me this in 1973, lived then in Bustān al-Sulṭān, west of the Sā'ilah into which it would be easy to drain surface water as he describes, but in other parts of the town they must have had their own arrangements. A money levy towards repairing a road in the Quarter would be made in a similar way.

At weddings in the Yemen, though I am not sure if this applies to Ṣan'ā', the 'āqil al-ḥārāḥ is called in, also the *faqīh al-ḥārāḥ* and the conditions of marriage read out in their presence.⁴² Like the Markets the Quarters have their own security arrangements for the night-watch, though since, probably, there is not such a concentration of goods attractive to thieves the number of watchmen is smaller and of course the tall stone houses with stout doors and many inmates are less vulnerable than the one storey shops or the *samsarah* warehouses, deserted at night. A *shaykh al-layl* (lit. shaykh of the night) will be chosen by, say, three Quarters to supervise the watchmen and see that they are performing their duties effectively. Nowadays the Shaykh al-Layl receives a stipend (*murattab*) from the Government and the rich give him presents (*musā'adah*), probably of money, in addition.

The Shaykh al-Layl nominates the watchmen (*hurrās*) who have to perform the watch duties, from the people of the Quarter—or at least they did so until recent times, saying, '*Ant 'ind-ak al-laylah*, It is your turn tonight'. If a man is ill, or happens to be rich and does not wish to be bothered performing night-watch duty, he hires (*yu'ajjir*) another man to do so in his place. In such cases the Sayyids⁴³ pay just like other persons, and indeed in this matter individuals seem less important than the houses of the Quarter.

Qāḍī Ismā'il said that in former days drums (*marāfi'*) were beaten in Ṣan'ā' at three o'clock Arab time (i.e. nine p.m. European time) and after that people stayed in their houses. After this hour travellers who had not reached Ṣan'ā' used to spend the night in villages around the city, because also at nine p.m. the gates were closed and they could not enter it. So also the gates being closed, Muslims and Jews could not enter one another's Quarters.

32 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 49 a.

33 Ibid, fol. 50 a. Ibid fol. 58 a. states that when Ṣafīyy al-Islām Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan summoned Hamdān to himself and the Banu 'l-Ḥārith heard that they would beat the drum (*ṭabl*) as they passed from their country to al-Ghīras, they warned Hamdān that this would be a *bādirah* which would put a slight (*ʿar*) upon them. The dictionary sense of *bādirah* is a hasty action, error, but might possibly in the Yemen mean an aggressive act.

34 Goitein, *Jemenica*, 27, no. 138, quotes a proverb, '*Alladhi mā ma'uh 'āqil, 'āqil-uh al-Shayṭān*, He who has no headman, his headman is Satan.' 'In Ṣan'ā' hat jede Strasse der Judenstadt einen 'āqil.'

35 It was suggested he was, in modern parlance, a sort of *muḥāfiẓ* or mayor.

36 *Farq* is widely used in south Arabia in the sense of apportioning out a tax or levy among those persons liable to contribute to it. Cf. the Jewish silver-smiths' agreement (p.239a), and Hikoichi Yajima, *Chronicle*, 34, *al-farq wa-'l-sukhr* (correcting his reading), the latter meaning corvée, in 793/1391. I have heard said, *farraqū qimat al-'aqā'ir*, they (the tribe) divided out the cost of the animals to be sacrificed (to lay an obligation on some person or group) into portions. This means that each gave his *qist* or share of the cost.

37 This is for the full phrase, '*Yā ghārat Allāh*' which seems to be derived from the phrase, *aghāra ila bani/bi-bani fulān*, he came to the sons of such a one to

aid, succour. *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 601, has a verse which speaks of '*ghārat al-Bārīyy 'alay-nā*, the aid of the Creator against us' which the poet says is not slow in coming'. The editor has not properly understood the verse. In fact *Yā ghārat Allāh* is a well known exclamation used in invoking God's (or man's) help. Somewhat similar is the tribal '*Yā ghawthāh*, Help! If in Ṣan'ā', you stumble (*quduft*) over, e.g., a projecting stone, you exclaim, '*Yā 'Alīyyāh*, or '*Yā Muḥammadāh*, or '*Yā Faṭīmāh*, or, amongst the Zaydis, '*Yā Khamsatāh*—doubtless the five persons known to the Shī'ah as *Ahl al-Kisā'*.

38 *Jemenica*, 113, no. 810.

39 *Ghayr*, perhaps the active participle *ghā'ir*, but with the sense of *ighārāḥ*. I heard from Qasim Munassar the verb, *ghawwar*, *darab al-jawt*, to shout, if attacked, in a loud voice, to neighbouring groups, for help when in danger.

40 Arabic, *yisqūn majra 'l-sayl*.

41 The 'āqil might also say, '*Lā budd 'alayk kayt*, You must pay so much'. One says, '*Qad faraḍ 'alay-nā kayt*, He has imposed so much on me.'

42 Mohammed Hassan, *Heart of Yemen (Qalib al-Yaman)*, Baghdad, 1947, 156.

43 In the enclaves in tribal territory known as *hiyrah* Sayyids do not pay for protection or share in the common contributions (*gharāmah*) of the tribe for whatever purpose.

At Hodeidah Nazih⁴⁴ found that at eight p.m. the troops played music for half an hour, Turkish tunes, and were replied to by the garrison of the fort. After the songs (*nashid*) came the beating of the drums, and counter-drumming from the fort, ending in the shout, *Yā Mutawakkilāh*—a salute to the Imām. Then a trumpet blows, people go home, and only troops are allowed in the street.

The watchman (*hāris*) does a watch of about half the night, about six hours, then the Shaykh al-Layl says to him, *Uḍwī lak al-bayt*,⁴⁵ Go back home.

To apprise the people of the curfew (*waqt al-yasak*),⁴⁶ about four o'clock at night Arab time (i.e. ten p.m.) nowadays, the watchman must blow his whistle.⁴⁷ Meaning that the time of the curfew has sounded; people say, *Qad ʿarabat al-wuraysah*, The whistle's gone! As the night-watchman goes on his rounds he shouts, *Yā 'Alī, yā Muḥammad!* to let his fellow-watchmen know that he is about (*ynabbih khabir-ah*). Nazih⁴⁸ says that they call out to one another, the *hāris* at the *Maqām* of the Imām commencing, followed by the *hāris* in the next post to it—thus it goes round until the call comes back to the *Maqām*. Then another phrase is called out which makes the round in the same fashion.

The Shaykh al-Layl and Night-Watchmen

The Markets of San'a' maintain a more elaborate system of night-watchmen (*ḥaras/hurrās*), headed by the Shaykh al-Layl, than do the Quarters. Nor is this peculiar to San'a', for I found a Shaykh al-Layl and watchmen in Yarīm, and both there and in Radā', there are little brick shelters⁴⁹ for them on the roofs of the shops in the markets. At Shibām/Kawkabān they maintain these guards as employees, a tax being paid by the shops (*ḥawānūt*) for this purpose. There is even a mud brick shelter for one on the roof of the *extra muros* development of the market. Probably all large towns in the Yemen have the same system. *Qānūn San'a'* gives detailed instructions on the collection and apportionment of the watch-tax to maintain the watchmen or on the personnel of the watch to be supplied by a Market. The earliest allusion⁵⁰ to watchmen at present known to me is in a justification of the Imām's imposing taxes for specific purposes—in this case al-Mutawakkil, some time before 1066/1655—this does not of course mean that he introduced the night-watch system. Jarmūzī speaks of levies for watchmen for guarding against fire, and (for) the raising of walls and the gates of the streets (*ujrat al-hurrās li-hifẓ al-ḥarīq wa-naṣb al-durūb wa-abwāb al-sikak*). He cites the Prophet's practice at Medina when he had the defensive trench, al-Khandaq, excavated, imposing a charge to defray the wages of the workmen or labourers on it upon those who did not contribute labour. In *Qānūn San'a'* itself in section 2 there is a reference to an original document, *al-Umm*,⁵¹ which dealt with the watch-duties and provision of fleece-lined coats for the watchmen. This document is prior to Document A (Basic) of the early 12th/

18th century and might even be *Qānūn al-Mutawakkil*⁵² or possibly a separate document on its own.

Qāḍī 'Alī al-Akwa' informed me in 1972 that the Shaykh al-Layl is of the family (*min usrat*) of the Bayt Qaṭṭā', and that the watchmen (*ḥaras*) are also of this group. The Shaykh al-Layl is elected by the Sūq from the Bayt al-Qaṭṭā', and the post held by inheritance within this group. They are thought, but it is not quite certain, to be originally of the tribes of Banī Maṭar who reckon some of the western side—Bustān al-Sulṭān up to the Sā'ilah—to be Banī Maṭar territory. The fee (*marjū'*) of the Shaykh al-Layl today (1972) is 300 *riyāls*, paid by the Baladiyyah—the Municipality—which has taken over this responsibility, to judge by the *Qānūn*, from the Markets themselves, possibly from the time of the foundation of the Baladiyyah by the Turks, but I have no information on this point. It is interesting to learn from 'Alī al-Akwa' that the former President Sallāl's father was not a Shaykh al-Layl as has been alleged, but in fact sold charcoal (*sawd*)⁵³ though this is a trade with which the *ḥaras* are connected.

The Shaykh of the Police (*al-Shurṭah*) of the *Qānūn* (section 48)⁵⁴ looks like a more formal title for the popular and more picturesque term Shaykh al-Layl. The Shaykh al-Layl supervises the watchmen (*yu'aqqib*⁵⁵ 'ala 'l-ḥaras), dividing them between two duties, some to patrol in the Markets and look after the shops, the others to take up posts on the roofs (*ajbi*). On the roofs of the shops throughout the San'a' Markets are to be seen small brick cabins (*miḥrās*) in which watchmen are stationed at night. The head watchman (*akbar ḥurrās al-layl*) is posted in a headquarters tower-like brick structure called al-Ṭayramānah⁵⁶ situated close to the famous 11th/17th century Samsarah of Muḥammad b. Aḥsan which the tribes looted when they entered San'a' in 1948. Until then this Samsarah was the great business centre of the city, so the head watchman would appropriately be stationed here—this watch-tower might even have been established by al-Mutawakkil or his nephew Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan at the same time as the Samsarah. In his post the head watchman listens to all that is happening in the Market, and if he hears a disturbance anywhere in the market he despatches one of his men to see what is happening.

Certain particulars relating to the Shaykh al-Layl's duties are provided by al-Sayāghī.⁵⁷ First he has complete control/jurisdiction (*ṣalāhiyyah*) during the night only. He must inspect (*tafaqqad*) the shops (*ḥawānūt*) and warehouses (*samāsirat al-tijarah*). He looks to see how each shop door is locked⁵⁸ and at the locks (*aqfāl*) for sometimes there are to be found those that have been left unlocked, or upon which padlocks, through forgetfulness, have not been set. It is the duty of the Shaykh al-Layl to lock and padlock them. For this he is entitled to a special fee/fine (*adab*) which he receives from the persons guilty of such carelessness. The Ghuthaymī padlock⁵⁹ is still very much in evidence in San'a' as also the locally made bolt and the long metal keys for some types of lock.

44 Nazih, *Riḥlah*, I, 48; cf. II, 59.

45 Rendered as *irjā' al-bayt*.

46 When in Bayḥān in 1954 I found there was a curfew about the same time in the evening called *band* or *yasak*, announced by beating of drums. The use of the Turkish word *yasak* might be considerably older than the period of the second occupation of the Yemen by the Ottomans, and the curfew itself may be a very long established institution. Indeed *Masājid San'a'*, 40, quotes al-Rāzī, 92, on the care taken by the inhabitants of San'a' to keep to their houses when the night-guard (*al-ʿass*) was about to begin its patrol. Ibn Rustah, 113, writing about 290/903, tells us that people assemble in the salons of the *faqih*s and others after the time of Night Prayer (*ʿatamah*) until the time when the drum (*kūs*) set up on Ghumdān is beaten, anyone found outside after that is imprisoned and punished.

47 *Yuwwaris/yūris fi 'l-furaysah/wuraysah*. The whistle is described as T shaped. Inside the top horizontal of the T is a bit of ivory (*ʿaj*), which rattles against the side of the tube, making a noise that issues from the hole at the top of the leg of the T. The police were said to blow their whistles '*min' alā mayd*' (meaning '*alā shān*') *tūqaf*, so as you'll stop.

48 *Riḥlah*, I, 94. In Radā' each *Ḥāfah* or Quarter has its *ʿaqil* and the *ḥaras* are under his control.

49 As a security measure in San'a' and Bir al-Azab the Turks in 1312/1894-5 doubled the building of *maḥārīs* in the lanes and streets, and the lighting of

lamps (*fawānis*), according to *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 165.

Al-Rāzī, *Tārikh*, 113, mentions a census of the number of houses in San'a' for *al-maḥras*, whatever this means in the context.

50 Al-Jarmūzī, *al-Sirat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 446.

51 See p. 183b.

52 See p. 180b.

53 Aḥmad al-Mu'allimī, *al-Asad al-Kartūn*, San'a', 1969, 50, alludes to this addressing Sallāl—'*A-nasita Sūq al-Fahm*, Have you forgotten the Charcoal Market?

54 This section of the *Qānūn* is presumably to be considered as belonging to Document A (Basic) of the early 12th/18th century as it is not specifically marked by al-Sayāghī as 'Supplementary'.

55 Syn. *yurāqib-hum*.

56 Cf. Landberg, *Hadramūt*, 399, *ṭayramah*, a belvedere on the roof of a house like a cabin. Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk bi-ma'rifat al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥ. Muṣṭafā Ziyādah etc., Cairo, 1939-, I, III, 175, *al-ṭayramah*, a structure for the Sultan to sit in with a domed roof, this at Aleppo in 690/1291. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*. Persian in origin, this word goes back to the 'Abbāsid period.

57 'Qānūn San'a'', *Majallat al-Makhḥūṭāt*, Cairo, 1964, X, 278-9.

58 *Taghliq*, colloquially used for *iqfāl*.

59 See p. 226a, n. 270.

Al-Sayāghī adds that he has the privilege of dealing (*ṣulḥah*) plus the resultant fee (*ujrah*) in some of the markets, like the fee for settling a deal in charcoal (*ʿayid ṣulḥat al-sawd*), to which, up to the present date (1964), he is entitled 'and such matters as that, about the particulars of which I came upon no information'. Qāḍī 'Alī al-Akwa' informed me that the watchmen (*ḥaras*) nowadays act as porters for goods (*aqlām*).⁶⁰

Qāḍī Ismā'il's view is that the *ḥaras* mentioned throughout the *Qānūn* are not tribesmen—they carry a stick—which is not considered a tribal weapon in south Arabia, but of course they wear their daggers (*janābī*). He thought there would be a watchman for each *Ṣan'ā'* market. Administratively, says al-Sayāghī, watch duties (*ḥirāsah*), the organization, posting of the watchmen, execution of their duties, and stipends (*ma'āshāt*) still, today, follow the pattern of the *Qānūn* without governments (*duwal*) interfering with it (the *Qānūn*) except in the way of assistance (*bi-'l-ma'ūnah*)—nor do they interfere in the affairs of the Shaykh al-Layl in charge of the watchmen. The watchmen come under the authority of the Shaykh al-Layl and he comes under the governor of *Ṣan'ā'*.

Al-Sayāghī further suggests that the watch (*ḥirāsah*) arrangements might have been intended to assist the city to govern itself under temporary weaknesses in governments and to place the responsibility for this upon the Mashāyikh and Shaykh al-Mashāyikh of *Ṣan'ā'*. He takes as cases in point the time of Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī⁶¹ himself and the Shaykh of *Ṣan'ā'* Muḥsin b. Mu'īd⁶² (ob. 1298/1881), since both men preserved the city from tribal attacks until the government came and the Imām's authority was affirmed. In view of the necessity for guarding the town against outbreaks of fire which seems to be at least one reason in Mutawakkil's time for maintaining the watch, and because the merchants do not sleep in their shops but live outside the Markets—in the case of the Jews as far away as Qā' al-Yahūd, the town must always have needed policing by night in this way. In late 1974 after an outbreak of large robberies in *Ṣan'ā'* Market some of the proprietors of shops took the precaution of sleeping in them at night for a while, instead of returning to their homes. It seems to me that the *ḥirāsah* arrangements were intended merely for these immediate needs of *Ṣan'ā'* and other cities of the Yemen.

The Police (*Shurṭah*)

A few casual references in the histories reveal the existence of police (*shurṭah*) in *Ṣan'ā'* and other towns during the 12th/18th century but nothing is recorded about their organization or responsibilities, or of their relation to the night watchmen or

other particulars. One revealing story⁶³ does however give some indication of how the police operated.

In the days of al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn (mid 12th/18th century) a well-known person of *Ṣan'ā'* was found lying murdered in the streets of *Ṣan'ā'*, so the Imām said to his Chief of Police (Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭah), al-Qubay', that he would inflict a painful punishment upon him if he did not bring him the murderer. Al-Qubay', apprehensive of what might happen to him, went to a Sayyid renowned for his skill in discovering secret hidden things, thefts, and for magic (*sha'badhak*)—this latter perhaps better rendered as sleight of hand. Such persons, let it be remarked, practiced for instance in al-Mukallā in our own days and probably still do. This Sayyid certainly had many of the qualities of a confidence trickster! By sheer chance this Sayyid had seen three men with drawn weapons and on learning of the murder from al-Qubay' he guessed that they were the guilty persons. So he went through a sort of necromantic performance in front of the *shurṭī*, 'quartering'⁶⁴ *Ṣan'ā'*, until he told him that the murder had taken place in the direction of the lane in which he had seen the three men. The policeman, who was one of the shrewdest persons and best informed about malefactors and hidden affairs, remembered there was a woman of the prostitutes there frequented by a group of known wrongdoers. So he hastened to enter the woman's house where he found traces of blood, and he dealt with the men by cunning (*siyāsah*)⁶⁵ until they confessed.

This policeman, Mu'īd al-Qubay' who died in 1163/1750, evidently possessed a personality unusual enough to win him notice in Zabārah's collection of biographies⁶⁶—a unique distinction for a policeman! Among the duties with which he was charged, was to arrest al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim at 'Amrān, and the billeting of tribes in *Ṣan'ā'*.

During the second Ottoman occupation of *Ṣan'ā'*, an Arab gendarmerie, the *zaptieh* (*al-Ḍabṭiyyah*)⁶⁷ was formed under Turkish officers with its headquarters there. a policeman (*shurṭī*) was called *Qānūn* because of the brass plate he wore on the front of the neck with this engraved on it. Nazih⁶⁸ records that on entering *Ṣan'ā'* a policeman took away the weapons of our soldiers and 'wrote down our names', for only the troops and guards (*ḥaras*) of *Ṣan'ā'* are permitted to bear arms in the city. This was also the case in British Aden at one time, and the Dār al-Salab, before al-Ma'allā, retained its name long after weapons had ceased to be held there till the tribesmen left the city again. It was a rule observed probably in most south Arabian cities.

Women caught in adultery, and presumably those guilty of other misdemeanors were taken, and still are, to the women's prison called Bayt al-Zawqabī (the verb *zawqab* means *taqaḥḥab*) near Qaṣr al-Silāh—al-Zawqabī is the proper name of a tribesman it is thought—but a woman goaler is in charge of this prison.

60 He understood *aqlām*, sing. *qalam*, to mean *al-band al-wāḥid* or *al-ṣinf al-wāḥid*.

61 Other historians do not give him a good character. 'Abdullāh al-Jirāfī, *al-Muqtaṣaf min tārikh al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1951, 204, says that the people of *Ṣan'ā'* made the shaykh Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī al-Suwaydī governor (*wallaw*) over themselves from 1269/1852-3, submitting to him though he was not one of those of learning and knowledge (*'ilm wa-ma'rifah*). By 1275/1858-9 they had tired of him and thought of assassinating him but he left *Ṣan'ā'* hurriedly. Tribesmen caught and sent him to the Imām al-Manṣūr who subsequently imprisoned him in *Ṣan'ā'*. Zabārah, *A'immaḥ*, (2), II, 301, says al-Manṣūr had considered imprisoning him for debts he owed the people but al-Ḥaymī made propaganda (*istad'ā*) to the common people (*ammah*) of *Ṣan'ā'*, and ordered them to destroy al-Manṣūr's house in Ḥārāt al-Filayḥī—everything in it was then taken. The *Ṣan'ā'* people made one of the Kibsi Sayyids Qāḍī of *Ṣan'ā'* calling him Shaykh al-Islām, but he had no power in *Ṣan'ā'* where al-Ḥaymī had made himself a sort of Caliph. The Revd. Stern who visited *Ṣan'ā'* in 1856 describes al-Ḥaymī as 'an olive-coloured Arab, in whose lustreless eyes and sunken cheeks vice had stamped her indelible characters!'

62 Al-Jirāfī, op. cit., 205, says that in 1276/1859-60, the *Ṣan'ā'* people made the shaykh Muḥsin b. 'Alī Mu'īd governor over them, which he remained till the Turks arrived. Zabārah, *A'immaḥ* (2), I, 15-6, calls him a trader in *qishr al-bunn*. The people raised him as a shaykh over themselves. He was a man of cunning (*dahyah*). He seems to have played at intrigue with the various Imāms who tried to gain control of *Ṣan'ā'* at this period, which was one of considerable confusion. He enjoyed favour with the Turks after

their arrival in Ṣafar 1289/April-May, 1872. He was a member of the Administrative Council (*Majlis al-Idārah*). He is criticized for advising the Turks to imprison the ulema of *Ṣan'ā'* and notables of Hodeidah and Ta'izz. The Turks imprisoned him in the year 1298/1881 in which he died. They threatened to kill him until some *Ṣan'ā'* merchants guaranteed that the money the Turkish *vali* had demanded from him would be handed over, amounting up to 40,000 *riyāls*. He was set free but died, and the *vali* Ismā'il sent to have some rooms in his house nailed up.

63 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 388. Ibid, II, 72, states that, in the latter half of the 12th/18th century a body of police (*shurṭah*) abandoned *ḥirāsah* watch-duties at Kawkabān when the granaries (*makhāzin*) became empty and no rations (*kaylāt*) of grain were issued.

64 'Quartering (*tarbi'*), or making squares, is an astrological term (E. Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*). Cf. Hikoichi Yajima, *Chronicle of the Rasūlīd dynasty of Yemen*, Tokyo, 1974, 137, *tarbi'* al-Mirrikh li-Zuhāl, etc. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 387, mentions a Kawkabān Sayyid of the 12th/18th century who had 'a strong hand in *'ilm al-falak wa-'sikhraj al-khabāyā wa-'l-sarqāt wa-'l-sha'badhak*', i.e., astronomy/astrology, finding hidden and stolen, and sleight of hand. Ibid, II, 418, relates of a *Ṣan'ā'* *faqih*, one of the Mashāyikh al-Qur'ān in Jāmi' *Ṣan'ā'*, of the Yām tribe, that he looked in a candle and described the place in which a stolen object was.

65 Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, *'arif bi- umūr al-siyāsah*, criminaliste.

66 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 752, 358.

67 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 264. Cf. W. Harris, *Journey through the Yemen*, p. 288, fig. 15.2.

68 *Rihlah*, I, 93.

Prostitutes are taken there. They used to have their heads shaved and were beaten. Formerly the prostitute used to be paraded in the streets, but this has now been stopped, and people used to revile her—*yushammitū-hā*. Now those in charge try to get them married off, and, for the light dowries asked, people of low account will marry them. In northern Yemen, for matters of prestige, dowries are usually very high, and in Arḥab I recall tribesmen saying there were men who were never able to afford to get married because of poverty, so this may be one reason why it is possible to marry off these women. We made no enquiries into the sensitive question of prostitution, but we did hear that Shāri' al-Maḥīṭ has a reputation for women of this profession, as has Baḥr Rajraj. The street is called Maḥīṭ because this dish used to be on sale there until not long ago—it is what the Badawī calls *zūm/zawm*, boiled curdled milk with a little flour.

Yemeni prisons are sometimes given names that reveal a sort of grim humour; there is al-Zājir al-Ibb—the Chider, probably so named after a Qur'anic verse, the prison of Ḥadā is al-Murdi', the Restrainer—perhaps because it was expected to restrain hotheads and the contumacious, al-Jāniḥ in Sūdah which—although I am not certain—may mean the Coming Down of Night. This may be matched by the notorious prison in the first century of Islam of the days of the governor al-Ḥajjāj, called 'Arim, One who treats with ill-nature, which may have been located in al-Ta'if.⁶⁹

Public Proclamations

Proclamations (*ṣāḥirah*) used, at least up to fairly recent times, to be made publicly in Ṣan'ā', mostly in the area of Sūq al-Baqar, near Hammām al-Sūq, between al-Filayḥi and Jāmi' Ṣan'ā', on the north and south and in the area of Masjid Dāwūd and Masjid al-Shahīdayn, on the east and west. Most of the tribes were to be found round about the Sūq al-Baqar or Cattle Market when they were in Ṣan'ā'. In the city itself a *ṣāḥirah* commences with the words, 'Yā man samī'a 'l-ṣāḥirah, ṣallū 'alayh', 'O you who hear the proclamation, bless him. . .'. This blessing—of the Prophet Muḥammad—is also part of the formula of proclamations in Ḥaḍramawt.⁷⁰ In Arḥab the herald is of the *dawshān* category but it seems that a *muzayyin* would beat the drum at proclamations. The tribal formula for summoning a meeting there, is, 'Yiqūl al-qabilah al-filāniyyah inna-hum yad'u ba'd al-ba'd li-'l-ijtimā', The tribe of so-and-so say that they summon, the one the other to meet.'

Public messages were formerly made by *tanṣīrah* (pl., *tanṣīr*), by lighting fires in the mountainous districts at, for example, government centres (*al-marākiz al-ḥukūmiyyah*), or they would be lit by the inhabitants. This would be done, to take a case in point, when one wishes to announce the Feast (*i'lān al-'Id*) and Paolo Costa and I, returning to Ṣan'ā' from Ta'izz in late 1973, came across these fires at the villages along the road. Communications from the Imām used to be by message. At the 'Id al-Naṣr, commemorating Imām Aḥmad's victorious entry into Ṣan'ā' in 1948, bonfires of *dhurah-cane* (*qaṣab*) were set up on Jabal Nuqum, (*yinaṣṣirū tanṣīr*).

Formerly they would blow the trumpet (*yaḍribū bawrazān*) if the Imām happened to be near, in the street, at quite ordinary times, as indeed I noticed with Sayf al-Islām al-Ḥasan at al-Kitāf in 1964. These were not blown from watchtowers (*dawā'ir al-nuḥab*), however. A survival of the use of the *bawrazān* is at the

Madrasat al-Aytām, the Orphan School, where it is blown at lunch (*ghadā*). In passing it may be remarked that a *qarawānah* is a big copper pot (*dust*) used as a drum by children or troops.

The Public Parading (tashhīr) of Offenders against the Law

A curious Ṣan'ā' custom is the public parading of offenders of certain categories in the streets of the city, and it can be seen, now and then, even at the present day. This is described by Rossi.⁷¹

If someone commits adultery (*zinā'*) they seize him (*yishbah-uh*)⁷² and take him to the Governor ('Amil). the Governor writes to the Imām, and the Imām orders him to be bound and that they should make the rounds (*yidardahū*) with him. The governor (*mudīr*) of the prison fetters him and takes soldiers and a *muzayyin* with him. The (*muzayyin*) puts a drum on him and they beat it. The children call out, 'This year is your year,⁷³ oh so and so, drag⁷⁴ (him), oh man disobedient to your parents, Jew (*maḥram*),⁷⁵ thief (*ḥarāmī*). They go round all the streets (of the town) with him and conclude by making him enter the prison. Next day they fetter him at Bāb al-Maqām (i.e., the Gate of the Imām's residence) and go round with him as on that day, for three days.

This parading (*dirdāḥ*) as a public example is known as *al-tashhīr* and is intended to make a public example of the offender and is part of the *ta'zīr*, i.e., the punishment lesser than the *ḥadd* punishment which is fixed by statute. The assessing (*taqdīr*) of it is in accordance with the opinion of the *ḥākim* (*yarja' ilā ra'y al-ḥākim*), i.e., the *qāḍī*. Qāḍī Ismā'il has recorded⁷⁶ a proverb, 'Dardāḥū bī 'ala 'l-shawāri' kullī-hā, wa-hādha 'l-shāri' mā 'ādū-sh 'aqabah, They have paraded me round all the streets, so this (one) street (extra) is no mountain pass (to me after that)! The Qāḍī says that people mock him as he passes and shout against him in *saj'* (rhyming prose), appropriate to his offence. On such occasions as I have seen an offender paraded in this way, accompanied by a soldier with a loud hailer, it seemed to me that the people in the streets paid little or no attention to the prisoner. Al-Kirmīlī⁷⁷ thinks the offender is usually a drunk, and the parading takes place after a whipping, while Nazih⁷⁸ saw children following the parade of a drunk at Hodeidah, mocking him with shouts of *Bakh bakh yā shārib al-khamr*.

The public parading of the thief (*sāriq*) and fornicator (*zānī*) is also known as *ḥūmār* (the action being *ḥawmarah*), but this is quite different from a political parading (*dirdāḥ siyāsī*) of the sort which Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī⁷⁹ and his companions underwent after the failure of the Wazīr house bid for power in 1948 and the assassination of Imām Yaḥyā. They wore a wooden handcuff and were subjected to the abuse of the Ṣan'ā' mob.

Billeting Tribes in the Houses of Ṣan'ā' Townsfolk

One of the oppressive acts of his predecessors which were removed by the Ottoman Governor, Murād Pasha, (who left the Yemen in 988/1580) was the stopping of Turkish troops staying in the houses of Ṣan'ā' by force.⁸⁰ The Qaṣr of Ṣan'ā' indeed looks large enough to accommodate considerable numbers of men, but, during the second Ottoman occupation, the 'Urḍī, a series of large barracks, was constructed south of the town, and

69 Al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo, 1937-56, 935 *passim*.

70 Cf. *South Arabian hunt*, London, 1975, 29, 73, *passim*.

71 *L'Arabo parlato*, 92, with some slips.

72 Imperative, *ishbah*, catch!

73 Reading *sannah* for *sannah*. It means *sanat al-ḥukm*, the year of judgement, in which your scandalous act (*faḍīḥah*) has become known.

74 *Jirr* = *ishbah-ah*, in the sense of 'take'.

75 *Miḥrām* is said of the Yahūd, but it seems to mean there a great man of

religion (*kabīr mutadayyin*).

76 Unpublished.

77 in notes to his edition of al-'Arshī, *Bulūḡ al-marām*, 422.

78 *Riḥlah*, I, 28.

79 Cf. his article 'Yemeni literature in Ḥajjah prisons', *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1975, II, 42, with photograph.

80 *Ghāyat al-amāni*, II, 756.

these remain in full occupation by Yemeni troops today.

In the second quarter of the 12th/18th century however, during the reigns of the Imāms al-Mutawakkil Qāsim and his son al-Manṣūr, the tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl used to lodge in houses of the townsfolk of Ṣan'ā' in which they were directed (*yusrafun*)⁸¹ to stay.⁸² Zabārah⁸³ says that when troops (*ajnad*) arrived certain houses were assigned for them in which to dwell and they used to crowd the people of the house. In the Yemen the troops were, and can still be, tribal contingents summoned by an Imām or Government, and just as visitors to a tribal district stay in the house of the local *muzayyin* so, by extension, the tribesmen might perhaps be billeted on citizens of Ṣan'ā'.

This practice drew a protest—part of a long list⁸⁴ of representations against the administrative practices of the ruling house—from the famous scholar Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr in Shahārah, in a letter to al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil in the year 1146/1733. This he had endorsed with the signatures (*'alāmāt*) of the ulema of Shahārah, Ḥūth and Ṣa'dah, and sent to the ulema of Ṣan'ā' who approved it and presented it to al-Manṣūr.

The billeting was not however abandoned until the accession of al-Mahdī 'Abbās in 1161/1748 along with other abuses.⁸⁵ 'He removed (compulsory) carriage⁸⁶ (of goods) imposed on the people, it being levied (*yufraq*) on the merchants, a group of them having been compelled (to go with) the troops, and he prohibited the commandeering of camels (*sukhrat al-jimāl*), removing part of the offences (*jināyāt*) against the people.' Al-Mahdī⁸⁷ is stated to have been moved to take this measure by a sight he had witnessed in the days of the Imām al-Manṣūr when al-Qubay's policemen were ejecting a woman from her house near Masjid al-Jadīd⁸⁸ in Ṣan'ā'. The woman had just given birth and had with her a baby boy in a cloth and was crying at the top of her voice, weeping at being put out of her house. Al-Mahdī went to al-Qubay's policemen at the door of the woman's house to bear them, turned out those of them who had entered the house and returned its inmates to it. Al-Mahdī 'Abbās then went to inform his father, the Imām al-Manṣūr, who approved his action saying that he did not assent to such things as that. It is interesting however that al-Qubay maintained that only houses about which there was some 'suspicion (*ribah*)' were commandeered for billeting.

When al-Mahdī took over the Caliphate he prohibited the billeting of the tribes on the houses of the people of Ṣan'ā'.⁸⁹ So the headmen (*'uqqāl*) of Ḥāshid and Bakīl bought houses in Ṣan'ā' for themselves, and mosques in Ṣan'ā' abandoned, which were many, were turned over⁹⁰ to the other tribes arriving in Ṣan'ā'. If, on account of the multitude of tribes conditions made it necessary, they were lodged in Masjid 'Aqīl and al-Madhhab, etc.

Waqf (Endowment)

Waqf (pl. *awqāf*) is a term referring to property endowed permanently for a religious or charitable purpose.⁹¹ Al-Murtaḍā defines it as *al-tahbīs li-'llāh*, i.e., its real owner is Allāh.⁹² The specific purpose for which *waqf* is donated is termed *maṣraf* or usufruct. *Waqf* property cannot be transferred, sold or mortgaged except in rare cases. The usufruct if specified by a donor can only be altered if a preponderant weal/interest (*maṣlaḥah*) requires. *Waqf* pays no tax except *zakāt* which is deducted before the income is shared among the beneficiaries. Some two thirds of Ṣan'ā' is *waqf* of one category or another, and baths and *samsarahs* almost invariably so, as are many shops. It is therefore important to understand why so much of the city properties are held in this way. On putting this question to Ḥusayn al-'Amrī he suggested that in the case of a family *waqf* (*waqf al-dhurriyyah*) the family would benefit from the income of land which could not be divided or sold, and the heirs would not be able to waste their substance.⁹³ Pious persons did of course donate *waqfs* for religious reasons, but a further reason was that it safe-guarded the *waqfs* from being taken away from the family.

Dr. al-Ṭayyib Zayn al-'Ābidīn⁹⁴ distinguishes five general types of *waqf*,

- 1 *Al-Waqf al-dākhlī* (The Internal *Waqf*) and *waqf al-ṣawāfi*.⁹⁵ The entire income of this category of *waqf* is devoted to maintaining existing mosques or building new ones, and forms the bulk of the revenue of the present day Ministry of Awqāf.
- 2 *Al-Waqf al-khārijī* (The External *Waqf*). This is controlled by a member of the donor's family, the Ministry nowadays supervising to ensure that the beneficiaries receive their rightful shares. The Ministry receives five per cent and the remainder is distributed among the donor's relatives in accordance with the distribution laid down by the *sharī'ah* for inheritance.
- 3 *Waqf al-waṣiyy* (The Trustee's *Waqf*). No part of it is given to the Awqāf but the donor specifies a particular pious activity, usually a mosque, to be maintained. The rest of the income is distributed among the relatives according to the law of inheritance. The Ministry hardly interferes in this *waqf*; it is controlled by a trustee, *waṣiyy*, usually the eldest member of the family, named by the donor. The Awqāf appoints a supervisor to keep a registry of the land and to settle cases of dispute, for which he receives two and a half per cent of the income. Through this and the preceding *waqf* some tribes attempt to exclude women from inheritance⁹⁶ by dedicating the *waqf* to their male descendants. Imām Yaḥyā, and later the Ministry of Justice, ruled against the validity of such an arrangement.
- 4 *Al-Waqf al-muthallath* (The Three (tenths) *Waqf*). 'It derives its title from the fact that three tenths of its income is paid to

81 The word *ṣaraf* employed was explained to me by Qādī Ismā'il as *khaṭṭaṭū-hum 'alā buyūt al-ahl*. The *tahkīf* or billeting of soldiers upon peasants in Shāfi'i Yemen when collecting taxes was a sore cause of discontent under the Ḥamid al-Dīn.

The tribesmen billeted in Ṣan'ā' did not enter the houses of the great ulema, but only those of humble folk (*masākin*) and the merchants (*tujjār*).

82 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 753.

83 *Ibid*, II, 8.

84 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 600. This included the imposition of *mukūs* and *majābi*, customs and duties, *iqā'āt* given some 'Alawī Saiyids or rich persons, the appointment of ignorant *'amils* and *ḥākims*, abuse of the *waqfs* by neglectful persons, *al-darāhim al-maḍrūbah*—coined dirhams, an obscure reference, and the arrogance of the Jews.

85 *Ibid*, II, 8.

86 *Aswāq*, sing. *sawq*, explained as *yalzam-ak al-sawq*, the obligation upon you to take goods from one place to another (*naql al-ashya' min makān ilā makān*). The temporary commandeering of animals for transport was Government practice under the Ḥamid al-Dīn, and of motor vehicles under the Republic.

87 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 753.

88 Cf. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 41.

89 *Ṣarf al-qabā'il ilā buyūt ahl Ṣan'ā'*.

90 *Ṣurīfat lahum al-masājid al-mahjūrah*.

91 A. Z. al-'Abidīn, *The role of Islam*, op. cit., 217.

92 *Al-Baḥr al-zakhhār*, IV, 155.

93 This is identical with H. A. B. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, 33, 'By the establishment of *ahli* (family) endowments, the donors safeguarded their sources of revenue for themselves and their heirs from the rapacity of the ruling class. Furthermore they also prevented the dissipation of the family's wealth by extravagant heirs.'

94 Op. cit., 218.

95 The *ṣāfiyah* as an institution in the Yemen requires much more detailed investigation. The *Ṣāfiyah* south of Ṣan'ā' is said by al-Rāzī, op. cit., 133, to be Al-Dīnabādh and Ghayl 'Alīb (read 'Alīb?), the former having belonged to the Persian Bādhān, and 'Umar made it a *ṣāfiyah* (*asfā*) as Bādhān died without a son. I am inclined to suggest that the *Ṣāfiyah* of Ṣan'ā' may have been Beeston's 'army lands' but there is no evidence for this. The 'Amrī family made the Ṣan'ā' *Ṣāfiyah* a *waqf* but receive something for administering it. *Ṣāfiyahs* are sometimes held by Saiyids or Mashāyikh. It was described to me in 1966 as land hired out by the Imām and worked by Bedu who pay him up to an 'ushr apart from the ordinary 'ushr-tithes which they also pay. A *ṣāfiyah* is land originally developed by someone and held by his family.

96 On women and inheritance see Martha Mundy, 'Notes on women's inheritance in highland Yemen', *Arabian Studies*, 1979, V, 161, seq. For views of 12th/18th century ulema on women's lack of perception (*idrāk*), ignorance and inexperience in matters of property see *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 787.

the State, one tenth as *zakāt* and two tenths for the *Awqāf* to use for some religious function. The lands of this *waqf* are transferable by sale if the new owner accepts that he should honour the previous arrangement and on the understanding that he has bought only the utility of the land.⁹⁷

- 5 *Muthallath al-Ḥaramayn* (The Three (tenths) of the Holy Cities). This resembles the previous type, except that two tenths go to Mecca and Medina instead of to the Yemen *Awqāf*.

The income of the Şan'ā' district (*liwā'*), at Yemeni *riyāl*s 1,933,912 in 1972-73, was five times that of Hodeidah.⁹⁸ There are of course *waqfs* outside the city in the countryside, the income of which goes towards maintaining certain Şan'ā' mosques.

Ḥusayn al-'Amrī writes⁹⁸ as follows on the issue of the validity of a *waqf*.

The donor of *waqf* (*al-wāqif*) may adopt more than one way of making his *waqf*. This has led the ulema of the Yemen, like other Muslim ulema, to form independent judgements (*yajtahidūna*) over cases (*qaḍāyā*) of *waqf* and the rendering *waqf*-donations (*waqfiyyah*) inalienable in such as lands and houses for the good of those benefitting by them, or for the objects for which they have been constituted *waqf*. Stipulations for the validity of the *waqf* fall into three categories—those relating to the actual property donated as *waqf* (*al-'ayn al-mawqūfah*), and those relating to the disposal of the income of the *waqf* (*al-maṣraf*).

The ulema are in consensus of opinion that the stipulations relating to the *waqf* donor are five—that he be an adult (*ṭaklif*), a Muslim, (donating of) free will (*ikhtiyār*), of his private possession (*milk*), and that he renounce the right of disposal (*ihlāq al-taṣarruf*).

The stipulation relating to the property donated as *waqf* (*al-'ayn al-mawqūfah*) is the validity of enjoying the usufruct while the property donated remains intact in perpetuity (*ṣiḥḥat al-intifa'* bi-hi ma'a baqā' 'ayni-hi). *Waqf* of consumables like gold and silver coin, food, etc., is invalid.

With regard to the third and last stipulation which concerns the disposal (*al-maṣraf*) of the income of the *waqf*, the ulema are agreed that it is invalid to create a *waqf* which includes [injunctions as to how] its income is to be spent—except in one of two instances—one of which is that the usufruct be restricted to the beneficiaries and (defining) what the share of each of them is. The second (instance) in which [the afore-said injunction] is valid, even though no restriction be made, but the donor of the *waqf* mentions it, is by inserting/ensuring the relationship⁹⁹ (? *muḍammīn-an li-'l-qarābah*) with such words as 'for the *fuqarā'*', of 'the women' or 'the sick' . . . etc. Subsequently they exercise independent judgement (*yajtahidūna*) with regard to many details connected with the relatives and the ways in which the income is to be disposed of (*al-maṣraf*) as the donor of the *waqf* has defined.

Many differences used to arise about certain endowments (*waqfiyyāt*) that fathers would donate as *waqf* and heritors after them would plead to be invalid. The identical matter would occur when certain rulers or amirs sequestered lands of their foes and donated them as *waqf*. Or some of them would attempt to release *waqf* land in a certain area and take it in exchange for, or substitute, (land) in some other place. There were many such occurrences, the best known of which is perhaps the memorandum (*riṣālah*) of the celebrated Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr¹⁰⁰ to Imām al-Mahdī 'Abbās in Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah 1180/May 1767 on hearing of the Imām's

venturing to purchase the *waqf* properties in Wādī Shu'ūb, north of Şan'ā', by commutative contract (*mu'āwāḍah*).¹⁰¹ What concerns us here is that the *waqf* stipulations afore-mentioned are fundamental (*asāsiyyah*) and that any of them requiring proof should be settled and proven according to *fiqh* and *sharī'ah*-law. This matter was, indeed still is, a field of enquiry and controversy for any person who has an interest (*maṣlaḥah*) in a *waqf* case, or desires to create a *waqf* for some charitable benefaction or public weal.

The types of waqfiyyah in the Yemen

- 1 *Masajid* and *Ḥawāmī* mosque *waqfs*.
- 2 *Waqfs* for ulema, students (*muta'allimūn*), schools.
- 3 *Waqfs* for the sick, especially the lepers and insane. This has developed to be applied to hospitals and sanatoria.
- 4 *Waqf* for one's descendants (*dhurriyyah*).
- 5 *Waqf* to maintain wells (*subul*), drinking troughs for animals (*buruk*), roads (*ḥurūqāt*) and *khāns* for travellers and their beasts.
- 6 Public baths are usually *waqf* property belonging to *ḥawāmī*.
- 7 *Waqfs* for sick or infirm animals.

His Eminence, Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Luṭf al-Sabāḥī, the Minister of *Awqāf*, informs me that in the town of Ibb there was a *waqf* to fit out (*taḥziz*) (with clothes, household goods, etc.) poor bachelors at their time of wedding. This *waqf* was named after a person called al-Nihimī, a settler (*naqilah*) in Ibb but it came to an end in 1962.

Many *waqfs* have vanished without trace, but some new *waqfs* have been instituted, as, for example, what are called cemetery *waqfs* (*waqf al-turab*) which might be to provide for the cleansing of the tomb of the Imām So-and-So, or provision of incense (*bakhūr*) and the like. Many *waqfiyyahs* were for graves or large *mashhads* where persons were buried whose intercession with God people would seek. The most notable of these was the tomb of Aḥmad b. 'Alwān al-Ṣūfī¹⁰² which Imām Aḥmad, when heir-apparent and Amīr Liwā' Ta'izz, demolished, sequestering its *awqāf* and the like for al-Madrasat al-'Ilmiyyah in Şan'ā' which his father founded in 1344/1925-6. He considered the practices attached to the tomb a heresy/innovation (*bid'ah*) rejected by the Zaydī and many other schools.

Another new kind of *waqf* is that made by way of a public utility by one of the notable Şan'ā' merchants, al-Ḥājj Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sinaydār—a wide building site (*ardīyyah*) near the south wall of the city where al-Ghayl al-Aswad passes under it. He walled round a place for men and another for women to launder clothes for the people of Şan'ā', drawing water for this purpose from the Ghayl—ordinary people washed clothes at the *ghayls*. Al-Ghayl al-Aswad however dried up a few years ago.¹⁰³

When a *waqf* is sold half of the price of the land constituting the *waqf* (*qīmat 'ayn al-arḍ*) is paid to the *Waqf*, and the other half divided between 'the hand (*al-yad*), i.e. the owner(s) by inheritance (*wirāthah*) of the entitlement to the *waqf* (*aḥaqqiyyat al-waqf*) and *al-shakhṣiyyah*, i.e., the cultivator or the *qabīlī* in return for the work which he has carried out (*muqābil al-'amal alladhī qāma bi-hi*).

The term *ṣāfiyah* (pl., *ṣawāfi*) has a long history, but in past time an Imām would, in his capacity as Imām to do so, take over *waqf* properties of, for example, a ruined mosque, and any such cases where the income was not being or could not be properly applied, and make a property of his own out of them, a

97 *The role of Islam*, op. cit., 221.

98 He mainly bases himself on Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abdullāh b. Miṭṭāh, *al-Muntazā' min al-Ghayth al-midrār li-kamā'im al-Azhār*, Cairo, 1938, III, 458-63.

99 This phrase seems to mean the relationship of the expending of the *waqf* income to certain people.

100 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 8.

101 See p. 85b, n. 155.

102 Ob. 665/1267. His biography is in al-Sharjī, *Ṭabaqāt al-khawāṣṣ*, Cairo, 1903, 19-21. *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 806, records Ottoman benefactions to it.

103 See pp. 236-26a.

ṣāfiyah.¹⁰⁴ Some of the *ṣawāfi* now administered along with al-Waqf al-Dākhilī would be lands belonging to the Ḥamid al-Dīn house, sequestered after 1962. Zabārah¹⁰⁵ writing of the second Ottoman occupation calls the *ṣawāfi* the estates/lands of the Treasury (*ḍiḡā' Bayt al-Māl*) and complains that they were appropriated by the Turks. The Bayt al-Māl always had properties of its own known as Amlāk al-Dawlah.

The Jāmi' Mosque contains a document of the highest importance for the history of Ṣan'ā', the register, usually called *Miswaddat Sinān*, of the Turkish Pasha of the first Ottoman occupation (1013-16/1604-07). 'He it was', says Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn,¹⁰⁶ 'who compiled a comprehensive roll (*daftar jāmī'*) of the *waqfs* of Ṣan'ā', and commanded the *qādis* to rule on its validity—which they did. He appointed a number of the ulema to bear witness to this roll, including the very learned Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mu'ayyadī and others. One of his merits was his refraining from [taking from the income of] the *waqfs* and his respect for the people [managing them]—to the extent that he went from Ṣan'ā' leaving 9,000 [gold pieces] in the Qubbah-dome (see pl. 18.10) of the Jāmi' that he had built to hold its revenues (*amwāl*), entrusting this to the Mashāyikh of Ṣan'ā', Āl 'Aḥiyyah, and strictly impressing on them that they conserve this (money) for the utilities (*maṣāliḥ*) of the Jāmi' and other mosques.' In December 1973 I saw the *Miswaddat Sinān*¹⁰⁷ in the Chancellery of the Jāmi', the Qubbah, which contains only modern furniture and steel cupboards. It is a long, narrow but thick volume nicely bound in probably contemporary plum-coloured leather with an embossed design in the middle of the covers. The paper is polished yellow-brown or buff colour and the writing beautiful and clear to read.

Of Qāḍī 'Abdullāh al-'Arāsī (ob. 1187/1773), Zabārah¹⁰⁸ notes that 'all the *awqāf* of the Yemen were brought under him and he administered them well, dealing with them all in accordance with the *miswaddāt*—this did not happen with anyone before him.'¹⁰⁹ A small incident in the chequered history of the *awqāf* is that when Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḥaṭabah (ob. 1305/1887-8) was in charge of them he lowered the stipends (*muqarrarāt*) of some of those holding office or working for the Waqf (*ahl al-waḡā'if wa-a'māl al-Waqf*) and made this a return (*marjū'*) for the Bayt al-Māl (Treasury of the Waqf?). A ruefully humorous verse by a *faqīh* expresses the feelings of the employees:¹¹⁰

No man speaks well of the Waqf since the Shaykh [took charge].

O pity on the Waqf, the workers (there) and the students. It has been productive of neither grain nor grapes

Since they planted a lump of firewood (Ḥaṭabah) in its land.

The Turks of the second Ottoman occupation considered the Awqāf of sufficient prominence that a *qāḍī*, Abu 'l-Dardā', in charge of al-Awqāf al-Khārijīyyah should attend the weekly meetings of the Administrative Council in Ṣan'ā', it being the custom that the Nāẓir attend with other members.¹¹¹ Zabārah

adds that 'one of the regulations (*qawānīn*) of the Turkish Government was that the Muftī should attend the Administrative Council of the vilayet (Majlis Idārat al-Wilāyah) held on Mondays and Thursday every week, and the Judge (Hākim) of the Ḥanaḥiyyah, the Muftī, the Inspector of al-Awqāf al-Khārijīyyah, the Daftardār (Financial Secretary) and Maktūbjī (Chief Secretary of the Province) and other members elected by the notables (*dhawāt*) of the country should attend under the presidency of the Governor (Wālī 'l-Hukūmah) to review certain affairs of the vilayet.'¹¹²

What may be the earliest known *waqf* case in Ṣan'ā' has been published by Muḥammad al-Akwa' from an anonymous history.¹¹³ A certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ma'ād of Ṣan'ā' came to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Musta'in (248-52/862-66) at Baghdad, stating that his ancestor Ma'ād b. Kathīr al-Shaṭbī had founded a *waqf* known as Ma'ād's Garden (*ḥaṣīrah*) and Vines (*a'nāb*), along with two *ghayls* irrigating them in Mikhlāf Dhī Ujrah¹¹⁴ and Khawlān at D b rah, 'for his children and their children as long as they beget and for a mosque¹¹⁵ and *siqāyah* which he had built in the city of Ṣan'ā', and for the poor (*al-fuqarā' wa-'l-masākīn*) if (their line) became extinct.' He made the manager (*waliyy*) and the administrator of it (*al-qā'im li-'amāratihī*) a son of his called 'Abdullāh b. Ma'ād. Three individuals took the property from him by force and attempted to annul it and convert it from its purpose. 'Abdullāh took the case to the famous *qāḍī* of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Rashīd in Ṣan'ā', Muṭarrif b. Māzin, who decided the case in favour of 'its people and the mosque ad *siqāyah*, which were to receive the half and eighth of it, and he assigned the remainder outright to the heirs of Ma'ād b. Kathīr according to what they had inherited from him, confirming 'Abdullāh as *waliyy* and registering this in a register (*sijill*) which he caused people of probity to witness.'

After 'Abdullāh b. Ma'ād's death the property was again seized by force, the judge's decision rejected and the maintenance of the mosque and *siqāyah* neglected till they fell to ruin. The Caliph wrote requesting that the matter be looked into and settled in a letter dated 249/863. In the document written by Muṭarrif b. Māzin the bequest (*tarkah*) of Ma'ād was recorded as 1450 1/6 dinars 32 dirhams in coin (*'ayn*), and the value of the two *ghayls* as 6356 2/3 dinars.

As'ad b. Abī Yu'fir,¹¹⁶ in 332/944, 'for the maintenance (*'amārah*) of the Jāmi' (of Ṣan'ā') bestowed it (*taṣaddaqa bi-hī*) from the walled garden (*ḥaṣīrah*) of Shāhīrah and Ghayl al-Rishah in Ḍula' [Hamdān] of that which had come under division before his death and which he had bestowed, and he wrote the writing concerning it containing his ordering it in his life-time, added to what is provided of the yield (*ghallah*) of that, for its [the Jāmi's] maintenance and the maintenance of that which comes within the same category, for looking after (*taṣaqqud*) the mosque, a thousand dinars, and that is ten thousand dinars.' As'ad's will also included a thousand dinars for the heirs of the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṣir (ob. 325/937) and the rest of the 'Alawīs—the text seems to say that the heirs of al-Nāṣir who are house-bound and receive no support are intended.

104 See, e.g. Abū Yūsuf in A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, Leiden, 1965, II, 35-6.

105 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 30.

106 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 192.

107 Sinān's list seems to cover mosque *waqfs* of the Yemen in general—there is also an important list of Zabīd *waqfs*.

108 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 152.

109 Ibid, II, 401, notes that honest Muḥsin b. al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il held back from the *awqāf* and took only a little (*al-yasir*), keeping the mosques maintained. Al-Tayyib, op. cit., 222, quotes the Yemen proverb, *Yā Allāh jar-ak min ghubār al-waqf*, God save you from taking the dust of the *waqf*, as an example of Yemeni sentiment about the dreadfulness of mishandling *waqf* property, but this seems more like theory than practice as there has been so much corruption. Cf. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 253, no. 713, for a similar proverb.

110 Ibid, II, 157.

111 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 42. In 1316/1898-9 the Governor of the Yemen ordered Sayyid 'Alī Muṭā' al-Ṣan'ānī to be deposed from the inspectorship

of al-Awqāf al-Dākhilīyyah, and the Ṣan'ā' ulema to chose another to fill the office, and (ibid, (2), II, 278) in the same year is recorded the death of Zayd al-Kibsi whom Aḥmad Fayḍī had deposed from the inspectorship of al-Waqf al-Khārijī, but who later took charge of the Store (*Mikhzān*), probably that which Costa and I visited in early 1975, in the old city. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 142, says the secretaryship (*kitābat al-Awqāf*) was in the hands of the Abū 'l-Rijāl family from 1191-1357/1777-1938.

112 Ibid, (2), II, 215.

113 *Al-Wathā'iq al-siyāsiyyah al-Yamaniyyah*, Baghdad, 1396/1976, 246, seq.

114 Al-Hamdānī's Mikhlāf Dhī Jurah, now called Bilād al-Rūs and Sinḥān. D b rah is stated by al-Akwa' to be a ruin.

115 Masjid Ma'ād is given a brief notice in *Masājid*, 114, which does not know this piece of history, but reports it was founded by Bayt Ma'ād now in Hamdān.

116 *Al-Wathā'iq*, op. cit., 258 seq. The text is not easy to understand and may have misprints or incorrect readings. Regarding the figures at the end one can only speculate that the thousand dinars is the income and the ten thousand the value of the estate.

Among the documents embodying *qāḍī*'s decisions in the type of case known as *mu'āmalāt*, transactions, al-Akwa¹¹⁷ reproduces that of a shop of which a charitable gift has been made (*ḥānūt ṣadaqah*) in the market known as Sūq al-Kharrazīn,¹¹⁸ i.e., the Workers in Leather, the income of which is paid to the mosque known as Ya'la 'l-Sammān (the Oil-seller), then as Masjid al-Hindī, and to the *ṣiqāyah* at 'Alib and the house (*dār*) in Zuqāq al-Ṣulūl¹¹⁹—this house was a *waqf* for the Muslim poor of Ṣan'ā'. The *qāḍī* of Ṣan'ā', in 317/929, decided that this property delimited in the *ṣijill* before him was *waqf*. 'Alib is clearly the *ghayl* discussed already (p.20a) which therefore must still have been in use at this time.

A document dated Rabī' I, 766/December, 1364, is quoted by Zabārah¹²⁰ from the text in the Dā'irat al-Awqāf. It confirms a *waqf* first made by an amir of Ṣan'ā', one of the Ḥamzah Sayyids of the Jawf, 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b. Dāwūd, and is drawn up by the Ḥākim of Ṣan'ā' at a later time and witnessed by fourteen men of probity (*ūdūl*).

The donation was

the whole of the village, in ruins at the time, known as Qaryat 'Aṣir, with all its upper *ghayl* known as Ghayl 'Aṣir and the lower (*ghayl*) known as Saba' by name, all its three wells, all the farms (*ḍiyā'*) and arable lands (*aṭyān muzdar-i'ah*) in the domain (*ḍay'ah*) that has been mentioned and the rest of the estate (*'aqār*), and the whole of its tillage (*ḥarth*), all of it adjacent part to part, formerly commonly known as al-N s bah,¹²¹ al-Shādhārwan the *waqf* now mentioned, this being at Jabal 'Aṣir and its courses (*masāqit*) in the direction of al-Sinaynāt and al-Sawād, all west of the city of Ṣan'ā', the bounds of that being continuous, to the north of it the fields (*awṣān*)¹²² of al-Sinaynāt, to the east of it land known as Aḥwar and al-Jabā'ib draining into it, and Ghayl al-Rabī'ī and the land known as al-S rāqāt adjoining it and to the south of it, in the hands of the amirs 'Iyāl Ḥimyar, and the mountains which drain into it and west of it, in the hands of 'Iyāl Ḥimyar and their associates (*khulafā'*)¹²³ and the stepped declivities (*maqālib*)¹²⁴ of the flood from the western part (*maghrabah*) of 'Aṣir and the (mountain)-sides (*'awāriq*) draining into that, and that part of Maḥjar al-Furs (Prohibited Pasture of the Persians) adjacent to it in the hands of the heritors of the Sayyid the learned Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Sirājī.

'Abdullāh b. Dāwūd laid down the condition that from the beginning of the revenues/returns (*ghallah*) maintenance of its fixtures (*'amārat uṣūli-hā*)¹²⁵ should be commenced, and its *ghayl* and wells made to yield abundance of water, and whatever is requiring of repair, maintenance and looking after, and any surplus revenue (*ghallah*) from it after all that in any year is to be expected (*ṣurifa*) in thirds equally (apportioned).

A third is for the poor Sayyids (*ḍu'uf al-Ashrāf al-Fāṭimiyyin*) and the other two thirds to provide means of subsistence (*ṭu'am*) at Masjid al-Jāmi' in the city of Ṣan'ā'; one of these two thirds is for the ulema, students (*muta'allimūn*), those who instruct and those who learn (*al-mufidūn wa-'l-mustafidūn*), permanently at the afore-said Jāmi', by teaching reading/recital (*iqra'*) of the Qur'ān and reading (*qirā'ah*) in the afore-said Jāmi'. The remaining third is for those

wayfarers who come to the afore-said Jāmi', each wayfarer to have supper or lunch (*'ashā' aw ghadā'*). Any surplus from this last third is to be spent on the needy of the city afore-said, and to (*ilā*) those learned people who go to 'Aṣir village to teach reading and read the Qur'ān, as the person in charge (*al-mutawallī*) thinks appropriate. He assigned the charge (*walāyah*) and overseeing of all this to the *qā'im* (person in charge) of the afore-said mosque and its properties (*amlāk*), one of the virtuous Muslims in the afore-said city who have charge of the affairs of the religion.

Dr. al-Ṭayyib Zayn al-'Ābidīn¹²⁶ notes that the official estimate of the *waqf*-land is between fifteen to twenty per cent of all the agricultural land in the country. 'An optimistic estimate is that seventy per cent of the agricultural land surrounding Ṣan'ā' is *waqf*. Since *waqf* is not transferable and continues to grow by additional endowments it is not surprising that al-Awqāf has become the biggest landowner in the country.'

Taxation

General

The history of taxation during the earliest centuries of the Islamic state is still full of problems to resolve, since the Arab administrators of conquered countries merely adopted already existing systems, then took *ad hoc* measures to deal with new situations and crises requiring a decision. The formulation of an Islamic theory of taxation, commencing even in the first Islamic century, but undergoing its most formative period under the early 'Abbāsids in Iraq, may be at variance with actual administrative practice even outside the main centres of Iraq itself. To understand ancient Islamic taxation in its fullest application it seems to the writer that a knowledge of the land and customary law of irrigation as they remain today are vital, but a knowledge of the latter is rarely devoted to illuminating the former.¹²⁷

The history of Islamic taxation in the Yemen should properly commence with a study of the pre-Islamic data provided by the ancient South Arabian inscriptions in 'Ḥimyar' characters. Then both Zaydī and Yemeni Shāfi'ī legal works must be surveyed in conjunction with the writings of the Yemeni historians. For the limited objective of attempting to ascertain how Ṣan'ā' was taxed during the Islamic era so detailed a study is manifestly impractical and this sketch merely touches upon such issues as have attracted the attention of the historians consulted, and mainly then, the Zaydī historians.

A government controlling the southern Yemen, i.e., the Shāfi'ī districts with the ports of Aden, Mocha and Zabīd—the prosperity of each in relation to the other varying with current political circumstance—enjoys a favoured economic situation. Customs duties¹²⁸ collected from foreign shipping, the revenue from which was carried to the southern capital Ta'izz four times a year with great pomp and ceremony¹²⁹ was doubtless less unpopular by far as a form of taxation than agricultural taxes collected directly from peasant villages. The Shāfi'ī Lower Yemen is not only reckoned much richer in agricultural lands than the north and the dry Mashriq with usually poor rainfall, but taxation is much easier to collect from the more docile Shāfi'ī population.

117 Ibid, 267.

118 Perhaps the same as the Sandal and Shoemakers' Market of Qanūn Ṣan'ā', section 34.

119 'The Lane of the Paving Stones'?

120 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 289 seq. The donor is said, in the formula of the document to have '*waqafa wa-habasa wa-sabbala wa-taṣaddaqa*'.

121 Transaction uncertain—if one reads it as *bi-'l-nisbah*, it might mean that the lands were known after, perhaps, 'Aṣir, or by the name of their various owners.

122 For this sense of *watan* see p.22a, n.31.

123 Landberg, *Arabica V*, Leiden, 1898, 116, explains *khafī* as *mawālī* and *ra'awī* (*ra'yyah*) with a reference to *khala'iq wa-mawālī Hamdān* from Ibn

Sa'd. Husayn al-'Amri explained it as *sharik* (pl., *shurakā'*) partners in an agricultural context.

124 Sing., *maqlab*, explained as *munhadar al-sayl*, *al-mudarrājāt*, or, as one says, *maḍrab al-sayl*.

125 The *uṣūl* would be buildings, stone dykes and revetments, walls, etc.

126 Op. cit., 222.

127 But indirectly there is something of this approach in A. M. A. Maktari, *Water rights and irrigation practices in Lahj*, Cambridge, 1971.

128 For Rasūlīd taxation on ports, see my 'Ports of Aden and Shihr', *Les grandes escales*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, Brussels, 1974, XXXII, 208-24.

129 Cf. p.146b, n.30.

The Zaydī Imāms in Ṣa'dah and Ṣan'ā' during the medieval period, not controlling ports, must rely on taxing the countryside and extracting what they could from such cities as they held. To judge by Zaydī practice under the Ḥamīd al-Dīn they probably collected taxes from the Zaydī tribes through the *Shuyūkh al-Damān*, and these certainly deduct a *muwāsāh*—a proportion as a recompense. A very significant change in the application of revenue collection method is chronicled under the year 1077/1666, in the tribal territory of al-Ḥaymatayn west of Ṣan'ā'.

The Imām (al-Mutawakkil b. Ismā'īl) established the *majbā* (tax) and farming (*damānah*)¹³⁰ [of tax by shaykhs] on the district of al-Ḥaymah when, previously, what was charged (*masūqu-hu*)¹³¹ on it (went) to the Imām by local assessment (*bi-l-amānah*) on account of precedents (*sawālif*)¹³² which they had made with al-Mu'ayyad (1011-13/1602-4) whereby they considered themselves deserving of special favour, and in acknowledgement of the alliance (*al-taqrib wa-l-taqrīr li-l-yad*).¹³³ Some of them were lax about the obligatory dues (*al-ḥaqq al-wājib*) and unaware that it is absolutely imperative—the public weal (*maṣlahah*) (herein) is evident, and the proof (*daḥīl*) that assessment (of crops etc., *kharṣ*) (is obligatory) is clearly distinguished.¹³⁴

The Imām obviously preferred to have the revenues in the Ḥaymah district farmed because this would bring in a more ample revenue than would accrue to the Treasury from a system of local self-assessment—which inevitably means that the state receives less than the land can reasonably bear. A case in point is that, in those parts of the Yemen to which assessment '*bi-l-amānah*' has been applied since 1962, the revenue receipts are said to have steeply declined. It looks as if, in the instance of al-Ḥaymah, the Imām's intention was to bring the district into line with other districts, abolishing the favoured position of the tribes there.

It is in the nature of governments as a rule, never to have sufficient financial resources to achieve all that is desired of them. For the reasons advanced above the Zaydī Imāms were chronically short of money. Their own internal squabbles apart, their lack of resources rarely rendered it feasible to bring a strong centralized government to the Upper Yemen. It can be fairly said that the two strong and stable governments established by the Imāms in the 11th/17th and 14th/20th centuries resulted from the impetus given the Imāms through their leading role in expelling the Ottoman Turks from the Yemen. The ruler in the Yemen to retain the loyalty of his tribal supporters, and their backing with armed men when he requires them, must have money or privilege to disburse to them. This is a reason why Imām Yaḥyā amassed silver dollars in his fort on the summit of Jabal Nuqum and thus gained his reputation for miserliness. The Prophet Muḥammad himself had to devote some revenue to 'compose the hearts' of the tribes, as every Arabian ruler throughout the history of the Peninsula has had to do. In the tribal areas it was naturally cheaper to put down a recalcitrant tribe by encouraging other tribes to attack and plunder its villages.

From about the time of the assumption of power by the Zaydī Imāms in the 11th/17th century their devices to raise revenue brought them into controversy and debate with the

Zaydī ulema,¹³⁵ who regarded either the way and purpose for which certain taxes were raised, or perhaps a given tax itself, as un-Islamic. The controversies are too detailed and the argument supported by too great a wealth of learning, for analytical discussion here, but the debate centred on taxes called *majābī* (sing., *majbā*),¹³⁶ *mukūs* or duties paid on merchandise sold in the market, *ma'unah* (pl., *ma'awin*) 'aid', and payment of *zakāt*, or the gift of lucrative assignments, to sayyids. Precedents to justify these are discovered in the practice of the first Zaydī Imām in the Yemen, al-Ḥādī. The Imām al-Manṣūr billāh (ob. 614/1217) remarked that al-Ḥādī

took the *ma'unah* and that led to his going out of Ṣan'ā' because of the weakness of his condition. When he had left Ṣan'ā' and he heard of the reprehensible things they did, he regretted that on account of taking *ma'unah* from them, and when God made him victorious in entering Ṣan'ā' the second time he took the *ma'unah* and levied it (*farrāqa-hā*) on the people of Ṣan'ā' to strengthen his troops and soldiers.¹³⁷

Other early authorities aver that in the case of *jihād*, usually rendered in English as 'holy war', the Imām has the right to impose a levy, citing the example again of al-Ḥādī who, 'asked the people of Ṣan'ā', when ('Alī) b. al-Faḍl the heretic (*al-mulḥid*) left (Ṣan'ā'), for a quarter of their property (*amwāl*)—thereby to defend it against the warring (*kayd*) of their enemy', i.e. the Qarmaṭian. This was to be levied by distribution (*ifrāz-an wa-muqāsamah*) within the city.¹³⁸ Al-Manṣūr considered al-Ḥādī's actions as authorizing the imposition of *ma'unah* and the *qabālāt* likewise—*qabālāt* apparently meaning the farming of a tax imposed; and another authority justifies this if applied to meeting the needs of the troops and forts (*al-junūd wa-l-ḥuṣūn*).

A type of 'aid' cited is a dinar, over and above the *zakāt*, on ten sheep, which al-Manṣūr imposed after consulting the chiefs (*kibār*) of the country, and the 5,000 dinars levied annually on al-Zāhir, Bakil and Banū Mu'ammār country so long as the Ghuzz (Ayyūbids) had power in Ṣan'ā'.¹³⁹ He also mentions a tax called *al-khums*, the fifth, imposed on territory which 'oppressors tread' (*yaṭā'u-hā 'l-gālimūn*). When the Ghuzz (Ayyūbids) had made a particularly unwelcome raid upon al-Zāhir on the eve of the Feast, the 'āqils of Ḥamdān said,¹⁴⁰ 'No-one will protect us but a person of impregnability (*dhū man'ah*) like the Imām (al-Manṣūr) so we shall expend for him such and such (a sum of) money, and at his gate shall be such and such a body of men assigned for service (*li-rasm al-khidmah*)'. They offered to levy the sum of 6,000 dinars on the Ḥāshid and Bakil confederations, but al-Manṣūr was informed that their tax (*kharāj*) 'in the time of the oppressors' had been 50,000 dinars and this he asked of them.

Brief allusion should be made here to an extraordinary innovation proposed by the Ayyūbid sultan, Ṭuḡtakīn, when he gained possession of the Yemen. He wished to buy all the land in the country so as to allot it to the Government Dīwān; anyone wishing to cultivate it would then rent it from the officials in the Dīwān—'as it is in Egypt!' He got as far as sending out assessors (*muthamminūn*) to value the land, though there was a great protest from the ulema, but Ṭuḡtakīn died in 593/1197 before he could attempt to put his scheme into execution. It was of course utterly

130 The tax-farming system appears to have been followed in early Islamic Yemen. Cf. my article in C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Commoners, Climbers and Notables*, 229-30.

131 Cf. the use of the term *siyāq* in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*.

132 Here *sawālif* probably means written agreements.

133 I am not absolutely sure of the correctness of my rendering here, and *al-taqrīr li-l-yad* might mean acknowledgement of help. To say two parties are *yad wāhidah* means that they make common cause together.

134 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 58b-59a.

135 There may of course have been earlier debates between the Imāms and ulema which would be reflected in Zaydī books of law but this remains to be explored. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥabshī, *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyyah*,

op. cit., 73, no. 388, reports the existence in al-Ghurfaḥ of Ḥadramawt, of al-Ḥādī li-Dīn Allāh (ob. 894/1487), *Risālah fī ḥukm al-jibāyah allatī ya' khudhu-ha 'l-'A'immaḥ*, not reported by Brockelmann. This treatise on pre-Ottoman Imāmī taxation could prove interesting.

136 *Majābī* appear to be local taxes for one purpose or another, but I cannot give any precise definition at present. See *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, note 1.

137 Al-Jarmūzī, *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 523. Cf. *Sīrat al-Ḥādī*, 241, he asked for *al-'awn wa-l-salaf*, aid and loan.

138 Ibid., 442, 527.

139 The sum was distributed among the tribes to pay (*qusiṭa bayna-hum 'alā qadr sa'ati-hum wa-jifati-him*). This is reminiscent in the use of *qusiṭa* of Document A of the so-called Constitution of Medinah.

140 Ibid., 525-6.

impractical, except, possibly, in some districts of the Lower Yemen only.¹⁴¹

Two other cases of the imposition of *ma'ūnah*-aid may be quoted—undoubtedly there are many more. In the year 650/1252 the Imām Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn bought the fort Birāsh (of Ṣan'ā') from a relative of the Rasūlid sultan of Ta'izz, and distributed the cost of it (*farraq thamana-hu*) over all his Imāmic territory, each adult male being charged five dirhams.¹⁴² Again, in 869/1464-5, when the first Ṭāhirid sultan, 'Amir, was about to resume his attack on Ṣan'ā', the Imām Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, asked the people of Ṣan'ā' for 4,000 *ūḡiyyah* of silver, for 'aid' (*i'ānah*) to perform the *jihād*.¹⁴³ All this goes to show that the Imāms considered fighting even a Muslim aggressor a part of *jihād* under certain conditions, and levied *ma'ūnah*-aid for such purpose.

It is recorded that, in the early 15th century, Ṣan'ā' district, al-Sirr, al-Rahabah, the *balads* of Ḥamdān, Janb, and Dhayfān, and al-Bawnayn paid a tax to the Rasūlids in money and raisins (*'ayn wa-zabīb*). In the year 1058/1648 controversies (*mu'ārahāt*) broke out between the Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il and the ulema of the time, concerning the taxes known as *mukūs*, *majābī* and *zakawāt*,¹⁴⁴ and one of his relatives questioned him about the monthly demands (*al-maṭālib al-shahriyyah*) which he made on the Lower Yemen and the reasons for making them. The Imām replied that it had come under the control of infidels (*kuffār*), and quoted the Zaydī law book *al-Azhār* to prove that he could take from it what he wished. As the country had only been occupied by the Ottoman Turks, and that about a quarter of a century earlier, the argument was obviously difficult for the ulema, or certain of them, to accept as a justification for taxation not laid down in *sharī'ah*.

The controversy is laid out *in extenso* by the author of *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*.¹⁴⁵ The view is proffered that in principle, whatever the Imām imposes on the people for a common interest (*maṣlahah*) of theirs is lawful, 'even the wages of the guards (*ujrat al-ḥarrāsīn*) to guard against fire, and the raising of walls (*naṣb al-durūb*) and gates of streets.' The Yemen, it is argued, requires an Imām to have many soldiers to compel the tribes to return things wrongfully taken (*ḡalāmāt*) and make them pay the bloodwits (*diyāt*). The Yemen is full of troubles (*fitan*), even if, during the rule of the Imām al-Mutawakkil, they have lessened because of the respect (*haybah*) for the Imām. He and the chiefs with him must have ample equipment to carry out their duties.

Yemen is poor (*ḥaqīr*) and its taxes (*wājibāt*), with regard to what goes to the soldiers (*'askar*), are only a little (*yasīr*). The Yemen's disbursement (*makhrūj*) is inadequate (to meet) what the soldiers alone are due. The product (*maḥṣūl*) of the Yemen has been totalled up along with what is due to the soldiers and it falls far short—how shall it be with the needs of others with obligatory rights, the writers (*ahl al-ta'līf*), the *fugarā'* and *masākīn*?¹⁴⁶

The Imām's critics asserted that the poll-tax payable by the Jews (*al-jizā*) amounting to 70,000 went to a single person, and half of the income (*kharāj*) of Aden, which is over a lac, went to another. (The Zaydī Imām is the recipient of the poll tax on Dhimmīs). The rejoinder was that there were not enough Dhimmīs, Jews, in the Yemen to produce such a sum! Aden was

not known to have had a revenue (in those days) of over 12,000, most of its revenue going to pay the garrison and assistants, and the rest to meet what comes to it, and to the roads of the hinterland (*al-barr*) and benefaction.¹⁴⁷

The attack included the accusation¹⁴⁸ that most of the Hāshimites have insufficient to meet their needs in the way of food and clothing, and the *hijrahs*¹⁴⁹ of Āl Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (Sayyids) are, all but a few, in the most pressing need. The Imām's reply was that these people receive from him what others do not get, and if it is restricted to what the lists (*bayānāt*) and registers (*daḡātir*) contain in the way of cloth (*bazz*), cash (*naqd*) and grain (*ṭa'āmāt*) in respect of stipend (*taqrīr*), fee (*muwāsāh*) and gifts (*ṣilāt*)—more comes to them than what they are due.¹⁵⁰ There is an attack on the Imām's relatives for monopolizing the properties of Allāh under their control and not paying the Imām what he is due.¹⁵¹ A point which is to arise in later history also is the permissibility or otherwise of disbursing the *zakāt* to the poor of the Banū Hāshim, or, on account of a (public) advantage, to the rich among them.¹⁵² It is noteworthy that the Ḥākim of Ṣan'ā', the learned *qāḍī* and Imām of the Jāmi' Mosque, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Saḥūlī,¹⁵³ came down on the side of approval of aid to indigent Hāshimis.

The revenues of the Treasury at this period are specified as *ma'ūnah*-aid, the fifths (*akhmās*) on country formerly under 'oppressors', court fines (*maḡālim*), and the obligatory dues (*al-ḥuqūq al-wājibah*) such as *zakawāt* and tithes (*mu'ashsharāt*) on those people (liable to pay) them.¹⁵⁴

That the Sayyids and others managed to retain a portion of what might have been dispensed as *zakāt* emerges from a measure which the Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim decided upon in the year 1135/1722-3, namely to collect the dues and *zakawāt* of those who were exempt from payment of tax (*qabḍ wājibāt al-ajbār*),¹⁵⁵ employing his minister, the learned *faqīh*, Aḥmad al-Shijnī, as intermediary. These exempt persons held written warrants (*muḥarrarāt*) in their possession from the Imāms that they should disburse their *zakawāt* to the poor, so numerous complaints were raised to al-Mutawakkil (supporting) the remaining¹⁵⁶ of the exempt persons' *zakawāt* under their surveillance. He, however, paid no attention but determined to put his plan into execution and sent out valuers (*khurrāḡ*) to the properties of the family of the Imām,¹⁵⁷ the ulema, chiefs and all exempt persons. The Lord of Kawkabān and others thereupon took action to despatch their *zakawāt* to al-Mutawakkil without undergoing valuation (*khirṣ*). Al-Mutawakkil's action, however, created such a stir that a number of other notable Sayyids left al-Rawḍah for Arḥab, as a gesture of rebellion, and he had to abandon his plans. The great censor of morals, the learned Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr, far from applauding al-Mutawakkil over this issue, indited a *qaṣīdah*¹⁵⁸ attacking al-Shijnī for corrupt practice, and favouritism in excluding the family of the Imām and powerful tribal chiefs from inclusion in the new measure. Zabārah sees the poem as attacking the empowering of al-Shijnī to take away *waqf* property.¹⁵⁹ The *qaṣīdah* is a fine piece of invective and of considerable social and historical interest. The question of administrative practices which the ulema considered unjustifiable in Islamic law was taken up by Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr in 1146/1733-4. When in Shahārah, he composed a long epistle

141 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 339, quoting 'Umārah and al-Khazrajī, but there are many allusions to this in Yemeni historians. It was bitterly opposed by the ulema.

142 Al-Khazrajī, *al-Uḡūd*, I, 100; al-Jarmūzī, op. cit., 526, with additional examples.

143 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 598.

144 According to the Ms. Professor C. Cahen and I are editing, *Mulakhkhaḡ al-ḡitan*, 13a.

145 *Ṭabaq al-ḡalwā*, 23.

146 Op. cit., 446.

147 Presumably religious scholars are meant. *Fugarā'* may have another sense than poor, but *masākīn* means apparently simply poor here.

148 *Al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 486.

149 Ibid, 489.

150 Ibid, 490.

151 See p.40b seq.

152 Ibid, 489.

153 Ibid, 491.

154 *Ṭabaq al-ḡalwā*, 23a. Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 460, on 'eating the *zakāt*' by the Sayyids of the Yemen.

155 Ms. points this al-Suḥūlī.

156 *Al-Sīrah*, 503.

157 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 289. Gloss. *daḡ*, 261, *jabar*, plur., *jibār*, *qui ne paie pas d'impôts*.

158 The text has *baḡiyyah* here but it looks incorrect.

159 This is curious in that the Imām's family is later said to be exempted.

160 *Diwān al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī*, Cairo, 1384/1964, 213.

161 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 289.

to the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Husayn b. al-Mutawakkil in Ṣanʿāʾ to which he persuaded the ulema of Shahārāh, Ḥūth and Ṣaʿdah to append their signatures.¹⁶² In this he attacked the innovation/heresy (*bidʿah*) of the market taxes (*mukūs*), and *majābī* and the 'detriment' (*adhrār*) they caused, reiterating that it was prohibited to receive them. He also criticized the assignment of fiefs (*iqṭāʾāt*)¹⁶³ to some 'Alawī Sayyids who were of no general use, and to the rich, the appointment of ignorant governors (*ummāl*) and *ḥākims*, the billeting (*ṣarf*) of persons arriving in Ṣanʿāʾ on the houses of its inhabitants, the attachment of the *awqāf* to certain idle persons living in luxurious circumstances, the (silver) dirhams which had been struck, and the high (buildings) of the Jews (*tafawwul al-Yahūd*), etc. In 1181/1767-7 towards the end of his life he was able to declare,¹⁶⁴

From their unlawful properties I have abstained,
No fief have I assumed. No tax on market trade,
Or yet, from any store, measure of corn obtained,
No complaint of store-man or tax-collector made.¹⁶⁵

Whether or not he was influenced by the views of the said Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl,¹⁶⁶ the Amīr of Kawkabān,¹⁶⁷ some time before the year 1162/1748, used to urge his father who had put him in charge of Kawkabān, to collect only the legal dues (*al-wājibāt al-sharʿiyyah*) from the peasants (*raʿiyyah*), without the addition of what the government taxes (*al-qawānīn al-dawliyyah*) demanded, such as tax on merchandise (*mukūs*), *muʾināt*-aid, and the customary payments (*al-muʾtādāt*)¹⁶⁸ which the former heads/chiefs had laid down. His father declined to upset the system/order (*niẓām*), and to lower what was taken from the full customary payments (*kifāyat al-muʾtād*) or to cause a short-fall in the supplies of the districts. The son put forward the counter-argument that justice would make the country prosperous; so they agreed to make an experiment with a village, Ḥabābah near Thulā. This village used, after much injustice, to produce annually 700 *qadah*-measures of grain, accompanied by great ill-feeling from the peasants. Its *āmīl* was ordered to collect only the tithe (*uṣhr*) from the threshing floors (*ajrān*). Next year 1,800 *qadahs* were collected accompanied by goodwill, and in the ensuing year over 2,000. This treatment was then extended to the rest of the Kawkabān district and there was a great increase in production. The whole country was brought into cultivation when much of it had been left uncultivated (*ṣaluba*)¹⁶⁹ because of oppression, and no place was left without being sown so that even flood-beds (*sawāʾil*) and mountains were sown. Abundant rains also followed.

Local Taxes on Ṣanʿāʾ City

The wealthy and merchant community of Ṣanʿāʾ, even its inhabitants in general, throughout its history were inevitably

'meat on a tray',¹⁷⁰ as the saying is, in front of the triumphant conqueror, the needy ruler, or the governor intent on lining his pockets while his term of office lasted. It is likely too that customary gifts were offered or extorted and tended to turn into a fixed impost. For example, outside Ṣanʿāʾ in the Jāhrān district we discovered the sharecropper would present the landlord with a gift of oil at his visits—this, it was agreed, was an ordinary token of good relations, but some persons seemed to consider it part of the payments made to the landlord.¹⁷¹ The city was obviously 'squeezed' again and again and to take a case in point, when the first Zaydī Imām al-Ḥādī could no longer extract any money from it to satisfy the demands of his soldiers he had no option but to leave.

From time to time the historians record not the imposition of oppressive taxes or dues, but their removal. The Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (ob. 793/1391) removed the demands (*majālib*) on the people of Ṣanʿāʾ which unjust oppressors had introduced.¹⁷² In the first Ottoman occupation of the Yemen, Murād Pasha arriving in 988/1580 removed many of the oppressive practices (*rusūm al-jawr*) set up by his predecessors over Ṣanʿāʾ.¹⁷³ There is some suggestion that the Turks made an *iqṭāʾ* (fief) of Ṣanʿāʾ, but this is a question that requires further investigation.

In the post-Ottoman period al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl removed many customary payments (*maʿārif muʾtādah*) from his subjects (*raʿiyyā*).¹⁷⁴ In 1077/1666 'the Imām lifted the (dues, taxes) which he had placed on the markets and none of the farmings (*qabālāt*)¹⁷⁵ remained except what was there previously.'¹⁷⁶ In 1089/1678, 'Izz al-Islām' abolished the farming of the markets (*qabāl al-aswāq*) in Ṣanʿāʾ of the Yemen.¹⁷⁷ The historians content themselves with these bald statements without adducing any reasons for these actions.

Under the Turks of the second Ottoman occupation Ṣanʿāʾ underwent a number of changes—a Municipality (*Baladiyyah*) was set up and for instance, in 1305/1887-8 the Mayor al-Qayṣarī gave orders about the cleaning of the streets.¹⁷⁸ Market dues, ten per cent on all produce sold, one Turkish piastre for every goat slaughtered and ten Turkish piasres for every bullock were levied, and customs dues at the ports.¹⁷⁹ Wyman Bury¹⁸⁰ writing just before World War I, says that, since the Turkish *rapprochement* with Imām Yaḥyā in September 1913, the Turkish milking of the vilayet had ceased, octroi and transit dues had been abolished, but municipal and market rates were still levied in Turkish controlled towns. The introduction of the *Baladiyyah* was a departure from traditional administration, but it was preserved under the rule of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn after the war.

Writing of the early twenties the well-known author Ameen al-Rihani¹⁸¹ found the burden of taxation was very heavy and the complaint of it general. I have heard myself Yemenis say that during the Turkish occupation we could not fill the Ṣundūq

162 Ibid, I, 600.

163 By *iqṭāʾāt* I think he means that *waqf* property is made over to Sayyid control.

164 *Diwān*, op. cit., 265. *Tafawwul* can also mean simply 'arrogance'.

165 'Afaṣtu 'an amwālī-him lā quʿat-an
Uḡṭī 'tu aw maks-in (read maks-an ?) min al-aswāqī
Aw kaylat-an/in min ayyi mikhṣān-in fa-lā
Ashkū min al-khazzāni wa-'l-sawwāqī.

The *kaylah* is, judging by other texts, an issue of grain from the Government store (*mikhṣān*). The complaint of the store-man may be explained from *Nashr al-ʿarf*, I, 476, where the tax-collectors—the *ṣāʾif* and the *qabbāḍ*—are restricted to a fowl to be killed for their supper as entertainment when touring, and the 'short measure which those in charge of the (Government) stores give' (*al-mikyāl alladhī yuʿaffif bi-hi ahl al-makhṣān*) is prohibited. Since the poet accepts no *kaylah* he does not complain of short measure. The *sawwāq* is not a term known to me, but cf. *siyāq* in *Qāmūn Ṣanʿāʾ*, passim.

Another verse (*Diwān*, 214) runs, 'You have permitted the taking of customs (*mukūs*) in our land, and the proliferating (*tawfīr*) of them, wrongfully on every merchant'.

166 Many scholars recognize that it is unfortunate that a volume, *Ibn al-Amīr wa-ʿaṣru-hu: ṣūrah min kifāh shaʿb al-Yaman*, by (mainly it is averred) Qāsim Ghālib, but with other names included, n.d. and no place of publication mentioned, but which appeared about 1969, instead of doing justice to this great scholar, is largely an exercise in anti-Imāmī propaganda. Ibn

al-Amīr, also known as al-Badr, was accused of opposing the *madhhab al-ʿAlī*, the Zaydī school of Islam (*Diwān*, 381) but this he refuted. A critic of the abuses of the age he certainly was, but a *mujaddid* and within the Zaydī fold.

167 *Nashr al-ʿarf*, I, 261.

168 Jarmūzī, op. cit., 226, speaks of the Ḥaḍramī Sultan as taking 'awāʾid to the Ottoman Ḥaydar Pasha, and later to the Zaydī Imām—this looks like simple tribute.

169 *Ṣaluba* is used today in exactly the same sense given by Lane, 'the land has been hard by lying waste for years'.

170 *Lahm ʿalā waḍam*.

171 In Ḥaḍramī documents such customary gifts are sometimes listed as fixed dues; in the copies I have they seem mainly related to the grain and date harvests.

172 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 537.

173 Ibid, 156.

174 *Al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 321.

175 At Ṣanʿāʾ *qabal* was said to mean *qamān*, farming of taxes. *Sa-ataqabbal qarāʾib al-sūq bi-miʾat alf, mathal-an = iltizām bi-miqḍār muʾayyan*, I shall contract to farm the market for 100,000, for example, i.e. for a fixed sum.

176 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 60 a.

177 Ibid, 121 b.

178 Zabārah, *Aʾimmat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 75.

179 Arab Bureau, Cairo, *Handbook of Yemen*, Cairo, January 15, 1917, 42.

180 *Arabia Infelix*, London, 1915, 18.

181 *Arabian peak and desert*, 125.

al-Māl, literally the Coffer of Money—the Treasury—how can we now fill the Bayt al-Māl, the House of Money, the term that the Imāms re-introduced. Ribani enumerates the taxes as the *zakāt*, i.e., the tithes collected in kind, cereals, coffee included, the tithe collected on perishable goods including *qāt*, tithes on cattle and domestic animals in kind or cash, tithes on commerce and industry. These, he says, are added to the *zakāt* which originally included them all. Even the *zakāt* is multiple for, in addition to the 2½% of yearly income there is what is called the *zakāt* of the body (*al-badan*), paid in Ramaḍān, together with the *zakāt* of the jewels of the *ḥarīm* as well as that of the *jihād*, war subscription, whenever it is called for. A small tribute he notes, is paid by the Jews—the rich pay three *riyāls* a year, the middle class Jew two, and the poor pay only one *riyāl* or 2s.

Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī, in conversation, told me that in older (Imāmī) days the *majābī* were local taxes on fruit and vegetables, and were of two categories—the Government (Dawlah) took one category which the Municipality collected (*ṭajbī-hi 'l-Baladiyyah*) and the revenue from this it spent on the (public) services of the town (*maṣāliḥ al-balad*), roads, watch-service (*ḥirāsah*), and their employees. He added that taxes collected in the name of the state (Dawlah) were on everything that entered Ṣan'ā'—really a *gumruk* or customs. The second category was on merchandise (*ṭijārī*), on trade packages (*al-ṭurūd al-tijāriyyah*) and what he called *bandalāt* and large *bindahs* (pl., *binad*)¹⁸² bales. This was how it was in the days of the Turks, and then in the days of both Imām Yaḥyā and Aḥmad. This went to pay for the Scales (Mizān), the headmen (*maqādimah*) and the *shaykh al-layl*. Each donkey (*bahimah*) or load (*ḥiml*) had to pay four *buqash* to the Municipality (*'an ṭariq al-Baladiyyah*) which went to pay for the guarding (*ḥirāsah*) of Ṣan'ā' and the cleaning (*tanẓīf*). Another person told me that this tax on entry into the town was called *zāllah* and was payable on every beast (*'alā kull qārishah*). *Mukūs*, al-Ghaffārī confirmed, are *gamārik*, customs, and *ma'ūnah-aid*, he averred, was *bi-'l-riḍā*, by choice or consent. Some of the ulema considered that the Imām Yaḥyā was not upright (*ṣāliḥ*) because he took *mukūs* and the Yemeni Liberals in their Programme dated 1357/1938-9 asked Imām Yaḥyā for the 'abolition of the customs (*gamārik*), and being content with the *zakāt* on trading (*ṭijārah*)',¹⁸³ holding thereby to the statutes (*aḥkām*) of the Muḥammadan *shari'ah*'.¹⁸⁴ Another clause asks for 'freedom of trading so that there should be no privilege (*imtiyāz*) in it for one apart from another'. Another clause demands 'acceptance of *amānah* (good faith)'¹⁸⁵ on the part of people in the matter of the open and private *zakāt* (*ṣāḥirah wa-bāṭinah*) which Allāh made obligatory upon them'.

Ameen al-Rihani¹⁸⁶ describes how these Government and Municipal taxes were collected in Yaḥyā's time, at the Samsarat al-Mizān, the Warehouse of the Scales, though he does not mention it by this name. It was

a vast court with stalls and alcoves under arches all around where scribes are writing in books and men of grave aspect are smoking *madā'ahs*. In the court and under the arches are piles of bales and boxes, and at one end are large scales with cannon-balls of various sizes and weights. 'This is the Custom House of Ṣan'ā', says Abd'ur-Rahman. 'Every loaded camel or mule or man entering through one of the seven gates of the city has to come here first to be weighed and cleared'. 'The merchandise you mean,' said I, in a teasing

conceit. But he was not disturbed. 'The *qorash* (pack beasts),' he explained, 'are also taxed. A camel-leer has to pay duty on his merchandise and entrance tax on each of his camels.'

Nowadays, I was told, taxes are far more in Ṣan'ā' than they were in the past—there are the municipal tax (*ḍaribat al-Baladiyyah*), co-operation (*ta'āwun*), supply (*tamwīn*), Chamber of Commerce (Ghurfat al-Tijārah)—which are taken at points at 'Aṣir, and the Bāb al-Yaman and Bāb al-Shu'ūb Gates. Of course goods coming to Ṣan'ā' from outside the Yemen will be customed—if from Aden at al-Rāhidah, or if by sea at Hodeidah, but some local Yemeni goods coming in to Ṣan'ā' Market will be taxed on entry, such as grapes etc. There is a very considerable amount of smuggling into the present-day Yemen, both from the sea-board and via Sa'ūdī Arabia.

'The *zakāt*,' writes al-Ṭayyib Zayn al-'Abidin in 1975,¹⁸⁷ 'as collected in Yemen, falls into four categories: (a) 'ushūr or tithe, (b) *fiṭrah* or poll-tax, (c) livestock, and (d) *al-bāṭin* or wealth tax.' He describes *al-bāṭin* as 2½% of annual savings. *Fiṭrah* was apparently fixed by Imām Aḥmad at one *riyāl* per person.¹⁸⁸ My 1974 report¹⁸⁹ describes it thus.

Fiṭrah, now become virtually a sort of poll-tax on every member of the family, is paid at the end of Ramaḍān. The amount is decided by the Government in accordance with the price of millet at the time—the figure quoted for the current year is 1 *riyāl*, 30 *buqshahs* per head, man, woman and child. (Another source said that the tax is based on the price of the Prophet's *ṣā'* (measure) of millet).

The question of whether the Yemen, if it depends entirely on the revenue that the taxes ordained by the *shari'ah* impose, could ever meet the necessary charges on the said revenue is not easily answered.

The Yemen is in no way peculiar in that a substantial proportion of the taxes of any sort has always stuck to the hands of the chain of collectors. Some become so rich that a man would be said to 'have built himself a house (*banā lah bayt*)', not of course from his meagre salary but from what he has illicitly made on the side. Every office, down to the ordinary *jundī* who stands at the customs and demands his *ḥaqq al-qāt*, is turned to the holder's personal advantage. The Liberal Party's early manifesto¹⁹⁰ which demanded restriction of taxation to the *shari'ah* code also asked that corruption and bribery (*rishwah*) be combatted by increasing the salaries of the Government employees, *qāḍīs*, governors, secretaries, soldiers and teachers so that they would not have to defraud the people, but in 1972 the Premier could still speak frankly of the need to eliminate the same kind of corruption. As one reads the historians it emerges as virtually ordinary procedure to throw officials, often of an extremely high level, into prison, to extract from them some of the wealth they had accumulated by irregular means—they can hardly be called corrupt means since they were doing nothing out of the normal—an honest administrator is rare enough for comment in biography. Officials would be 'squeezed' or fined large sums, but might even continue in their posts. In both Ottoman occupations the Yemenis considered the Turkish officials, foreigners, excessively grasping since they had to make their pile before dismissal arrived from Istanbul—so they were naturally in a greater hurry

182 E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic vocabulary*, *bundah*, *bunad*. *Shay mayyit qarīb yujahhizu-h mawazzaḥu al-Baladiyyah*. Anything newly dead the Municipality employees would deal with.

183 In the time of the first Zaydī Imām, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī says, 'I used to collect (*aqbiḍ*) for Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, the *zakāt* on the properties of the merchants. Now there would be merchants trading and staying for months, so I said to him "Why do you not take the *zakāt* on their properties?" To which he answered, "If we take the *zakāt* of their properties we shall have to protect (*naḥḥu-hum*) wherever they are in our country and elsewhere so that nothing will be taken from them.'"

184 *Barnāmaj Hizb al-Aḥrār al-Yamanī*, Aden (Fatāt al-Jazirah Press), no date

but probably not earlier than 1944.

185 I.e., self-assessment.

186 Op. cit., 164.

187 *The role of Islam in the state*, op. cit., 206.

188 Sulṭān Aḥmad 'Umar, *Nagrah fi taḥawwur al-mujtama' al-Yamanī*, Beirut, 1970, 106. It includes an attempt to rewrite south Arabian history on Marxist ideological lines.

189 *Report on Land and Water Rights with other relevant topics, in the Montane Plains and Wadi Rima (MPWR) Project, Yemen Arab Republic*. (To Foreign and Commonwealth Office, O.D.A., Land Resources Division).

190 Op. cit., 6.

than the Yemeni official looking for a regular income.

The imposition of *mukūs* and *majābī* or other taxes hits hardest of course at the ordinary townsman and farmer. The official and wealthy Yemenis, I am informed, had, and no doubt still have, ways of avoiding the full incidence of taxation. This medieval system is however tempered by charity, public and private, and not to be compared, even remotely, with the grinding oppression of the last years that takes place south of the Yemen Republic's border. My own guess would be that the strictly *shari'ah* system of taxation, even if strictly operated, would not be sufficient, certainly today, to provide even a modest adequacy for the Government.¹⁹¹

Imām Yaḥyā's sources of income were the *zakāt*, the income (*al-ma'āsh*) he drew from the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl) and his private property. He would take money from the Treasury to buy a consignment of arms (*ṣafaqat silāḥ*), sell the arms, take the profit and return the principal to the Treasury. The trade in arms was confined to Imām Yaḥyā (*maḥṣūrah 'ala 'l-Imām Yaḥyā*). He also received *jizyat al-Yahūd* and votive offerings from the tribes (*al-nudhūr min al-qabā'il*). A tribesman would say, 'Law iddā lī Allāh walad nadhart lī-'l-Imām ku'daḥṭanakah samn, If God gives me a boy I vow a jar/can (if rich) of ghee to the Imām.' Or if from a coffee-growing district he might say a *zimbil qishr*. He would manage to get past the guards by saying he had brought a *nadhr* to the Imām—who would receive it, saying 'Aṣlahā-k Allāh'. This happened more in the earlier than the later days of his reign.

The Watch-Tax

A notable feature of the *Qānūn* or Statute of Ṣan'ā' is the stipulations it lays down for the provision of watchmen and/or of fleece-lined coats, that the Yemeni wears to keep out the bitter night cold of part of the year, for the Watch. Already in Document A (Basic) this duty is laid on certain crafts or professions,¹⁹² and it is extended in the Supplementary regulations. It is unlikely that any group provided actual coats, but only paid the levy for them in cash.

No mention is made of watch-tax to be paid by the Horse and Mule Market, Camel Market, Fodder Market, porters, wood-choppers, farriers, locksmiths, builders, potters, and certain demeaning trades in section 38 such as the barber, cupper, bathman, and cotton-carder¹⁹³—this last included probably because it was largely, it might even have been exclusively, a Jewish craft. The only reason that can be suggested for the apparent exemption of these trades is that they had nothing to guard or worth guarding.

The *Qānūn* specifies that watch duties, additional to the watch-tax, must be performed as the town requires, by the Silk Market, Oil and Ghee Market, Coffee Market, Tobacco and Black Tobacco Markets, Rope Fibre Market, Grain Market, Raisin Market, Grape and Fruit Market, Meat Markets and dealers, Firewood Market, Cattle and Donkey Market, dyers and butchers, Brass Market, Sandal and Shoes Market, Pottery and Ovens Market. Sūq al-Ḥalaqah is rather imprecisely required to pay what other Markets pay. The commission agents (*dallāl*) are only to pay for the Watch, no charge for coats being mentioned. The wax-smelters pay the wages of the Watch, but the Raisin Market has, in addition to paying for the coats and providing men for the Watch, to pay the Shaykh of the Watch, as does the Cattle and Donkey Market.

Some trades and professions have to provide neither men

nor money for the Watch, apart from the fleece-lined coats. For an obvious reason, that they come under the protection of the Muslim community, neither do the Jews or Bāniyāns.

The Jews of Sūq 'Aqīl paid their separate contributions towards the coats for the Watch, but it can only be surmised that if they had premises elsewhere and practised a craft assessed for watch-tax, they paid as ordinary Muslim members of the craft did. There is at least no statement to the contrary. If the document curtly referred to in section 2 as *al-Umm*¹⁹⁴ should contain a full and detailed set of provisions for the Watch duties and tax, as I think was probably the case, this question may have been dealt with there. Perhaps in the Cloth Market where each *'ashīrah* paid a fixed contribution, one *'ashīrah* might have been Jewish. On the other hand as the Bāniyāns are assessed as a single group the Jews may have also been assessed in the same way.

In the table that follows two contributions are relatively large, those of the Jews and Bāniyāns. This is doubtless in part to be related to the size of the Jewish community working in Ṣan'ā'—the Jewish population of the city being estimated by Niebuhr¹⁹⁵ at 2,000, by Cruttenden¹⁹⁶ at 3,000, and in the present century even as high as 10,000. Niebuhr gives the Bāniyāns as about 125, and on the face of things they paid more than the undoubtedly far larger Jewish group in Sūq 'Aqīl.

Distribution of Watch Duties and Taxes in Ṣan'ā' Markets

Market	Watch duties	Tax	Collection charge
Cloth Market, each family ¹⁹⁷	Watch duties with pay for the Watch	32	1
wholesalers		24	1 1/2
individuals		11	1/4
Ḥaḍramī Cloth Market	Watch duty	16 1/2	1
Commission agents	Pay for the Watch ¹⁹⁸	34	2 1/8
Wax-smelters	Wage for Watch	5	2
Silk Market	Watch duties	3	1/2
Sūq al-Ḥalaqah	Pay as others	15	2
Oil and Ghee Market	Watch duties	41 1/2	2 1/2
Coffee Husk Market	Watch duties	15	2
Tobacco Market	Watch duties	22 1/2	1 1/2
Black Tobacco Market	Watch duties	10	1/2
Rope Fibre Market	Watch duties	3 1/2	1/4
Grain Market	Watch duties	13	11/16
Salt Market	Watch duties	2 1/2	1/8
Raisin Market	Watch duties, pay Shaykh of Watch	5	1/4
Henna Market		2 1/4	1/8
Qāt Market		3	1/4
Grape and Fruit Market	Watch duties	7	1
Meat, Sheep-and-Goat Market	Watch duties	32	2
Firewood Market	Watch duties	1/4	1/8
Cattle and Donkey Market	Watch duties, pay Head of Watch	9 1/2	1
Dyers and Butchers	Watch duties	3 1/8	?
Scarves Market		12 1/4	1/8
Tailors		5 1/2	5/8
Saddlers		8 1/2	?
Bakers		15/16	?
Coffee-Inns		1 1/4	1/8
Warehouse-keepers		9	1/2
Blacksmiths' Market		2 1/2	1/8
Carpentry Market		3 1/2	1/2
Gun-stock Makers	For the Watch	3/4	1/8
Brass Market	Watch duties	1 1/2	1/8
Sandal and Shoemakers' Market	Watch duties	6 1/2	1/2
Jews of Sūq 'Aqīl		44	2 3/4
Hindu Bāniyāns		56 1/2	3 1/2
Pottery, Ovens, Market	Watch duties	7/8	1/8
Total		347 3/16	25 15/16

191 Professor Hans Kruse's current study of *zakāt* documents in Ṣan'ā' should presumably place us in a better position to comment on the whole taxation problem.

192 The Ḥaḍramī Cloth Market, Wax-smelters, Silk Market, Sūq al-Ḥalaqah, Henna Market, Coffee-Inns.

193 See p.228a. Nowadays however this craft is carried on by Muslim Ṣan'ānis and seems to have the same status as any other work.

194 This is probably to be identified with the document alluded to at the end of section 1, kept by the Shaykh al-Mashāyikh and issued by the *ḥākim*. Description, 1, 336.

196 *Journey from Mocha to San'a*, 285. Cruttenden's figure seems to refer to the artisans, i.e., the adult males, and one should probably take Niebuhr's figure in the same sense.

197 Ar. *'ashīrah*.

198 I.e., the tax in col. 3. is for the Watch.

To the totals above would have to be added what the Cloth Market pays, but since the payments required of it as a whole are not specified but only what individuals or groups must contribute, this is not possible. In two cases above the tax paid is specifically stated to be for the Watch, not for the fleece-lined coats, but this might simply be careless wording. There seems to be no consistency in the rate charged for collection as between one market and another.

Al-Sayāghī¹⁹⁹ points out that the Municipality (Baladiyyah)

has recently introduced garries (*qārī*, pl., *qawārī*) to cart away sweepings from the markets and the streets—this is an arrangement not known to the *Qānūn*. To pay for this service the Municipality has imposed a new tax, and the two imposts for the upkeep of both garries and watch are known as '*Qawārī wa-jurum*.' When I saw *qārī* branches and leaves being collected by individuals in the Market I was a little surprised to learn that these are not considered rubbish, but are fed to animals.

199 Preface to his *Qānūn Şan'ā'*, 278.

Chapter 12

The Market, Business Life, Occupations, the Legality and Sale of Stimulants

Proverbs and the Market

The markets in the Yemen are said to be the property of the people of the villages (*mamlūkah li-ahl al-qurā*) at which they are held, but in the literature one notices that markets were very often under the protection of a tribal lord. Al-Wāsi¹ maintains that the Yemen, throughout the whole country, follows Ṣan'ā' prices with regard to the cheapness or expensiveness of commodities, and that the same is true of the rains, if they are abundant over Ṣan'ā' then the whole country enjoys good rains, but if scanty then it suffers with the capital.

The first essential for a market is security, for if there is fighting in the sūq 'the pottery-sellers get the shit (*al-ḍarb fi 'l-sūq wa-'l-kharā 'ind al-maddārīn*)—their pots which are exposed for sale lying in heaps in the open street get smashed in the melée. A Baraṭ proverb runs, 'Fighting with long knives but not battling in the markets (*ḍarb al-sabāyik wa-lā dahjah fi 'l-aswāq*).' Some ulema hold that it detracts from one's honour to fight in the market.²

'The market is the store-house of a reliable man (in honouring his debts) (*Al-sūq mikhzān al-wāfi*).³ If he wants to buy something from the market but has not got sufficient money merchants will readily give him credit. *Al-sūq abū marzūq*,⁴ seems to mean that the market is a much better place in which to trade rather than to go peddling, and it contains everything. 'Do not ask about the price when you are coming to the market (*Lā tas'al 'an al-si'r wa-ant qādim min al-sūq*).⁴ Doubtless since it cannot be concealed, people say, 'The talk of the market can't be hidden in a box (*kalām al-sūq mā yitkhabbā fi 'l-ṣundūq*).⁵ 'A mean/miserly man comes back from the market empty-handed (*Al-ḥādhiq yikhrij min al-sūq 'aṭal*).⁵

Sūq al-Ḥalaqah

Al-Ḥalaqah⁶ is described as 'the heart of the Market (*qalb al-Sūq*).⁷ Closely associated with it is the little Mosque of 'Alī,

said to be named after 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who became the fourth Caliph of Islam, and is stated by the early 10th/15th century historian of *Qurraṭ al-'uyūn* to have entered Ṣan'ā'.⁷ The same source appears to be responsible for the tale that the lady Umm Sa'id al-Buzrujiyyah⁸ in whose house he lodged, became his first convert, demolished her house, and turned the site into a mosque. As however al-Rāzi,⁹ writing in the first half of the 5th/11th century, knows neither the Mosque of 'Alī, nor any such story associated with this lady who belonged to the Persian Abnā' of Ṣan'ā', the association with 'Alī looks like a legend that developed in a much later age.¹⁰ The Mosque of 'Alī seems to have some importance to the Fāṭimī-Ṭayyibīs. I have not found either the name al-Ḥalaqah nor yet what might be a description of it in al-Rāzi's history. Nevertheless the place itself has had some special significance for Ṣan'ānis even if this be now forgotten, and the author of *al-Badr al-muzīl*¹¹ declares, 'It (the Mosque of 'Alī) is in the Sūq al-Ḥalaqah, and the people of Ṣan'ā' have a firm belief (*i'tiqād*) in the virtue (*faḍl*) of this mosque and in prayer in it. In this market called al-Ḥalaqah prayer (*du'ā*) is accepted (*maqbul*).¹²

In this market, he continues, china-ware (*ṣinī*) of its various sorts is sold, and *kharaz*, i.e., miscellaneous small wares.¹² (I was told in 1972 that *kharaz* and *misqāḥ* second-hand goods are still sold there). The people of Ṣan'ā' believe (*ya'taqidūn*) that in those things there is good fortune (*barakah*) in this market. Any merchant (*tājir*) or vendor (*bā'i*) who first of all engages in trading in such things in this market—his trading flourishes and he profits and gains—then he transfers to trading in the other markets.

Al-Ḥalaqah lies on the eastern edge of the hillock in Ṣan'ā' which may conceal the ruins of important ancient buildings. Old stones of some size have been dug up near it, and local people suggest it was a corner (*rukhn*) of Ghumdān. It has certainly a central position not far from the Jāmi' Mosque and between it and the Mosque of 'Alī. Furthermore the small size of the mosque would indicate an old foundation. Was there possibly a

1 *Al-Badr al-muzīl*, 9.

2 Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished collection. A verse in *al-Badr al-muzīl*, 8, runs, 'Let there be rain upon Ṣan'ā' for I know no land where perfume (*maḍnūn*) has settled which resembles it for pleasant life and safety (*khafid wa-amn*), etc.

3 *Sabikah* (plur. *sabāyik*) is a long narrow dagger not used now except some in the Ṣa'dah region; it differs from the *jambiyah*.

4 Both proverbs from Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished collection, but cf. *Jemenica*, 88, no. 589.

5 A Tihāmah version of the proverb. A variant is, '*Lā tinshid fi sūq ant wārid-uh/waṣṣāl minnuh*.' Cf. *Jemenica*, 72, no. 453, & 131, 962, '*Darāhim-ak wa-'l-sūq wa-lā ts'al makhliq*.'

5 Both proverbs from Qāḍī Ismā'il. Cf. *Jemenica*, 61, no. 359. *Ḥādhiq* = *bakhil*.

6 See map, p.248. For a general description of the markets apart from sources quoted, see Nazih, *Riḥlah*, I, 176, 255.

7 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 86, more cautious in the matter of details than 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yahyā al-Wāsi'i, *al-Badr al-muzīl li-'l-huṣn*, Cairo, 1345 H., 9.

8 The editors of al-Rāzi, *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, 78, 140, 294, vocalise the name thus, but Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, Haydarābād, 1962, I, 255, Bazurj.

9 Loc. cit.

10 Could the Caliph 'Uthmān's governor of Ṣan'ā', Ya'lā b. Umayyah have in the course of time become 'Alī in the popular mind?

11 Loc. cit.

12 Al-Wāsi'i says that elsewhere than in the Yemen *kharaz* is called *khurdawāt*.

sacred enclave associated in ancient times, even before Islam, with al-Ḥalaqah, meaning 'the Circle'.¹³ Al-Ḥalaqah suggests circles of shop-keepers such as one sees in the late afternoon sitting outside the merchant city of Shibām of Ḥaḍramawt. One might speculate that it could have been the seat of a council of merchants or a sort of rudimentary commercial court even. Yet again it is in the centre, as it were, of a circle of markets. It is not far from Sūq al-'Arj to which the tribesfolk would come. It was in al-Ḥalaqah that the Jew¹⁴ who shouted his challenge to the Castle in the days of al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn was executed—this was doubtless so that the affair would be published abroad and the Jews who worked in Sūq 'Aqīl close at hand would take heed.

In the 12th/18th century, as can be seen in Document Basic A, the administration of the Market was carried on from al-Ḥalaqah. Goods arrived there, they were recorded in the register and then were taken to the *samsarah* warehouses. Some of the big sales took place at al-Ḥalaqah. The *Qānūn Šan'ā'* speaks of the Clerk (Kātib) of al-Ḥalaqah, at the present day (1972) 'Alī Muḥammad al-Akwa' who is described as Kātib al-Sūq, the Clerk of the Market, or the clerk who registers what arrives at the Market (*kātib al-wārid ila 'l-sūq*). Al-Ḥalaqah does not seem to have been a customs post, and at the present time the Gumruk of Šan'ā' is at Bāb al-Yaman.

Before the days of motor transport the movement into the Market was as follows. Goods were carried on camels and other animals to al-Mabrak¹⁵ (the couching place) which is in the Grain Market (Sūq al-Ḥabb) and used to extend to al-Ḥalaqah. Then some twenty to twenty-five years ago (from 1972) the goods were carried from this point to Samsarat al-Mizān, the Hostelry-Warehouse of the Scales, in which the Clerk of the Market, sometimes also called Kātib al-Mizān had his station. There they were weighed to establish the wage for the hire of the camels (*kirā' al-jimāl*), there being a fixed charge payable on each *farāsilah*¹⁶ ('*alā kull farāsilah shay mu'ayyan*). From the Samsarat al-Mizān the goods were then borne by porters to the warehouses (*samāsir*), and the small retailers would purchase from these warehouses.

In former times the Samsarat al-Mizān had all goods weighed in it, but now only coffee, bean and husk (*qishr*), and *tumbak* are weighed there. Near-by used to be the Raisin Market (Sūq al-Zabīb), now called Sūq al-Mikhlas, in the 'Aqīl Quarter. Raisins are measured out by the *kayl*. In former days too, there were three places, it was said, through which imports came, Mocha, Hodeidah and Ḥaḍramawt by way of al-Mukallā, the old land-route by way of Ḥarīb, Mārib,¹⁷ to Šan'ā'.

Nowadays goods coming to Šan'ā' from abroad will be taxed, if from Aden, at the well known frontier post at al-Rāhidah, or if by sea at Hodeidah, but a few local Yemeni commodities such as, e.g., grapes, will be taxed on coming in to the Šan'ā' Market. The lorries which have largely replaced the camel, not being able to park in the narrow streets in the middle of the Market now come in to the Maydān al-Qaṣr, the large open area in front of the

Castle of Šan'ā'. They would be inspected there by Qāḍī 'Alī al-Akwa' when on this job, and he would *yuwassil-hā*, i.e., ascertain that what is on their manifest (*taṣḍūr*)¹⁸ corresponds with what is actually on the lorry, and if there should be anything additional it is impounded (*yushādar*).

It appears that the watchmen nowadays act as porters for it and it was stated that the *hāris* will transport the goods on a garry (*min fawq qārī/jārī*)¹⁹ to whatever place the merchant wishes—i.e., not automatically to the *samsarah* warehouse as in previous times. This *hāris* will receive his wage for this, known as *hamalah*.²⁰ The garries are drawn by mules or donkeys and their wheels, tyres and axle are parts of old motor lorries. It may be remarked that Jeddah port in Saudi Arabia is very dependent on Yemeni drivers and their garries.

Qāḍī 'Alī b. 'Alī b. Ismā'il al-Akwa' the clerk of commodities imported into Šan'ā' stated that his grandfather (*al-jid* = *al-jadd*) held this post from about a hundred years ago, before the Turks took Šan'ā', and it came down in the family till he fell heir to the office. Before his grandfather Ismā'il there is said to have been a certain Sā'id Sa'd in charge of it, but Qāḍī 'Alī knew nothing more of him than the name.

Middle-men—the *Dallāl* and the *Mušlih*

The *dallāl* and *mušliḥ* figure frequently in the *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, the *dallāl* being a person who goes round the Market selling on commission—a commission agent—and the *mušliḥ* a dealer who 'acts as a middle-man between the vendor and purchaser in evaluating the price of an article of merchandise'.²¹

Formerly each market and each craft (*ḥirfah*) had its own *dallāls* but the old system seems to be somewhat broken down, though in 1972 the Bayt Mu'id and the Bayt al-Rafiq were still operating in the Tobacco Market, and Bayt al-Qaridī in the Cloth Market (Sūq al-Bazz)—probably there were others also. The Šan'āni *dallāl* goes round to the retailers and informs them that certain goods have arrived, and—do you want them, and how much of them do you want? He offers (*yu'riq*) them. Then he goes to the merchant whole-saler, the merchant states his price, and the *dallāl* returns to acquaint the retailer with it. If they arrive at an agreement the matter then lies between the merchant and the retailer, but the *dallāl* makes a note of the transaction and price—this will be like a *sanad*, a sort of record or receipt. The *dallāl* however handles no money, but, as can be seen from the *Qānūn*,²² he was entitled to a commission fee from both vendor and purchaser of about 3.75 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively²³ on merchandise in general, though grain, cloth, and house-sales fetch a lower rate.

309-15.

The Šan'āni *mušliḥ* seems in his function to be related to the 'people of *islāḥ*' of al-Jāhiz, the celebrated 3rd/9th century essayist, a sort of corporation closely linked by their profession, meeting together in the mosque like the Šan'ā' joiners (p.252b) and others. Jāhiz described them, though not positively mentioning them as *ahl al-islāḥ* (p. 24) as 'those who make a doctrine of economy in costs (*nafaqah* = of maintenance) and making much money, persons who amass and withhold, 'This tenet was with them like family relationship (*nasab*) which unites (people) in mutual affection and like a pact (*hiḥf*) which unites (people) in mutual support (*tanāṣur*). It was there habit when they met in their circles (*ḥilaq*) to discuss this subject and bandy questions with one another.' This resembles the circles of *dallāls* who sit outside Shibām of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt in the late afternoon discussing market business of the day. Cf. further *al-Bukhārā*, 57, 92, 79, 112, and for *ḡulḥ*, *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār* V, 94.

22 Cf. section 4.

23 Assuming the *qirsh* to be equivalent to forty *buḡshahs*. Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwā*, fol. 182a, about the mid 10th/16th century, states that the fee of the *dallāl* and the *kayyāl* measurer, are payable by the vendor, but, naturally enough, the porter's fee is paid by the purchaser. This statement would apply to Aden and al-Shihir.

13 Cf. p.185b.

14 Cf. p.399a.

15 *Qānūn*, section 48. The Turkish map of Šan'ā' shows a part of the Castle of Šan'ā' marked as al-Manākh, i.e. the couching place of camels, but perhaps this would only be for camel transport devoted to military purposes.

16 A *farāsilah* is about 5 kilos.

17 For this route see C. F. Beckingham and R. B. Serjeant, 'A journey by two Jesuits from Dhufār to Šan'ā' in 1590', *Geographical Journal*, London, 1950, CXV, 206. There was of course an export of Yemeni wares to Ḥaḍramawt, and at Shibām and even Tarim in 1947 one could buy raisins and almonds brought by camel caravan from eastern Yemen. Nazih, *Rihlah*, I, 217, reports a view that trade with Ḥaḍramawt, Najd and Hijaz, was greater formerly than today (the twenties), and (I, 291) the caravan route from Ḥaḍramawt ran via al-Bayḍā', Radā' and Dhamār to Šan'ā'.

18 Explained as *kashf li-mā fawq al-sayyarah*. It is rendered as 'covering note' in section 48 of the *Qānūn*.

19 Pl. *jawārī/qawārī*, the variant spellings to render the Indian word *gari*, in accordance with local pronunciation.

20 Explained as *ujūr al-naql*.

21 Qāḍī Ismā'il—*alladhī yatawassiḥ bayn al-bā'i' wa-'l-mushtarī fi taḡdīr al-thaman*. See also R. B. Serjeant, 'Notes on some aspects of Arab business practices in Aden', *Al-Bahū (al-Bāhith): Festschrift Joseph Henniger*, Studia Instituti Anthropos, 28, St. Augustin bei Bonn-Fribourg, 1976,

The retailer may himself in person carry back the goods he has purchased from the whole-saler to his shop—a roll or two of cloth for example—otherwise he may employ a porter as indicated in the *Qanūn*. Each week there is a settlement day for payment by the retailers of an instalment of the cost of the goods they have purchased from the large whole-sale merchant. In Ṣan'ā' this is the Thursday (*Yawm al-Khamis*)—which appears to be the case also in most Yemenite towns. I have been told that prices show an easier trend on Thursday, and if so it would doubtless be for this reason. Reckoning is the soap of hearts (*Al-ḥisāb ṣābūn al-qulūb*) as the proverb goes—i.e. settling up helps to keep (business) relations smooth.²⁴

The term *muṣliḥ*, translated as 'dealer', means literally a person who makes peace between two contending parties—a function well known in Islamic law and common in the Yemen and other Arab countries²⁵ as a cheaper and often far more satisfactory process than going to the courts. To quote Qāḍī Ismā'il,²⁶ '*Al-ṣulḥ sayyid al-aḥkām*, Conciliation is the lord (legal) of decisions.' That is to say it is the best way of settling a dispute. On the other hand the *muṣliḥ*'s judgement (*ḥukm*) is not imposed on either of the two parties by force—as the proverb says, '*Sayf al-muṣliḥ min khazaj*,²⁷ The *muṣliḥ*'s sword is brushwood.' The *muṣliḥ* in fact, to judge by the *Qanūn*, would seem to do exclusively with produce of the tribes, or what tribesmen have to sell, animals such as sheep-and-goats, cattle, donkeys, horses, skins, jars, firewood, fodder, etc., and the word *muṣliḥ* itself is certainly reminiscent of the tribal mediator. The Ṣan'ānī *muṣliḥ* functions as the intermediary between the tribesman and the Market, rather like the Nuṣayr, Al-Qifayl, Āl Ḥam, Āl Bā 'Ashin, and other *dallāl* families of Shibām of Ḥaḍramawt—these families are intermediaries, selling and purchasing on behalf of particular tribes.

Each *qabīlī*, tribesman, bringing in (*jallāb*, *muwarriḍ*) produce to Ṣan'ā' goes to the *muṣliḥ*-dealer who has a shop (*dukḥān*) and effects a sale on his behalf, i.e., deals or makes a bargain with the purchaser for him, all this of course in accordance with the statutes (*qawānīn*) of the Market. The importer has no part in haggling²⁸ over the price. The transaction is known as a *ṣulḥah*, a deal, and al-Sayāghī defines it as 'a mutual agreement (*taṭwāfuq*) between one person and another on the price of an article of merchandise', or 'mediation (*wisāṭah*) between vendor and purchaser'. So therefore it is proper to call a *muṣliḥ* a dealer or broker. Qāḍī Ismā'il says that the term '*adl*', rendered as 'man of integrity', is actually a *muṣliḥ*-dealer acting as intermediary in concluding a bargain, but he is not a *dallāl*.

Although the *Qanūn* does not give any specific designation to persons settling the prices of commodities other than those mentioned above, the term *muṣliḥ* probably applies to those who settle the price of the other country products it discusses, since my informants have alluded to such as *muṣliḥīn fi 'l-'inab*, dealers in grapes and the like.

In Ṣan'ā', then, the *dallāl* may be said to deal in manufactured goods of a more or less sophisticated nature imported by merchants, whereas the *muṣliḥ* deals largely with the primary products of the

tribesfolk around Ṣan'ā'.²⁹

At the time of Nazīh . . . al-'Azm's³⁰ first visit to Ṣan'ā' the head (*ra'īs*) of the *dallāls* was Aḥmad 'Abdullāh 'Aṣḍah, the Bayt 'Aṣḍah being a well known family of Ṣan'ā' merchants.

The *dallāl* and his trickery are known to early Arabic literature, witness the saying, 'Everyone has a capital (*rās māl*) but the *dallāl*'s capital is lying!'³¹ The *ṣā'ih* and *munādī* with roughly similar functions to that of the *dallāl* are dealt with by the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī.³² The *ḥisbah* or market-law literature treats the question of the *dallāl* along much the same lines as the *Qanūn*. There is, to take an example in point, a section in al-Shayzarī's³³ treatise on the *dallāl* and *munādī* in which the *dallāl* is forbidden to purchase on his own account, or to sell his own goods under the pretext of acting as intermediary for another. On showing the passage in question to my shaykh in Tarīm he remarked cynically that all the abuses al-Shayzarī mentioned are found in the Sūq there. Indeed Iblīs is held to have been the first *dallāl*!³⁴

Price-fixing (*tas'ir*)

Price-fixing (*tas'ir*) was an issue that attracted the attention of the early jurists of Islam, but the attitude of the two Zaydī Imāms who flourished in Daylam province at the south end of the Caspian Sea, and Ṣa'dah of the Yemen contemporaneously round about the end of the 3rd/early 10th century seems curiously inconsistent.

Uṭrūsh of Daylam in one of the earliest known treatises³⁵ on market law and public morality states that, 'The ulema of the Prophet's House (*ahl al-bayt*) have agreed by consensus of opinion that the Imāms may not fix prices (*yusa'irū*). The Prophet also forbade that a man should go out to intercept (*yastaqbil*) food (*ta'am*)³⁶, commodity, or anything else until it enters the town (*balad*) when the people have need.' Uṭrūsh quotes the Tradition accepted by Sunnis and Zaydis alike, 'Do not fix prices, for God it is who fixes prices.'

The first Yemeni Imām, al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq³⁷ takes a rather different attitude. He occupied Ṣan'ā' for only the briefest of spells, but in Ṣa'dah, he would go round the (various) markets and streets, 'and he used to stop at those selling each commodity (*ahl kull biḍā'ah*) and order them not to adulterate their wares, ordering them to make them free of fraud (*tanqiyat-hā min al-ghashsh*), make clear (*tafṣīl*) what they were selling, and deliver what they were naming in full.³⁸ They said to him, "Is price-fixing not prohibited?" To which he replied, "Are not wrong and fraud prohibited?" "Yes, indeed," they answered. He said, "Those who fulfilled (their obligations) and behave uprightly (*ahl al-taqwā*) only, were prohibited from price-fixing, but when wrongful acts (*ẓulāmāt*) showed up in buying and selling (*buyū'*) it was the duty of God's chosen (*awliyā'* Allāh) to forbid all corrupt practice (*fasād*) and bring back justice to where they were found."

In effect al-Hādī appears to over-rule the strong Traditions against price-fixing to impose his own ruling by right of his

24 So reports Qāḍī Ismā'il. Another proverb runs, '*Duqq ḥisāb—tidūm ṣulḥah*, with the sense that merchants must keep a clean account in order to remain friends.

25 E.g. al-Baḥrayn. Cf. my 'Fisher-folk and fish-traps in al-Bahrain', *BSOAS* XXXI, iii, London, 1968, 487.

26 Another unpublished proverb he cites is, '*Al-riḍā sayyid al-aḥkām*' meaning that the best *ṣulḥ* is that achieved by mutual assent (*al-tarāḍī*). The saying is known in Najd and Kuwait.

27 *Khazaj* is a sort of bush growing around water-courses in fields. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī says *khazajah* is ground covered with bushes that bear no fruit, and are therefore accounted as useless.

28 For haggling *taḥt al-thawb* under a cloth, see G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915, 122, though this is at Hodeidah, and p.268b.

29 Tribesmen will say that they are going to *yisarrāfu fi Ṣan'ā'*, i.e. to go shopping and purchase what they need there. One might say, '*Sha'sir ajirr al-maṣrūf min al-sūq*, I shall go and get provisions from the market.' Arriving in Ṣan'ā' a man might say, '*Aṣṣarraf wa-rja'*, I'm going to shop and return.' Al-Rāzī, *Tarikh*, 96, says, 'The countryfolk (*ahl al-bādīyah*) who

are around Ṣan'ā' meet in the Ṣan'ā' markets to seek their needs for sustenance (*yataḥawwajūn*) during the first part of the day and one will say to the other, "Finish your business, and hurry to get back before the rain comes." This is at the end of the month Naysān and beginning of Ayyār. Cf. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 40.

30 Nazih, *Riḥlah*, I, 254.

31 Al-Tha'libī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1965, 244.

32 K. al-Muntakhab, 142, 417—the *munādī* and sale of cloth.

33 *Nihāyat al-rutbah fi ṭalab al-ḥisbah*, ed. al-'Arīnī, Cairo 1946, 64. Cf. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-qurba*, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge, 1938, chap. XXIX.

34 Al-Tha'libī, loc. cit.

35 'A Zaidī manual of *ḥisbah* of the 3rd century (H), *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Roma, 1953, XXVIII, 14.

36 *Ta'am* often means simply grain and probably does so here.

37 'Alī b. Muḥ., al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī, *Sirat al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq*, Beirut, 1972, 386.

38 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 253, cites a Ṣan'ānī merchant and scholar who, when he found fraud (*ghashsh*) in his goods, showed this to the purchaser.

authority of *ijtihād*.

The question of price-fixing is closely associated by the legal authorities of the Islamic schools with the interception of commodities being brought into the markets. These are of course issues dealt with in the *Qānūn Šan'ā'*.³⁹ To take only one source from the large corpus of Zaydī law books, the *Sharḥ al-Azhār*⁴⁰ deals with this issue as follows.

To intercept an article imported (*talāqqi 'l-jalūbah*) to the markets of the Muslims so as to purchase it before it arrives (there) is not permissible. Interception of an imported article is prohibited on two counts only, one being that the interceptor circumvents them (*yakhda'u-hum*), and the second that for the poor man (*ḍa'if*) of the townsfolk (*aḥl al-miṣr*) interception is impossible. If, however, the importer (*jallāb*) has actually reached the edge of the town⁴¹ this prohibition ceases (to operate) since the two counts upon which it is justified no longer obtain.

Within this (category) falls monopolising the sustenance of man and beast (*iḥtikār qūt al-ādami wa-'l-bahimahi*). This is prohibited under certain conditions, the first of which is that it be food for man or beast, but if not then it is permissible (to do so) in the case of all foods, without, in our opinion, any distinction. (It is related) on the authority of Zayd b. 'Alī⁴² that 'there is no monopolising except in wheat and barley.' The second (condition) is that one may (only) monopolise what is surplus to his own full requirement and that of those whom he is supplying (*yumawwin*), up to the (time of) the crop (*ghallah*), and if he has no crop then up to a year. In *al-Zuhūr*⁴³ he said, 'and that one be expecting a rise in the price (*ghalā'*) of it.' The third is one be monopolising it at a time where there is need of it. The fourth is that one be monopolising it when scarce (*'adam*) and not to be found except with the monopolist. Under these conditions monopolising is prohibited, and it makes no difference whether it be from his own crop (*zar'*) or whether he bought it from town or country.⁴⁴

'He is obliged to sell but not subject to price-fixing⁴⁵ (*tas'ir*), i.e. one does not oblige him to make his price such and such (a figure), but he fixes the price as he wishes. If he refuses to sell,' the author says, 'then the best thing (*al-aqrab*) is that the Imām or *ḥakīm* sell on his behalf. This is in the case of the "two foods" (*al-qūtān*) only. Price-fixing in all other transactions of sale (*maḥī'āt*) is permissible.' The author says, 'Recent Imāms have approved, under certain conditions, the assessment of the price (*taqdīr si'r*) of anything apart from the "two foods",⁴⁶ such

as meat and ghee (*samm*), out of regard for people's weal (*maṣlahah*) and so as to protect them from "detriment"⁴⁷ (*ḍarar*).'⁴⁸

The commentator writing about the middle of the 9th/15th century makes the significant remark, 'So also it is the Imām's duty to bring out the grain (stored in) the fortresses (*ḥabb al-ḥuṣūn*) in such case, unless he be apprehensive that through so doing one of the provinces of the Muslims will be eradicated—then he had no duty (to do so).'

The Shāfi'is,⁴⁹ relying on much the same Traditions as the Zaydis, are also of course opposed to both price-fixing and monopolising. Nevertheless the celebrated traveller Johann Burckhardt⁵⁰ writing of the second decade of the 19th century, complains of monopolising and lack of control of prices in Medina, adding, 'In other eastern towns as at Mekka and Djidda, a public officer, called *Mohteseb*,⁵¹ is appointed to watch over the sale of provisions; to take care that they do not rise to immoderate prices, and fix a maximum to all victualling traders, so that they may have a fair but not exorbitant profit. But this is not the case at Medina, because the *Mohteseb* is there without any authority.'

In the *Qānūn Šan'ā'* itself the gist of the argument of the Preamble supports price-fixing, which if not adopted leads to injustice and fraud. The author seems to imply that price-fixing had fallen into abeyance before the time of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (early 13th/19th century), despite the opinions of the ulema in favour of its validity and the necessity of imposing it. He maintains that for both townsman and countryman price-fixing is beneficial.

A Pre-Islamic Code of Market Regulations

In the ruins of the pre-Islamic city of Timna' of the Bayḥān district, in an open space—probably once the marketplace for produce entering from the countryside—stands a square stela, partially eroded, containing market regulations in the ancient south Arabian script. Professor Beeston has re-translated this under the title of 'The merchant code of Qatabān',⁵² and although even his rendering leaves many uncertainties, it suggests similarities to the Islamic prohibition of the interception of commodities coming in to the market.

Beeston has understood the ordinances of the stela to refer to merchandise in the broad sense, but the fuller interpretation of the inscription turns on the use of the root *sh y ṭ*—which in

39 Cf. Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, ii, for arguments against price-fixing.

40 By Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abdullāh b. Miṣṭāḥ, drawn from *al-Ghayth al-miṣr al-muḥfatiḥ li-Kamāl al-Azhār* of the Imām al-Mahdī who composed the text of *al-Azhār* and commented upon it in *al-Ghayth* during the first half of the 9th/15th century. The *Sharḥ al-Azhār* was printed in Cairo 1357 H., at the expense of Sādāt min al-Yaman. This useful book has occasional Yemenite data. The Kuwait Library (Šan'ā') copy bears a Ms. note, 'Min kutub al-ḥaqīq ilā Allāh khādim dīn-hi wa-waṭani-hi al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Imām Yahyā Ḥamid al-Dīn,' with al-Ḥasan's signature—it would have been extracted from his private library after September 1962.

41 The commentator says that by this phrase is intended 'the market of the place'.

42 Cf. *Musnad al-Imām Zayd*, Beirut, 1966, 275 on the monopolising of wheat, barley and dates. Aḥ . . . al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, Cairo, 1949, III, 319, says there is no monopolising except in wheat and barley.

43 I have not identified this work, but the commentator of *al-Azhār* quotes a Tradition, 'Whoever monopolises *ḥa'ām* (food or grain?) wishing for a rise in price for it, is quit of Allāh and Allāh is quit (*ḥarī'a*) of him.'

44 Another authority is quoted taking the opposite view.

45 Another authority is quoted as stating that price-fixing for the 'two foods' is permissible also.

46 In Yarīm the 'two foods', in 1974, seemed to be grain flour for human consumption and fodder for animals. The *ṭāqil al-ḥubūb* or grain-headman was responsible for price-fixing (*mas'ul bi-'l-tas'ir*).

47 For examples of 'detriment' see pp. 92b, 125, 233a, *passim*.

48 The commentator points out that this was the view of al-Hādī also, as has already been seen above.

49 Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Dayba' al-Shaybānī al-Zabīdī, in his abbrevia-

tion of *Ḥamī' al-uṣūl* of Muḥammad b. al-Aṭhīr (ob. 606 H.), called *Taysir al-wuṣūl*, Cairo, 1346 H., I, 78, stating that the Prophet rejected price-fixing in spite of rising prices, with the words, 'Allāh al-musa'ir, God it is who fixes prices.' *Al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, III, 318, cites this Tradition to support the statement that, 'sale with price-fixing (*bay' al-tas'ir*) is prohibited.' Cf. Aḥ. Sa'īd al-Mujayyidī (1094/1682-3), *al-Taysir fi aḥkām al-tas'ir*, ed. Mūsā Laqbāl, Algiers, 1971.

The *Taysir al-wuṣūl*, I, 78, attributes to the Caliph 'Umar the Tradition, 'Lā ḥukrata fi suqī-nā, There is no monopolising in our market.' He is also credited with opposing the monopolising (really hoarding) of *ḥa'ām* for forty days to make prices rise. Ibn 'Umar is accredited the saying, 'Al-jālib marzūq wa-'l-muḥtakir mahrum. The importer is increased in property but the monopoliser is not.' This Tradition is also used by the commentator on the Zaydī *al-Azhār*.

50 *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, reprint Beirut, 1972, 377.

51 For the Prophet's appointment of a governor, in later times a *muhāsib*, over the Medina market and that of Mecca after he took it over, see 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm . . . Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah*, Cairo, 1349, II, 447. In the first century of Islam Ziyād b. Abī-hi obviously concerned himself with prices, for his agents (*ummāl*) over the Dār al-Rizq at Basrah and al-Kallā—'which were probably grain and fodder markets and he would ask them what had come into Dār al-Rizq and about prices. By implication this seems to indicate that he would exercise some sort of control over them. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-aṣhrāf*, edit. M. Schloessinger and M.J. Kister, Jerusalem, 1971, IV, i, 186.

52 *Qaḥṭan*, London, 1959, I. Cf. 'A Minaean market code', *BSOAS*, 1978, XLI, i, 142-5.

Geez means 'to sell'. Qāḍī Ismā'il⁵³ however informed me that *shiyāṭah* and its derivatives mean 'buying of grain—measuring it out (*shirā'* *al-ta'am*—*al-iktīyāl*)', and Goitein⁵⁴ reports that 'we "buy" anything, but anything that belongs to the grain category we *nishtāt* (*ayyi ḥājah nishtārī—ammā kull mā kān jins ḥabb nishtāt*)'. This alters the whole application of the 'code' if this restricted sense of *sh y t* be accepted as appropriate. The inscription's list of officials participating in the legislative act includes a slightly ambiguous reference to *dhahab*⁵⁵ land, where grain would be grown. The following are the main provisions of the stela, rendered along the general lines of the Beeston translation, but with adaptations or reinterpretations to suit the Arabic use of *sh y t* and its derivatives—it need hardly be remarked that these are provisional and, to some extent, conjectural.

Clause 1 stipulates that whoever sells⁵⁶ grain (*m sh y t*) of Timna' or B r m must pay the market-tax/earnest-money,⁵⁷ and have a booth/set up a tent (*kh d r*)⁵⁸ in Sh m r (which last Beeston sees as the name of Timna' market-place). Clause 2 requires persons of all tribes that go to Qatabān with (grain) to sell (*bmshtīm*), and fodder (*rmm*), and sheep-and-goats (*qnym*)⁵⁹ shall occupy a booth/set up a tent, and conduct their business and sell in Sh m r. Clause 3 permits such a person, once he has occupied his booth/tent in Sh m r, to sell grain (*byshty*) and bargain⁶⁰ with any booth/tent-holder and vendor/purchaser of grain (*mshṭ*) without the intervention⁶¹ of the 'Āhir of Sh m r. This last-named official seems to correspond to the Islamic Headman of the Market ('*Āqil al-Sūq*) who might be a *dallāl*, i.e., a commission agent, broker. Clause 4 (which is not easy to interpret) seems to state that when the Headman ('Āhir) of Sh m r announces that he authorises the Qatabānians to offer hospitality (perhaps protection?) to the tribes (so as) to sell (*ysht*) at Timna', having set up a tent (or—occupied a booth) with his grain for sale (*mshṭ*), then Qatabān will purchase grain (*yishtāṭūn*) from the tribes.⁶² Clause 5 stipulates that when they inform the Headman ('Āhir) of Sh m r that any stranger⁶³ tribe has attempted to visit any part

of Qatabān with grain to sell (*bmshtīm*) to Qatabān, 'or that a man has consistently acted to the detriment of his fellow trader by fore-stalling',⁶⁴ he shall be fined fifty silver⁶⁵ pieces. Clause 6 tells us that the King of Qatabān and the Headman ('Āhir) of Sh m r (market) are not to bring into reckoning a benefit⁶⁶ of seed (i.e. a levy or gift of grain) on grain they sell and Qatabān buys, and on those upon whom the Headman ('Āhir) has imposed a grain-sale fee (*shṭyīm*)⁶⁷ of N silver pieces, already paid in advance (?) to Qatabān in the grain-market (*mshṭ*) of Sh m r, the Qatabān tax (?).⁶⁸ Clause 7 seems to mean that an inhabitant of Timna' who leases (?) his house or building with a courtyard⁶⁹ to the occupier of a booth or tent shall pay (tax?)—or it might possibly mean, pledge to the King of Qatabān from certain of his own or the occupier's goods. Clause 8 seems to mean that no person shall have any dealings in grain who pays (tax), or it might mean, makes a pledge, in order to sell grain to a stranger tribe instead of dealing with Qatabān or S' f l.⁷⁰ Clause 9 is uncertain, and Clause 10 prohibits trading at night.

It will be perceived that the afore-going ordinances, uncertain as our understanding of their sense still is, do hint, if no more, at resemblances to the Statute of Šan'ā'. It seems to me that the object in centralising trading on Timna' market may be less for fiscal reasons than Beeston proposes, but more so as to preserve the interests and rights of the Timna' merchant body trading in grains, but this does in part depend on whether 'r b is to be interpreted as paying a tax or putting down earnest-money. Clause 4, discussing asking for hospitality, may indicate a system like that in present-day Ḥaḍramī Shibām, a trading entrepôt, where the commission agent/broker lodges the tribesman in his own house during the latter's stay in town. A 'stranger tribe' might be a tribe outside Timna' jurisdiction which yet wished to sell its produce in Timna' market but was required to obtain specific permission from the Headman to do so. Clause 5 defines the penalty to be paid by a 'stranger tribe' infringing this rule and the man who goes out to deal with them.

53 Cf. his *al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 207, no. 575, 'Akbar miḥimm-ah masabb al-shiyāṭah, His greatest preoccupation is his leather bag for carrying (his purchase of) grain' i.e. All his care is for his daily bread. An unpublished proverb is *Q r dāh wa-lā shīṭah*, Locust collecting (which costs nothing) not grain buying. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, Gibb Mem. Series, XXVII, London-Beirut, 1973-8, 40 (*al-Simṭ al-ghālī*) recounts under the events of the close of the 6th/12th century that 'One of the ordinary folk of the market (*ammat al-sūq*) came to (al-Malik al-'Aziz) complaining that one of the troops (*ajnad*) had come to sell grain (*yashtāṭ al-ta'am*), and he offered him to sell it at more than the price, but he refused, saying, "I am not going to purchase twice over." So they fell to quarrelling over that, and pride drove the soldier to refuse to sell it except at more than the price.' The soldier then broke the man's measure (*mikyāl*) and scattered the grain. Here it seems to me the text demands that *ishtāṭ* means to sell grain (not to buy it). One may deduce further from the text that there was a recognised price for grain, possibly even a fixed price, and this during the rule of the orthodox Ayyūbids. Ibid, 201, however seems to use *ishtāṭ* in the sense of buying wheat.

54 *Jemenica*, 58, no. 343.

55 Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, flood-watered fields.

56 It seems necessary to understand the root *sh y t* as used in the inscription in both senses of buying and selling as appropriate to the context. S. D. Goitein, ed. *Ḥabshush: Travels in Yemen*, Jerusalem, 1941, 89, *shāṭ*, to sell cereals, and *ishtāṭ* to buy them.

57 The 'r b is reminiscent of 'arḥūn, earnest-money, 'arraba fi bay'i-hi, to give earnest money in the case of his purchase, and 'araba, to pay in advance.

58 In Landberg's *Ḥaḍramūt*, *khadr* is explained as *case*, *tente*, *maisonette en pierres ou en briques*.

59 These three commodities are substituted for Beeston's 'merchandise, bales and goods'. *Lisān al-'Arab*, XV, 145-6, gives *al-armām* as the last part of the plant remaining, a plural of *rimm*, but there are many indications that it means dry fodder grass, e.g. *arammat al-ibī*, the camels took fodder ('*alaf*), *rammat al-shāh al-ḥashish*, the ewe took the grass in its lips. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, III, 281, speaks of *qaniyyal-ghanam* sheep-and-goats acquired for milking, but *qaniyy* can refer also to she-camels. Traditions mention *qaniyyah saminah*, a fat animal. These are precisely the commodities the countryfolk in Wādī Bayḥān bring to market, and, unless my memory deceives me they bring in camel loads of *thumām* grass for fodder.

60 In proposing to translate this word, equivalent to the Arabic *iftakhar* as

bargain, Professor Beeston writes, 'Jammie military texts contain several instances of *shkr* used in the sense of "to make proposals to someone", which, in a mercantile context could easily be "bargaining." I should however like to compare also Qāḍī Ismā'il, 'Subḥān muzayyin al-biqā'ah fi waḥd al-mishtārī, Praise to the man who cracks up his goods to the buyer.' This is said when inferior goods are in brisk demand and people flock to buy them!

61 Perhaps by intervention is meant mediation by the 'Āhir to settle a deal between vendor and purchaser.

62 This clause I interpret rather differently from Beeston, since it seems unlikely that buyers would go out from Timna' but they would rather come into the market.

63 Stranger (*nkr*) is parallel to *gharīb* of the *Qānūn Šan'ā'*.

64 Beeston proposes this new rendering which has been adopted here in preference to his 'constant cheating' since it could relate to interception of tribes people going to market, and thereby form a logical sequel to the first part of the clause.

65 *Wirq* in Arabic, means silver, coined or otherwise. Gold would hardly be appropriate in this context.

66 The text's *n'mt ba(w)rtm* may be compared with the Arabic *in'ām*, a gift. It looks as if what was intended is that a voluntary gift is not to become a fixed tax, or that it is not to be included as part of other imposts, or that no such gift is to be levied at all! In an agreement between a family of Thibī near Tarīm of Ḥaḍramawt and the local Yāfi'i sultans the latter renounce their rights to various customary impositions including a *makhṭab*, i.e. a sheaf of grain sent at harvest-time—the situation is not unlike that in ancient Timna'.

67 *Shṭyīm* is equivalent to the Arabic *ishtiyāq*, and, from meaning buying or selling grain, could conceivably develop the sense of a tax on selling; but here and in Clause 1 might it not refer to earnest-money, and *qdm* be equivalent to the common Arabic word *taqdimah*, an advance of money?

68 Sabaeen *nky*, to strike. Beeston proposes 'coinage' but in the context the Arabic *ḍaribah*, tax, seems as feasible.

69 From Beeston's discussion of this word *mkhin* it appears that this type of building is sometimes described as having a *ṣarḥat*, which means a court in the Yemen, and for a grain merchant such a building could be specially useful.

70 Al-Sāfil is a common name in south Arabia—perhaps here the lower Wādī Bayḥān, equivalent to B r m?

Buying, Selling and Trading in Yemeni Proverbial Literature

How Yemenis look upon the business of buying and selling, commerce, loans and money in general is clearly revealed in the popular expressions and lore of the proverb. Many of these sayings are common to the country at large, some are peculiar to a district, some are described by Qāḍī Ismā'il as current among merchants, and both he and Goitein⁷¹ record proverbs special to the Jews, and naturally there are proverbs deriving from some Muslim religious tenet or observance which Jews would not employ and vice-versa.

'Buying and selling are the war of the Believers'⁷² since in the chaffering over some piece of goods comes out a man's prowess,⁷³ and to bargain is not a matter of shame but of pride. 'He who lets his buying be managed by another is only half a man.' He is not familiar with the Market and they will 'take a loan of him (*zādū 'alayh*).'⁷⁴ The merchant's profession is to be preferred to all other occupations—'the dust on an article of merchandise is musk!'⁷⁵

All commerce used formerly to follow that of the capital, so 'if Ṣan'ā has opthalmia the World is blind.'⁷⁶ This apparently means that if trading conditions are bad there then elsewhere they are much worse.

It is wiser to lay out your money in commodities than to hoard it away—'goods not money'⁷⁷ and live on the profits, but almost the opposite is implied in the proverb, 'Preserving capital, not seeking income.'⁷⁸ However this seems to apply only to investing in business likely to be unprofitable! 'Don't wait too long in selling your onions, hoping for profit till they go bad, but sell at cost.'⁷⁹ The *jallāb* importing goods which he sells by the score (*kawrajah*) and who must make an impression on the retailer (*miksuir* (sic)) or petty dealer (*bayyā'-mishtari*) is advised, 'Sell your goods when you are still wearing your sandals/or, the dust (of travel) is still on you/or, you've just arrived.'⁸⁰ Sell at any price rather than allow anything to remain too long in your trading establishment (*matjar*),⁸¹ even if you do so with regret. Be content with a small profit—'the price for something sold first in the day to a Jew, but no travelling off to Aden'⁸²—where so many Yemenis went to gain their livelihood in the days of Aden's prosperity, though mostly Yemenis from the Shāfi'i districts.

To sell wholesale is more profitable than to retail.⁸³ It is the briskness of the market that sells an article, not the quality of the goods.⁸⁴ Inflated prices⁸⁵ bring goods to the market—a high

demand brings goods to the market.⁸⁶ Import goods to the market when it is slack, not when activity is brisk when it will consequently be swamped with commodities—a merchant who imports when the market is dull and holds his wares till the time of demand will make great profits.⁸⁷ The purchaser prefers to get 'two things from one merchant'⁸⁸ and not go to many. In Ibb they say, 'Don't sell to two and don't buy from three.' To sell at the price for which you bought something is to sell at a loss⁸⁹—it would be a thief's price⁹⁰ (*bay' sārīq*)—day-light robbery, as one says in English—on the other hand a large profit on a small quantity is really a small profit,⁹¹ because people will not buy from an exorbitant dealer. An intending purchaser should bring his money with him to help settle a bargain quickly—'When (money) is present Iblīs is absent.'⁹² A merchant naturally prefers the man who offers him the highest price—'the door for more is open (*bāb al-zāyid maftūh*).'⁹³ This last proverb is reminiscent of the Zaydī maxim, '*Bāb al-ijtihād maftūh*, The door of independent judgement is (still) open.'⁹⁴ Of a man who won't lower his prices people say, 'Either my bull fetches a hundred or I take him back to the stable.'⁹⁵ If you don't believe the price I quote, then try for yourself and see—*bugshat-ak wa'l-sūq*.⁹⁶ To urge a merchant to compromise and attempt to meet the customer's offer (*tasāmuḥ*), they say, 'God bless the vanquished,'⁹⁷ i.e. the one who concedes the point in this 'war of the Believers.'

'Anything cheap is (really) dear—a donkey costing a *qirsh* is dear—a donkey costing a hundred is cheap.' 'Something of top quality is known by its price.'⁹⁸ If it is expensive you should not worry, for 'costliness is cheap.'⁹⁹ There is no point in trying to raise matters that have already been decided for 'the seller has sold and received the price in full.' Perhaps also one has bought something on a lucky day.¹⁰⁰

The merchant is exposed to annoyance by persons who have no work to do but can spend their time bargaining with him.¹⁰¹ An astute merchant¹⁰² praises his wares, giving the impression that there is competition to purchase them, but, philosophically enough, another proverb tells us that 'a thousand shops are under the protection of the Merciful,' i.e., no merchant receives more than his daily bread and a rival following the same calling cannot affect this.¹⁰³

The power of money is such that 'for your *baysah* (a copper coin of extremely low denomination) you may mount the *qāḍī*.'¹⁰⁴ That is to say bribery corrupts even so respectable a person as a *qāḍī* from whom justice is to be expected, but perhaps he is to be excused if, according to another saying, 'Money binds fast the Jinn!'¹⁰⁴ These sayings have a broader application than market

71 *Jemenica*, 152, no. 1152, *al-mumakkīn muwaddi' nuss rajjāl*. Qāḍī Ismā'il in *al-Amthāl al-Yamaniyah*, volume 1, and further volumes as yet unpublished, and S. D. F. Goitein, *Jemenica*, draw on Muslim and Jewish informants respectively but there is little not common to the communities.

72 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 339, no. 990.

73 *Ibid*, I, 262, no. 740.

74 Qāḍī Ismā'il's collection includes, '*Al-rijlah li'l-rajjal*, Bargaining is for the Man.' *Rijlah* means *kathrat al-musawamah* 'ind al-shirā'. Hard bargaining is a quality in a man for which he is not faulted (*yu'āb*). A barbed proverb hits the mark in the saying, '*Rajil al-bayt ghalab rajil al-sūq*, The bargainer in the home beats the bargainer of the market.' *Rajil* is the adjective of *rijlah*, bargaining hard. When a man has bought something and is discussing its price (*taqyim al-sil'ah*) his wife will show him many reasons proving he has been cheated over it!

75 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 360, no. 1061.

76 *Ibid*, 95, no. 268; *Jemenica*, 14, no. 71.

77 *Ibid*, 41, no. 212; *al-Amthāl*, I, 300, no. 872, *Biḍā'ah wa-lā qirsh*.

78 Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished, *Ḥifẓ al-uṣūl wa-lā ṭalab al-maḥṣūl*.

79 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 338, no. 988. Cf. *Jemenica*, 46, no. 248, *Bi'buḍā at-ak wa-ḍad-ak ḥanīq laḥā*.

80 *Jemenica*, 46, no. 249.

81 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 339, no. 989.

82 *Ibid*, I, 285, no. 818. *Biḍā min Yahūdī wa-lā safar ilā 'Adan*. Another version runs, 'Economy in the kitchen, but no... *Tadbir al-daymah wa-lā*...'

83 *Ibid*, I, 400, no. 1191, *Al-jabr jābūr*. *Jabr* is wholesaler and *jābūr* what is used to set broken bones.

84 Qāḍī Ismā'il and *Jemenica*, 98, no. 684, *Ṭīb al-sūq wa-lā ṭīb al-biḍā'ah*.

85 Qāḍī Ismā'il and *Jemenica*, 112, no. 795, *Al-ghalā jallāb*.

86 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Al-ḥaṣā jallāb* and *al-ḥaṣā min al-Yannah*. *Ḥaṣā*, presumably from Class. Arabic *ḥaṣā*, to acquire, is explained as *al-iqbāl 'ala 'l-shirā'*.

87 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 34, no. 95, *Ijtib lā bawrah, wa-lā ijtib lā ḥaṣā*. *Al-bawrah* = *kasād al-sūq*.

88 *Ibid*, I, 300, no. 873.

89 *Ibid*, I, 338, no. 987.

90 *Ibid*, I, 339, no. 991.

91 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Ribḥ al-kathir fi 'l-qalil qalil*. Cf. *Ribḥ fi 'l-kans wa-lā khasārah fi 'l-ṣābūn*, Profit even though sweeping (a menial occupation) but not loss in (trading in) soap.

92 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 82, no. 230; *Jemenica*, 11, no. 53.

93 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 271, no. 767.

94 *Ibid*, I, 248, no. 697, *In shī bi-ḥawrī miyah willā rijī 'marbaḥ-ih*.

95 *Ibid*, I, 311, 904.

96 *Ibid*, I, 276, no. 781. Cf. *ibid*, I, 284, no. 811.

97 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Al-'āl fi ṭhaman-ah*.

98 *Jemenica*, 112, no. 796.

99 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 276, no. 784.

100 *Ibid*, I, 323, no. 944, *Al-bayyā'-al-mishtari maskharat al-farigh*.

101 *Ibid*, I, 330, no. 962, *Bihazzā li-'l-bay'ah*.

102 *Ibid*, I, 220, no. 618, *Alf dukkān 'alā kanaf al-Raḥmān*.

103 *Ibid*, I, 278, no. 792.

104 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Al-darāhim tiddi 'l-jinn mirabbīḥim*. Other proverbs collected by him include, *Al-qirsh ba'd Allāh khayr al-a'wān*, The Riyāl after God is the best aid. *Al-darāhim tirkab al-qawm fa'wq al-qawm*, Money sets tribe against tribe. *Al-darāhim mikhrabat al-ḥuṣūn*, Money destroys strong fortresses.

dealings of course and are indicative of the half amused and cynical tolerance Yemenis have for the way in which officials may be bribed, the allegiance of tribes bought, and a good reputation acquired through money judiciously applied. Yet, *'al-'amal al-'āl lak wa-lī-'l-sūq'*¹⁰⁵ which means that good workmanship of any sort (e.g. weaving, *ḥiyākah*)—if you do it well—is in the interest of your customer and of your own good repute.

The suspicion of the townsman of the tribesman in business transactions is expressed in the saying, 'When the Badwī states a price you halve it.'¹⁰⁶ The Badwī indeed does not always ask too high a price for what he is selling, while 'the tribesman's debt (owed by him) melts like salt in water,'¹⁰⁷ and you rarely manage to recover it—or so the townsman says. The proverb is quoted in connection with a person who disregards some duty he owes. Therefore he also says, 'The market rather than a hundred countrysides, *Al-sūq wa-lā miyah bādiyah*,' preferring to buy there and not in the *baḡādī*. *San'ā'* folk are brethren, but not the tribesman, *Ahl San'ā' akhwah mukhraj al-qabīlī*.¹⁰⁸ That is to say *San'ā'* folk can bear with an injury done them by one of their fellow-townsmen but they cannot put up with anything from the tribesman.

How the Yemeni regards debts is amply illustrable from proverbial literature. 'I take refuge in God from debt (*dayn*) and blindness of eye (*'ayn*).'¹⁰⁹ 'Debt is a worry at night and a humiliation during the day.'¹¹⁰ This proverb is also reflected in an Islamic Tradition. With rueful humour the Yemeni says, 'If you find it easy to contract a debt, say, "O God, make it difficult!"'¹¹¹ Metaphors drawn from the difficulties experienced in the repayment of debts are, 'The payment is greater than the loan, payment gives one a pain in the stomach.'¹¹² Still there is no point in paying one debt by contracting another, for 'two debts do not settle one debt.'¹¹³ When a man is seeking a loan he flatters but when asked to pay it back he turns abusive, 'At the time of borrowing it's *Sidī* (my Lord), but when it comes to repayment it's *yā Yahawdī*!'¹¹⁴ Nevertheless I recall hearing a wounded soldier in the north re-capitulating all his debts to his fellow-tribesmen so that they could settle them if he died—in full accord with pre-Islamic and Islamic emphasis on this point.

One should look after one's *qirsh*—the Maria Theresa silver dollar—*al-qirsh al-abyaḍ yinfa' li-'l-yawm al-aswad*, the silver/white *qirsh* is useful on the black day, i.e., save up your money for a rainy day. *Al-qirsh 'abd-ak mā dām fi jayb-ak, fa-in kharaj fa-ant 'abd-ih*, The *qirsh* is your slave as long as it is in your pocket, but when it leaves it you become its slave! The *qirsh* weighs an ounce, but it requires a pound of intelligence (to handle it wisely), *al-qirsh waẓn-ih waqīyyah wa-yishtī raḡl 'aql*. Nevertheless one should not hoard one's money but use it to earn a profit—*qirsh yidūr wa-lā alf maṣrūr*.¹¹⁵

Crafts, Trades and Professions followed at *San'ā'*

The list of professions that follows has been provided by Dr. A. Shvitiel drawing on various Hebrew sources,¹¹⁶ and to this is appended below certain categories not included in his list but taken from Rossi's study. Though the list covers the activities of Jewish artisans and workmen, many of these crafts were also plied by Muslim workmen before and/or after the departure of the Jews, with, of course, certain obvious exceptions.

'Ammār, builder.

'Aḥḥār, perfumer, chemist.¹¹⁷

Bayyā'-mishtari, shopman, grocer, drysalter, etc.

Dabbāgh, tanner.

Ḍarrāb, a silversmith engaged in hammering metal flat.

Farrān, baker in a *furn* (oven). See *khabbāz* infra.

Ḥaddād, blacksmith.

Ḥajjām, cupper, blood-letter. Cf. *jarrā'*, infra.

Ḥallāq, cf. *miḥalliḡ* infra.

Ḥalwājī, (Turkish), see *miḥalwī*, infra.

Ḥammāl, porter.

Jallāb, importer.

Jarrā', cupper,

Koteb (Heb., = Ar. *kātib*), transcriber of sacred writings, scrolls, etc. Cf. Arabic *nassākh* infra.

Kayyāl, measurer of grain. The Jewish *kayyāl* also bought from villagers and sold grain. In a good year the villager would bring his grain to the houses of the *kayyāls* who measured¹¹⁸ it before buying. In the harvest season the rich would buy supplies for the whole year, the middle income group for a month at a time, the poor for a week only.

Khabbāz, baker, see *farrān* supra. The *khabbāz* sold mostly to the army or richer Arabs who for some reason did not bake at home.

Khallāṣ, silver/gold smith, working with *mukhlāṣ* (silver).

Khudraḡī, (Turkish) green-grocer.¹¹⁹

Maddār, according to the Hebrew sources the *maddār* was a potter, and *madar* a salesman of pots.¹²⁰

Mallāj, (mud)-plasterer.

Maṣṣār, cleaner of wells or drains (*'uqah*)¹²¹

Mi'attiq,¹²² maker of wine or *'arāqī*, of grapes and raisins.

Mibawrit, manufacturer of gun-powder (*bārūt*) for the army or quarry-men.

Mibardiḡ, snuff (*birduqān*)¹²³ manufacturer.

Mibashmiḡ, maker of shoes (*bashmaq*).¹²⁴

Midqarwī, peddler, carrying his wares in a bag (*zu'bah*), or on a donkey.¹²⁵

105 Ibid.

106 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 77, no. 219.

107 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Dayn al-qabīlī yimālīḡ* (unpublished).

108 *Al-Amthāl*, 256, no. 721.

109 *Jemenica*, 108, no. 763.

110 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Al-dayn hamm bi-'l-layl wa-madhallah bi-'l-nahār*.

111 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 76, no. 218.

112 *Jemenica*, 121, no. 876; 122, no. 877.

113 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Dayn mā yaqqī dayn*.

114 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *'Ind al-salaf yā Sidī, wa-'ind al-maḡdā, yā Yahawdī*. To the Yemeni the term *Yahawdī* is a simple epithet of abuse bandied about among Muslims without a thought as to its meaning. This comes out well in the proverb, *'Al-yahawdah fi 'l-qulūb, mā hih bi-ḡul al-zanānir*, Jewishness is in hearts, it does not depend on the length of locks.' (Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 66). Cf. *'Ind al-salaf yā 'amm wa-'inda 'm-maḡdā yā shaybat al-khass*, At the time of the loan, 'O (paternal) uncle', and at the time of repayment, 'O mean old man!'

115 Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished collection. Another version of the last runs, *Qirsh dawwār wa-lā alf ḥiwār*.

116 This might be compared with the list in T. Fahd, 'Les corps de métiers au iv/x^e siècle à Bagdad', *Jl. of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden, 1965, VIII, ii, 186-212, and similar articles elsewhere.

117 Cf. p. 185a, n. 89.

118 For each quantity measured the *kayyāl* used to lay down a pebble so that the villager could keep a reckoning.

119 I have been told that some thirty or more years ago vegetables were not much sold in *San'ā'* but the consumption has greatly increased since then.

120 Cf. pp. 228b, 328. The types of pot mentioned are *akwāz* (*kuz*), *burāyim* (*burmah*), *jamin* (*jamanah*), *qulal* (*qullah*), *adwāḡ* (*dawḡ*), *zabādī* (*zubbāyiyah*), *qaṣārī* (*qaṣriyyah*).

121 In the Yemen they say *yimṣur al-būr*, he cleans the mud out of the well, the action being *misārah*. For *'uqah* see p. 442a.

122 Presumably from the classical Arabic *'atīq*, wine.

123 Cf. p. 177a.

124 He also makes *bashāmiḡ Yamāniyyah*, described as like slippers.

125 This word may come from some such verb as *taqarwā* with perhaps a sense of going round to the *qarawī*, the villager. Cf. Ḥabshūsh, 92, *mgarwī*, peddler.

- Mifalliq*, wood-chopper.
Mihalliq, barber, as *hallāq*, supra.
Mihalwi, confectioner, sweet-maker.¹²⁶ Cf. *halwajī*, supra.
Mijahhif, lavatory cleaner.
Mijarmim, maker of sheep-skins sewn into a blanket (I have heard this called *khuffah* at Rubāt 'Amrān, but the word may not be Šan'ānī). They made also the fleece-lined coat (*jarm*) but this was more usually made by the *muqaysir/miqaysur* (infra).
Mikaddim, maker of baps (baked in a *furn*) called *kidmah*, pl. *kidam*.
Mikabbī, the maker of fuel from dung (*kibā'*).¹²⁷
Mikhayyūṭ (*mikhayyūṭ* Heb.), tailor.
Mikhussut, (Heb.) book-binder. Cf. Rossi's list infra, for Arabic equivalents.
Milajjim, repairer of broken, cracked pottery with iron.¹²⁸
Milammi, maker of *lammā'*—ornaments of shining copper to be sewn on women's frocks.
Minahhis, copper/brass (?) smith.
Minākhil, sieve-maker of *mushannāt* and *manākhil*.
Miqaddiq, worker in *qaddāq*.¹²⁹
Miqahwif, cobbler, maker of shoes called *quhūf*, pl. *qahāwif*, of cow-hide.
Miqassuṣ, plasterer, worker in *quṣṣ*.¹³⁰
Miqatrun, maker of pitch (*quṭrān*)—not made in Šan'ā'.
Miqaysur, maker of coats called *qaṣīrah*, pl., *qaṣāyir*, and *karak*, pl., *kurūk*, and *kartiyyah*, pl., *karātī*, sheepskin coats. Strips (*sukhtiyān*) of leather, or green leather thread (*tirshah*) are made by them and put on the coats.¹³¹
Miraqqi, leather worker who makes also buckets¹³² and repairs them.
Miraṣṣuṣ, worker in lead.
Miṣabbun, soap-maker—of *ṣābūn 'Arabī*, manufactured at night because of the unpleasant smell. *Ṣābūn Turkī* is (or was) the general name for foreign soap.
Mishādī, a man who knew the roads to the villages and the prices of animals, and who would buy or hire beasts for people and guide them on their way. He seems to be equivalent to the *maqdamī*.¹³³
Mishammi, candle-maker.
Miṭalwī, plater of silver jewellery with gold. Cf. *ṭilā'*.¹³⁴
Mitannik, tinsmith. Cf. *tanakī*.
Mitanwir,¹³⁵ makery of pottery ovens (*tannūr*), and bowls for *lahūh* bread.
Miwaqqir,¹³⁶ man who roughens the surface of mill-stones when they have worn smooth.
Miwaqquṣ,¹³⁷ stone-cutter, mason. The Hebrew sources state that many Muslims followed this craft.
Miwassid, upholsterer, making *wasīdahs*, mattresses, *madākī*¹³⁸ (cushions). The customer buys the materials and the *miwassid* comes to work in his house.
Mi'arriq, seller of *'arāqī* and wine.
Muwaṭṭuf, maker of *wiṭāf* (donkey-saddles stuffed with *ra'* grass).
Naddāf, cotton carder.¹³⁹
Najjār, carpenter.

126 Sweets mentioned are *afṣāṣ*, precious stones, *nabāt*, crystal-shaped, *hāmīd*, acid-tasting, *milabbis*, sweets with a filling, *rawānī*, *jawārīsh*, *luqūm*, *mabākhīr*, sweets of various shapes made of white or coloured sugar.

127 Cf. p.395a, n.29. This was and is made by Muslim villagers also. In Dula' Hamdān for instance these flat round cakes of animal dung (*kibāyah*) and small balls of dung called *ja'mazī* (pl. *ja'āmīz*) are made, the dung being collected in a hole in the ground called *mukhbāzī*. At the weekly markets in the little villages outside Šan'ā' one sees small girls going round collecting donkey droppings to make into fuel cakes. Cf. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 51, no. 281. There is a proverb, *Ḥāmīl al-kharā' 'ala 'l-rās wu-la 'l-ṣanī' ah li-'l-nās*, Better to carry dung on one's head than be dependant on people.

128 The *milajjim* goes round with his tools in a bag and repairs pots in front of a house. He has a special street cry.

129 Cf. p.227b. The Hebrew sources say it is made of small stones and slaked lime (*nirah*) and when dried rubbed over with animal fat. Cf. Ḥabshūsh, 92.

130 He is said to make a hissing sound when at work!

131 Cf. Perso-Turkish *sakhtiyān*, goat leather; al-Hamdānī, *Ikhlīl I*, ed. Akwa', 295, red leather, *tirshah*, is Turkish meaning pea-green colour.

132 He also makes leather bags *qur'*, *zu'ab*, *masabbāi*, saddle-bags (*akhrāj*) and

Naqqāsh, decorator.

Qallī, roaster of peas, beans, *dhurah*, barley, *wazīf* (dried sardines), locusts, etc. Cf. the present day *imbarī* of Šan'ā' who cooks green peas (*birī*) in the market.

Qaṭṭā', quarry-man, stone-cutter. This was an occupation rare among Jews, and in latter years Jews had left it entirely to the Muslims.

Ṣabbāgh, dyer. Long ago the dyer prepared his own dyes also but they had long been imported.

Ṣahhāb, scavenger who drags animal carcasses out of the city, dogs, cats, donkeys, horses, the carcasses being eaten by eagles and vultures.

Ṣallāt, oil, ghee and honey vendor.

Ṣannā', weaver, making upholstery, cloth for army uniforms, *maqāṭib* (sing. *maqṭab*) black or indigo-dyed head cloths, *liḥāf* striped waist-wrappers, *shamā'il* camel-hair bags, and *farā'iq* (sing. *fariqah*) woollen carpet strips.

Ṭahhān, miller.

Ṭāhor, i.e. *mihrat al-Ṭ*, silver-smithery. *Ṭāhor* (Hebrew), Ar. *ṭāhir*, is clearly the translation of the Ar. word *mukhlāṣ*, pure silver. This craft is divided up into a number of specializations and several of these will be seen to correspond exactly with *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, section 3.

a) *Yishqī ḥaqq al-Yahūd*, working for the Jews.

b) *Yishqī ḥaqq al-qabā'il*, working for the tribes.

c) *Yishqī ṣabb*, working at (silver) smelting.

d) *Yishqī ṭāhor*, working on pure silver, fine work.

e) *Khallāṣ*, worker in *mukhlāṣ* silver.

f) *Miṭalwī*, gold-washer.

g) *Ḍarrāb*, silver-beater.

h) *Yishqī tizig*,¹⁴⁰ weaver with silver thread; strips sewn to the head-dresses of women, belts worn by Muslims, *ḥuzyah*¹⁴¹ borders, and strips (*shurūf*).

Tājir, owner of a cloth-shop, a clothier. Nazīh al-'Azm¹⁴² comments on the Syrian, mainly Aleppan cloth and French silks in a Jewish shop at Bāb al-Sharārah for women's dresses. The Jews made their clothes at home and only Muslims ever bought ready-mades at such shops.

Tanakī, see *mitannik*, of which this is a Turkish variant.

An occupation of the Jews not included in the above list specifically but noted by Nazīh al-'Azm¹⁴³ is the forgery of 'Himyaritic' antiquities in stone. To judge by the large number of forgeries purchased clandestinely by European visitors today, the craft probably flourishes more vigorously than ever in Muslim hands! The Jews also were engaged in cutting and polishing the semi-precious stones for which the Yemen is famous, but in Šan'ā' this art is now almost gone.

Jewish studies may well have a complete account of this industry but it seems worth while to include Amīn Rayḥānī's¹⁴⁴ description of the Šan'ā' lapidaries who worked by dipping a stick in water and rubbing it against a stone. Each stick, no longer than a lead pencil, had set at its end, in a mixture of gum

ajlā'.

133 Cf. *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, section 49, ix, note 397.

134 *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, section 3, v.

135 We have supplied this vocalisation.

136 Cf. p.425a-b. For the *mathan* see *Jemenica*, 26, no. 130.

137 Cf. p.468a. *Waqas*, *yūqis*, to trim stone.

138 Cf. pp.171b, 442a.

139 The sources list the tools he employs.

140 This word is not apparently Hebrew or Arabic. A valuable study, 'Tsig-Bandweberei mit Gold- und Silberfaden in Šan'ā'', *Baessler-Archiv Beiträge z. Völkerkunde*, XXII, 1974, 225-45, by Aviva Klein, describes this beautiful craft with technical detail and illustrations.

141 Cf. p.192b. n. 235, also *hudyah*.

142 *Riḥlah*, I, 124-5.

143 Ibid, I, 141.

144 Ameen Rihani, *Arabian peak and desert*, 170. For the stones of near-by Wādī Sa'wān see al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifāh*, 202, etc.

145 Ibid, I, 134.

and pitch, a red quartz. The manner for turning out a stone for a ring or seal is as follows. The trip hammer is first used to break up the original into small pieces, which are set in the adhesive substance at the end of a stick; and then the process of formation and polishing is achieved upon four different stones—the first, a flint, eats away the angles of the gem—the second, less abrasive rounds it, the third, a sandstone cleans it, and the fourth, a chalk, I think, gives it polish—and behold a carnelian which can charm away evil spirits. Specimens of these sticks with the stone set in the end were collected by the late W. H. Ingrams.

Nazih¹⁴⁵ states that most of the builders in Ṣan‘ā’ are Jews, but some are Muslims.

Additional Occupations followed in Ṣan‘ā’¹⁴⁶

Bakhshawān, gardener (Turko-Persian).

Habbāk, or *mujallid*, *muṣallib*, *muṣallih*, book binder.

Ḥammāl, camel-man, probably not a Ṣan‘ānī.

Maddāh, minstrel.

Mijabbir, bone-setter.

Munaqqil, cobbler, shoe-maker.

Nashshād, minstrel.

Nassakh, copyist of books.

Sinaydār, mosque attendant.

Sannān, sharpener (of knives, daggers etc.).

Shawṭarī, muleteer.

Ṭabīb, native doctor.

Another profession is the cattle dealer known as *qammāṭ*. But it is possible this was not a Ṣan‘ānī profession or not exercised in Ṣan‘ā’.

Of Yemeni markets in general the Egyptian writer of the first half of the 8th/14th century, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umārī¹⁴⁷ observes, perhaps a little contemptuously,

The kings of the Yemen are always bringing in from Egypt and Syria groups of artisans (*arbāb al-ṣinā‘āt*) because of the few of them to be found in the Yemen. Nor are there adequate perpetual markets in the Yemen—in it there is only a day of the week upon which goods (*ajlāb*) are brought in, artisans and goods of their various categories appear, and markets are held upon that day and buying and selling take place. But anyone lacking something in the middle of the week can scarcely obtain it, except comestibles (*ma‘ākil*) for these are always (on sale) as in other countries; manufactured comestibles are little sold in its markets, but on the contrary a person who wants anything makes it for himself.

While in general this seems to be borne out by a few rare remarks of the historians, it is unlikely that there was not a continuous market in either Ṣan‘ā’ or Ta‘izz even at that period. We know from the historians that the Rasūlids imported weavers and other craftsmen and it is possible that some of the finer Rasūlid metalwork in brass and copper was actually manufactured by such craftsmen in the Yemen itself. In the 1970s the weekly market in Ṣan‘ā’ is on *Yawm al-Thulūth*, Tuesday.

Proverbs about Professions and Occupations

The esteem in which the crafts are held by Yemeni townsfolk is embodied in the proverbs, ‘A craft in the hand is security from poverty (*Ḥirfah fī ‘l-yad amān min al-faqr*)’, and, ‘Any person who is a specialist in his own craft is a sultan’, i.e., independent.¹⁴⁸ Of a boy who follows the occupation, trade or craft of his father they say, ‘*Kull-in li-mihrat wālīd-uh ya‘ūd*’,¹⁴⁹ no doubt applied to various situations. They prefer ‘one whose father and grandfather followed the same craft (understand perhaps, even if he be untrained) to a person who has been learning it for a year (*ibna mihrah wa-lā mit‘allim sanah*)’,¹⁵⁰ but a man who practices two crafts or trades is a liar (*ṣāḥib al-mihratayn kadhdhāb*)¹⁵¹ because he will do neither well. ‘The original ancestor is of no value if the most recent is a cobbler (*mā yinfa’ al-jadd al-awwal ilā jā al-ākhīr mnaqqil*)’,¹⁵² i.e., it is of no use boasting of noble ancestry if your father was a cobbler. It appears that this craft and that of the tanner are considered by Goitein’s Jewish informant, as well as by Arabs, of the category of *mihrah khafifah* or despised occupations. The most fortunately placed crafts are those of the dyer, silversmith and tailor because they have a surety in their hands—in the form of the customer’s own property—that guarantees they will receive their wage (*rahn al-ṣabbāgh/al-ṣayyāgh/al-mukhayyit bi-yad-ih/taht riḥl-ih*)¹⁵³—in former days the crafts of jeweller and tailor were largely in Jewish hands. Nevertheless it is better to be the leek-gardener (*qashshām*) of Ṣan‘ā’, a Muslim, than the Mori (Jewish teacher) of the country (*bilād*).¹⁵⁴

The strenuous vigour of the laundryman is nicely indicated in the saying, ‘He keeps on coming and going just like the (swinging of the) washerman’s testes (*bisīr wa-yījī sā’ ku‘āl al-muṣabbīn*)’.¹⁵⁵ ‘The potter eats from a sherd, the repairer (of leather articles) goes about with torn clothes, and the cobbler goes bare-foot (*Al-maddār ya’kul fī shuqfī wa-‘l-muraqqi’ yukhrīj mushaṭṭat wa-‘l-mbashmiq yisīr ḥāfī*)’.¹⁵⁶ ‘The polisher and sharpener (of daggers and swords) doesn’t find fault with any weapon brought him (*al-saqqāl mā yī‘ayyib silāḥ*)’.¹⁵⁷ ‘Even the bakeresses respect one another (*‘Ad al-‘ammālāt yitmāyazin*).’ The bakeress (*khabbāzah*) is notorious for her sharp tongue and foul speech. The version reported by Goitein says that one ‘*ammālāh* doesn’t love another, even if sisters, and he regards the word as covering not only the bakeress but the woman coffee-house keeper (*muḡahwīyah*) and tailoress (*mikhayyīṭah*). Finally, who could be ‘poorer than a whore in Ramaḍān (*afqar min qaḥabah fī Ramaḍān*)?’¹⁵⁸

Ṣan‘ā’ Shepherds

It is characteristic of the close connection of Ṣan‘ā’ people with the life of the countryside that in older times, and indeed still to this day, they are accustomed to send out their sheep-and-

146 E. Rossi, *L’Arabo parlato*, 145. I have omitted the types of agricultural worker he gives though these would be employed inside Ṣan‘ā’. As the *mu‘awwiḍ*, the filler of cartridge-cases who is said to *yī‘awwiḍ al-ma‘ābir* does not figure in this list he was probably always a Muslim.

Other crafts cited by S. A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Brünn-Prag-Leipzig-Wien, 1933, II, 67, as vocalised by him, are *makaṭṭayyin*, makers of *kufiyyahs* (Jews and Arabs), *muḡashshābīn*, makers of pipe-tubes (*qasabah*) for the *maddā‘ah*, *mughashshī‘in* (lit. coverers), makers of the red cloth cover for the *qasabah* (Muslims), *muzajjajīn*, glaziers (Jews), *mashshāṭīn*, comb-makers (Muslims), *shammā‘īn*, wax-workers (Muslims and Jews).

147 *Masālik al-abṣār*, edit. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, Cairo, 1974, 51, section on the Yemen only. See Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*, V, 36, on the Rasūlids bringing

artificers from Egypt to the Yemen.

148 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl, unpublished proverbs. Cf. *Jemenica*, 127, no. 927.

149 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl, ditto.

150 *Jemenica*, 44, no. 231.

151 Ibid, 94, no. 639.

152 Ibid, 150, no. 1127.

153 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl, unpublished.

154 *Jemenica*, 505, no. 78. The *qashshām* overloads his ass (Ibid, 120, no. 871).

155 Ibid, 89, no. 598.

156 Ibid, 151, no. 1137. Cf. Qāḍī Ismā‘īl, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 39, no. 108. *Aḥfā min munaqqil wa-a‘rā min mikhayyīṭ*.

157 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl, unpublished. Cf. *Jemenica*, 145, no. 1093.

158 *Al-Amthāl*, 36, no. 100; *Jemenica*, 114, no. 818.

goats from the city to pasture under the care of a shepherd. Whereas, however, at one time within living memory of such scholars as Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī, there used to be four families of shepherds (*ru'āh*) in San'ā, there is now only one family, al-Qa'ṭabī, which follows this occupation. The shepherd's clients would be scattered over a number of quarters (*ḥārāh*) of the town more or less in proximity to one another, or else on his way to the pasture-land to which he would conduct the animals. Pasturing over the fields lying fallow is subject to no restrictions¹⁵⁹ in the Yemen by the owners of the land. As the shepherd goes out in the morning he passes by the houses and shouts out his customary call—at which the people of the house open the door and let out their animals. The shepherd collects (*yujammī-hā*) them from sunrise (*al-shurūq*) up to high morning (*rakzat al-shams*),¹⁶⁰ and from 5 p.m. he returns with them to their places—each *ghanamah* knows the house of its owner. If one of the *ghanam* gives birth he brings back the lamb under his arm¹⁶¹ to San'ā.

If land has the sheep of its owner pasturing on it, others will not be allowed to graze their animals there, and naturally all shepherds know who has sheep and who has not—but in the latter case the landowner will not bother if the shepherd grazes over his land. You cannot graze on pasture belonging to others except by permission previously obtained. If sheep-and-goats enter land and eat of the pasture (*mar'ā*) the fine is the milk of a night (*al-balā bi-badhr laylah*, *badhr*, lit., crop). This means that the (she)-goat (*ma'iz*) will be milked the milk of a night (*sa-taḥlub ḥalīb laylah*) and thus pay the fine. The people of Bir al-'Azab have their own pasture, those of 'Asir theirs, and so also Shu'ūb and the rest of the districts neighbouring San'ā.

In the older days the shepherd would receive an eighth of a Maria Theresa dollar (*thumṇ riyāl Faranṣī*), i.e., five *buḡshahs*¹⁶² per animal, and as he would sometimes have as many as 200 to 300 head, this would come to quite a tidy sum. Some of the big families (*buyūtāt*) would treat the shepherd generously (*tukrim al-rā'i*) and give him a piece of bread as well, this being known as *al-ṣabūḥ*. The shepherd would also get the wool (*sūf*) of the *ghanam* (sheep-and-goats), and he or his wife would manage the spinning (*ghazl*) of it into balls (*maghzal*).

Types of sheep which have come to my notice in San'ā or the near-by districts are the *baladī* sheep with a fleece, and the *Tihāmī* which has a smooth coat, originating as it presumably does from the hot western plains. In the Qā' Jāhrān plain south of San'ā we noticed the *Bawmī* which had a fleece and the *Birri* bred for meat, with no woollen fleece, but belly-fat (*tharbah*) and a fat tail (*ilyah*). In the Barāṭ region there was the *Barṭī* without a

fleece, and *al-Māribī*, a small white sheep. In 'Amrān district the 'Ajawī is killed while small, still suckling. A type *Khawlānī* is also known in San'ā. No doubt there are many more. There also seem to be cross-breeds.

The shepherd is of course responsible for the animals under his care. Al-Hādī's views on this subject in the 9th/10th century A.D. have been recorded by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī.¹⁶³

I asked him about a shepherd (*rā'i*) with whom are camels or sheep-and-goats, or other animals—is he responsible (*dāmin*) for any that go (missing)? He said, 'If, on his part, there is a cause in which there is clear negligence (*tafriṭ*)¹⁶⁴ responsibility for any of them that have gone missing attaches to him—but there is no responsibility (*dāman*) upon him for what a wolf or robbers take from him by force.' I said, 'Is the case the same if it is taken from the shepherd by force and coercion (*'anwah wa-qahr-an*)?' He said, 'No responsibility for it attaches to him, contrary to that about which he has been negligent.' I said, 'Is it the same if a wolf eats a ewe (*shāh*), this being known, or a beast of prey (*sabu'*) mauls the camel or animal, and the shepherd brings back the wolf, or part of the skin, or part of the animal which the owner recognizes, or the shepherd produces proof of this?' He said, 'I have already given the answer to that.'

In books on tribal law problems arising where animals are pastured together are sometimes treated, and perhaps a characteristic type of regulation is that of the 'Awdhalīs¹⁶⁵ in the former Western Aden Protectorate who made the shepherd responsible for the loss of an animal which he accidentally kills when throwing a stone at it to make it turn in a different direction—providing the animal was at the rear of the flock. If a man loses an animal he will go about the Quarter crying out, 'Yā man liqī 'l-taliyy/ al-bahimah, raḥim Allāh wālid-ah, Whoever comes on the lamb/donkey, may God rest his father.' That is to say—blessings on the man (lit. of course his father) who tells me where the animal is. A shepherd (*rā'i*) called Sanbul used to do this in Bustān al-Sulṭān (1973).

There is quite a different regulation (*qā'idah*) for the *murābī*, i.e., the person who rears an animal belonging to another person on the basis of receiving a share in its meat, as in the verse of the poet Muḥammad al-Dhahbānī,¹⁶⁶ speaking of a *rabā'ah* 'ind *khabbāz*, a male reared by a baker—to be shared out at the Feast of 'Id al-Naḥr. One says, 'Nurabbī-hā bi-'l-nuṣṣ/al-thulth, We rear it on the basis (of receiving) a half/third', in accordance with the agreement made between the two parties depending upon what each provides. A *rabi'* is the term applied to a person who hires

159 In tribal areas in South Arabia there is of course the *maḥjar* or interdicted pasture, but this would apply to grazing land only. In 1057/1647 according to *Tabaq al-halwā*, 22b, 'The Imām (al-Mutawakkil) ordered pasturelands in owned grounds to be made free (*ibāḥat al-mar'ā fi 'l-amlāk*) (to anyone) and that owners (*mullāk*) should be restrained by exhortation from interdicting them (*taḥajjur-hā*)', but in 1074/1664, there was an affray in Ḥarāz district because of the interdicting of pasture (*maḥjar al-mar'ā*) about which the judges' decisions (*aḥkām al-ḥukkam*) differed, each party held to the view of an Imām. Discussing the subject, the *Sharḥ al-Aḥḥār*, III, 324, says, 'Taḥajjur (in the sense of interdicting land or making it exclusive to all but oneself) is established by setting up (land) marks (*darb al-a'lām*) on the sides (of it). Whosoever wishes to restrict a (piece of) land or trees sets up marks at the side of them. He either sets up (*naṣaba*) stones, or makes a long ditch (*khandaq*) or ties some of the branches of the trees to the others, so that he becomes restricting what lies behind that. As for the ditch itself he becomes possessor of it by virtue of excavating (it). . . . When one interdicts a place it is permissible for him to prevent others from bringing it into cultivation (*thya'uh*) and from cutting its trees and fruits (*ashjār wa-wa-thimār*) because he has come to have a superior right to it (*aḥaqq bihi*). Other less important conditions are also stipulated. Cf. *Jemenica*, 60, no. 353.

In Dhū Muḥammad country, as I was told in Jabal Barāṭ in 1973, a proclamation is made by a *ḡāhirah* (proclamation) of one's intentions to make a *maḥjar*, i.e. *bilād maḥjarah*, the actual announcement being made by a *dawshān*. 'Isma'ū, ṣallū 'ala 'l-nabiyy—inna-hum yiqūlū lakum Dhū Muḥammad annahum ḥājirūn buq'at filān ilā nihāyat ḥijrat-hā—awwal al-ṣayf ḥijrah ilā nihāyat al-ṣayf wa-'l-kharif, wa-tubāḥ fi 'l-shu'ā', Oyez, bless the Prophet. Dhū Muḥammad say to you that they interdict such and such an area up to the termination of its being a *maḥjar* (interdicted pasture),

(from) the first of summer to the end of summer and autumn, but it is open (for pasture) in winter.' The period of the interdiction was defined as *awwal al-tis' ilā niṣf al-qayḡ, ma'a thamarat al-dhirah fi awwal al-shu'ā'*. In the Barāṭ calendar this would be from Shubāṭ (commencing about mid-February) to the stars known as *al-Rawābī*. For *maḥajir* see R. Traini, *I manoscritti . . . della Fondazione Caetani*, Roma, 1967, 68, and for *taḥajjur* and *himā*, *al-Baḥr al-sakhkhār*, IV, 74, 77. *Maḥjar al-Ahijr* is a seat of the Sharaf al-Dīn Sayyids (*Diwān* . . . Muḥ. Sharaf al-Dīn, Cairo, n.d. 138). A more ancient evidence of the existence of the institution is in the Prophet's letter to the lords (*aqwāl*) of Shabwah confirming them in their possession of, inter alia, their salt and their *maḥjar*, (Muḥ. Hamidullāh, *Majmu'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyyah*, 3rd edit. Beirut, 1969, 204).

160 Class. Ar. *al-ḡuḥā*.

161 Called in San'ā *ḡuḥ*, in Ta'izz, *ḡijf*, verb *iḡtajaf*.

162 At the time of writing, at the rate of 40 *buḡshahs* to the *riyāl*.

163 K. *al-Muntakhab*, op. cit.

164 Cf. p. 231b.

165 A stone would be thrown at the leader of the flock when one wishes to turn it in a different direction, but without the intention of actually hitting it.

166 *Al-Anḡām al-sha'biyyah*, Ta'izz, 1969, 32. Also *murāba'ah* and *ribā'ah* is the action of sharing in rearing of an animal. Goitein, 'Portrait of a weavers' village', 14, describes, in the lower Yemen, the contract as follows, 'A general form of capital investment was *mushtarā*, common property of cows shared by a Jew and qabīlī. The qabīlī kept the cow, feeding it and taking its milk, while he shared the offspring with his Jewish partner.' A rich Jew might have as much as a hundred *mushtarāt*.

In passing it may be observed that when it is desired to stop a grown kid suckling, its mother's teats are covered with a bag called in San'ā, *shimālāh*.

a cow, receiving a quarter in return for feeding it and half of its calves. Where a Ṣan'ānī family had a cow or cows they were kept in a stable (*ḥarr*) or courtyard (*ḥawsh*) and looked after by old women (*al-nisā' al-'awāqil*),¹⁶⁷ but the cow did not go out to pasture.

Articles Prohibited from Human Consumption

Islamic ulema have, at various times, prohibited or inveighed against the use of coffee, tea, *qāt*, tobacco and other substances, but coffee fairly soon became respectable and is even associated with the saint 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī (ob. 821/1418) whose tomb at Mocha is well known, and one speaks of *qahwat al-ṣāliḥīn*, the coffee of the pious, it being commended (like *qāt* in some circles) as an aid to the performance of religious duties in the watches of the night. Tea has also long been accepted and tobacco, if not entirely approved by all, is in general use.

The narcotics, opium and hashish, are of course prohibited by Islamic *fuqahā'*, but hashish (known as *nūriyah*) is grown in the countryside round Ibb and smoked after chewing *qāt*, though this is against the law. Hashish has however a long history in South Arabia and is listed among the commodities taxed at Aden about 1400 A.D. In one case it was evidently associated with Ṣūfism for in the early 11th/17th century the Imām al-Manṣūr billāh al-Qāsim killed a Ṣūfī in Ṣan'ā' whose irreligious conduct included the fact that he used 'to eat hashish in the way a donkey eats.'¹⁶⁸

Grapes grow well in the Yemen and throughout the Islamic period the ulema have waged a long battle against wine-drinking, commencing at least from the days of the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq,¹⁶⁹ and probably much earlier. To take a case in point, the ruling Imām in 594/1197-8 poured out all the wine in the houses famed for it in Ṣan'ā'.¹⁷⁰

The Turks of the first Ottoman occupation forbade wine to Muslims, but others of them indulged in it till, about 1034/1624-5, it was sold openly in the Ṣan'ā' markets as if it had never been forbidden in the Holy Book.¹⁷¹ When the Zaydis drove out the Ottomans they took severe measures against the Jews selling wine. Indeed the Jews, who can legally manufacture wine and 'araqī for their own consumption in an Islamic state, are recurrently in trouble for selling it to Muslims whether of their own free will or under pressure. During the second Ottoman occupation, Zabārah,¹⁷² listing the vices of the Turks, tells us picturesquely that, under their rule, 'wines appeared like cool water', and 'the inviolable graves of the Muslims were destroyed and walls and *khāns* built with the stones from them.'

Jarmūzī¹⁷³ alludes to wine as being openly sold in the markets of Ḥaḍramawt, though I imagine this was confined to the coastal centres, not the cities of the interior, and the Sultan even imposed a duty (*qānūn*) on it, but the *faqīh* Badr stopped this (*kasara-hā*).

Wine is still made quite widely, but with much secrecy, in the north, and would be impounded in Ṣan'ā' and the persons apprehended with it would be punished. I discovered a real sentiment of contempt among most northern tribesmen for persons, Muslims, who drink alcoholic beverages. Though the Jews have departed some time ago wine is said still to be sold in

the Qā' al-Yahūd area. Spirits imported from the West have been coming into the Yemen even before 1962 though at that time they were consumed in considerable fear of discovery by the organisation appointed for *al-amr bi-'l-ma'rūf wa-'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*.

Qāt

Qāt (*Catha edulis*) has attracted the keen interest of foreign visitors to the Yemen, most of whom discuss the chewing of it with various degrees of prejudice such as the European missionary attitude quoted by Hugh Scott,¹⁷⁴ and the Egyptian propagandist booklet *al-Yaman bayn al-qāt wa-fasād al-ḥukm*.¹⁷⁵ Since as a social habit it plays an important part in Ṣan'ānī life a few observations about it are justified here. Scott, despite his own bias, for he calls *qāt* chewing 'a noxious form of drug-addiction',¹⁷⁶ provides quite a good description of the chewing of the young leaves, leaf-buds and shoots of *Catha edulis*, in the thirties which would be true of today. In the *mafrāj* Sayyids and other wealthy people hold large *qāt*-chewing parties, often repeated day after day among the same persons. These parties are usually preceded by lunch and coffee; chewing begins about two o'clock in the



Fig. 12.1 The *qāt* plant (*Catha edulis*)

afternoon and for those who only work in the morning or do no work at all, it lasts till eight o'clock. Noon and afternoon prayers are said before the party begins, while the sunset and evening prayers are said together after it ends. 'As many as from twenty to forty persons may be crowded into an ill-ventilated room. Windows and doors are shut and several hubble-bubble pipes are lit. The participants sit round the walls, each with a bundle of *qāt* and a spittoon in front of him. When a man has chewed for some time, swallowing only the juice of the plant, his cheeks become uncomfortably distended with a green paste of chewed leaves . . . this paste is then ejected, with the aid of a finger, into a spittoon. The man then drinks noisily from a cruse of water, swilling out the mouth and often also swallowing water to assuage thirst.' The distaste Scott felt for the *qāt* session is hardly disguised!

Foreigners resident in Ṣan'ā' in more recent years often take a more liberal attitude to *qāt* chewing than this, and some even participate. As a social habit the *qāt madkā*¹⁷⁷ has many advantages—it is a place where much business is transacted, politics

167 Properly 'wise women' but rendered as *jā'ināt fi 'l-sinn*.

168 Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-jālī*, II, 49.

169 *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq*, 69, 80, where a man of Yām is meted out eighty lashes and dies, *passim*.

170 *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 117, *al-dūr al-mashhūrāh bi-dhālika*.

171 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 819.

172 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 65.

173 *Al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 257; cf. my *Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, 30, 176.

174 Naval Intelligence Division, B. R. 527, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*. Geographical Handbook Series, Oxford, 1946, 463; *In the High Yemen*, 94-5.

175 Muḥ. al-Sayyid Ayyūb, Cairo, 1963, though it includes some useful information. The usual clichés are to be found in Mohamed Said El Attar, *Le sous-développement économique et social du Yemen*, Alger, 1964, 123, who states that the properties of *qāt* lie between those of cocaine and opium, and speaks of its *effet narcotique*. This biased, and highly inaccurate book has been widely circulated, and as might be expected repeats the myth that coffee has been rooted up to make way for *qāt*—which, were it true, is at any rate good economic sense, as coffee was not selling well abroad whereas *qāt* was. Neither is noted for nutritive properties.

176 Loc. cit. A *qāt* session is described by Nazih, *Riḥlah*, I, 61.

177 *Madkā*, pl., *madākī*, the cushions in the *mafrāj* which give the session its name. In Aden one speaks of *maḥraz al-qāt*.

discussed, or literary gatherings, especially before the 1962 coup d'état, take place. Conversation starts in a fairly animated way but as the *qāt* begins to take effect the company gradually falls silent and a slightly glazed look comes over the eyes—the main sound being the soft bubbling of the water-pipe as the long tube is passed around—but the sense of comfort and relaxation, and, doubtless, the pleasant musings of the participants at this stage described as waking dreams (*ḥulm al-yaqzāh*), pleasant atmosphere (*jaww laṭīf*)—one swims in thought (*yisbah fī'l-fikr*), are much more attractive than the stridency of a Western cocktail party. Less pleasing is the discharge of the *qāt*-cud into spittoons (*matāfil/madāfil*) and the avid swilling of water to quench the drought that *qāt* induces—but Yemenis drink water with a sound like the last water swirling down the plug-hole of a bath anyway!

Both men and women chew *qāt* and smoke the water-pipe, not of course at the same *madkā* in this segregated society.

One of the most balanced reports on the *qāt* situation is that of the Qat Commission of Inquiry,¹⁷⁸ published by the Aden Government in 1958, after the ban on the import of *qāt* to Aden imposed by the Legislative Council at the instance of certain Arab Adenese members. The Report of the United Nations Narcotics Commission having proved unhelpful in view of the conflict of opinion on the *qāt* question among the delegates, the Commission sought the views of Aden Medical Service doctors. They

expressed the opinion that there is no evidence that the *qāt* habit is dangerously injurious to health. It does cause constipation, but it has never been suggested that it may seriously damage the body as may tobacco, which is alleged to cause lung cancer, or alcohol, which may cause liver complaints. *Qāt* does not create an addiction, like opium or hashish, in that those who are suddenly deprived of it, do not suffer physical consequences. Deprivation may cause mental distress, but that is all. Confirmed *qāt* eaters who are deprived of the leaf, when they visit foreign countries, quickly adapt themselves to its absence.

In the first place, then, *qāt* is not a narcotic in the correct use of the term. Unlike tobacco it does not seem particularly addictive, and Imām Yahyā for instance is stated to have given it up, not because he disapproved of it, but simply on medical advice. Moderate *qāt*-fanciers will attend or hold a *qāt*-session as a form of relaxation at varying intervals during which they never touch the leaf. If a person over-indulges in *qāt* as other individuals might do in other stimulants this in itself is no reason to condemn the *qāt* habit. It has certain displeasing short term after-effects such as sleeplessness, irritability and constipation as already mentioned, but it has yet to be proven that it has any long-term deleterious effects on the body. It is widely used in the Yemen—yet the Yemenis are a sturdy race upon which the writer has seen no apparent general ill effect, whereas on the contrary, where malnutrition exists, its signs are unmistakeable.

The most serious accusation against *qāt*-fanciers is that they spend so much on this expensive diversion that the *qāt*-fancier who indulges himself beyond his means is left a portion of his income quite inadequate to spend on the purchase of food for his family and himself.¹⁷⁹ This is no new problem—in Aden some thirty years ago one not uncommonly heard *qāt*-fanciers complain that they spent most of their wages on it. While *qāt* may be a social problem in Ṣan'ā' and other parts of the Yemen, the problem of over-indulgence in illegal stimulants, doubtless on a still very restricted scale, mainly in the few larger towns, would or does have similar results. That *qāt* cultivation takes up an undue amount of agricultural land is patently nonsense when one surveys the country from the air, and this is borne out by the figure of 5% quoted earlier.¹⁸⁰ Moreover the *qāt*-shrub grows easily and requires little attention.

Although, in general, our study of Ṣan'ā' does not aim to take us beyond September 1962, it might be remarked that during our stay there in 1972 the Yemeni Government took steps toward an attempt at limiting consumption of *qāt*¹⁸¹ and started a campaign against it. This appears to have provoked a sharp reaction from a religious quarter against the importation of alcohol, at that time legitimate, for (ostensibly) foreigners. A lorry-load of bottles was destroyed outside the northern Khanādiq and the privilege withdrawn.

Apart from the literary assemblies, the salons of Ṣan'ā', where *qāt* is chewed and tobacco smoked, poems in praise of *qāt* figure in the Yemeni *ḍiwāns* to be found, for example, in the Vatican Library.¹⁸² Imām Yahyā's celebrated poetic debate with Amin al-Rayḥānī's travelling companion Qusṭanṭīn, in which he defends *qāt* against the latter's attacks are fairly widely known in modern Arabic literature.¹⁸³ The *Mufākharah bayn al-Qahwah wa-'l-Qāt*,¹⁸⁴ or Boasting Match between Coffee and *Qāt*, of Aḥmad al-Mu'allimī belonging to a Shāfi'ī family of 'Utumah, that was composed in the 19th century, is a contest in prose and verse between Coffee personified as a woman and *Qāt* as a man, on their virtues superior the one to the other and is of typical *maqāmah* genre. Nor was a fondness for *qāt* any reproach from a religious viewpoint by about the 12th/18th century, at least to judge by the biography of a grandson of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il¹⁸⁵ who liked well-being and literature, *ṭaṣawwuf*, retreat into seclusion, worship, prayer, and who had a fondness for eating *qāt* (*al-wulū' bi-akl al-qāt*).

There is indeed a Yemeni saying, '*Al-qāt qūt al-ṣāliḥīn*, *Qāt* is the food of the upright/pious.' This could be because it enables the man of religion to spend his night in study or religious exercises. This may be contrasted with the slogan I recall seeing in one of the more modern Ṣan'ā' eating-places, '*Al-Qāt qūtīl, Qāt kills!*' A well known adage¹⁸⁶ is '*Qad sakhkhaḥ Allāh al-Yahūd bi-'l-'araqī wa-'l-Muslimīn bi-'l-qāt*, God has troubled the Jews with 'araqī and the Muslims with *qāt*!' This rueful note is also expressed in, '*Al-qāt ṭayyīb, mā akrah minn-ah, Qāt* is nice, but there is nothing worse than it!' ¹⁸⁷ '*Qāt* and tea bring

178 Aden Colony. *Report of the Qat Commission of Inquiry*, (Government Printer, Aden, 1958), 10-11. The Commission was constituted of Sir Bernard Reilly, a former Governor of Aden and a lawyer, E. W. Nunn. Wise recommendations included that the price of *qāt* be kept as low as possible and excessive consumption be discouraged. The commonsense statement was made that, 'The ban gravely interfered with wide-spread social habits of long standing and is naturally the cause of resentment and discontent.' An experienced officer of the Aden Government, the late E. R. Johnson, in private conversation, considered the ban an unwarranted interference with the rights of the individual parallel to depriving a non-Muslim of tobacco and alcohol—which of course were under no ban.

179 *Nash al-'arf*, II, 180, mentions a learned scholar of the early 12th/18th century so fond of *qāt* that he preferred it to *qūt* (food). The journal *al-Hikmat al-Yamaniyyah*, Ṣan'ā', 1358/1939-40, in an article on the economy of the Yemen, speaks of the cultivator's waste on *qāt* and tobacco, so that the land is not properly cultivated!

180 See p. 18b.

181 Cf. 'Qarār li-maṣlaḥat al-sha'b', published as *Kitāb al-Shahr*, Ṣan'ā', June,

1972, no. 3., by Wizārat al-I'lām.

182 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 208, *passim*. 'Abdullāh Muḥ. al-Ḥabshī, *Fihrist al-makhḥḥūḥ al-Yamaniyyah fī Ḥaḍramawt*, Aden, 1974, 72, no. 382, cites a *Risālah fī maḍh shajarat al-qāt*, at al-Ghurfaḥ. The so-called Maktabat al-Sha'b of al-Mukallā in this catalogue seems to disguise the Library of the Jāmi' Mosque founded by the Qu'ayyī Sultān Ṣāliḥ.

183 Qusṭanṭīn's poem and Imām Yahyā's riposte are quoted by 'Abdullāh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jirāfī, *al-Muqataṭaf min tārīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1951, 229 seq., and doubtless in many other places. Cf. Ameen Ribani, *Arabian Peak and Desert*, 210.

184 A humorous composition replete with numerous literary allusions of which I have an edition in an advanced state of preparation. The original text in one Ms. makes Coffee vanquish *Qāt*, but the doctored Ambrosiana text quite cleverly turns the result of the contest into a draw, perhaps to please a patron with a fondness for *qāt*!

185 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 729.

186 Rossi, *L' Arabo parlato*, 165; *Jemenica*, 116, no. 840.

187 Rossi, loc. cit.

catastrophe, *Qāt wa-shāhī tijlib 'l-dawāhī* is said of a person who brings two evils upon himself. No doubt it is the *qāt*-fancier who says, '*Ṣabāḥ al-qāt, wa-lā ṣabāḥ al-banāt, Qāt* in the morning, not girls in the morning.'¹⁸⁸

There is some uncertainty as to when *qāt* first appeared in the Yemen, but there is more or less general agreement that the use of it was introduced from Abyssinia. Al-Maqrīzī¹⁸⁹ (ob. 845/1442) gives a description of *qāt* as found in Abyssinia, but it was not until 950/1543 that, says the author of *Ghāyat al-amānī*,¹⁹⁰ 'the *qāt* tree appeared and became abundant in the Yemen. The Imām Sharaf al-Dīn (ob. 965/1558) took the view that it should be prohibited (*ra'ā taḥrīmā-hā*) and ordered his son al-Muḥaḥhar to order people to uproot it because he saw a person who had lost countenance (*taghayyar*)¹⁹¹ and he was told that what had made him lose countenance came from eating *qāt*, so the Imām added it to the other things that cause loss of countenance. God is most knowing. In this year also the coffee (*bunn*) tree appeared, and people profited greatly from it.' Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Ānīsī¹⁹² tells us that Sharaf al-Dīn considered it a *bid'ah* (heretical innovation) like tobacco and wrote against it, 'and commanded trees of it to be cut in all the districts (*naḥāḥī*) acting strictly over this . . . yet much (revenue) used to come as income from the tithes on it (*mu'ashsharāt*) to the Treasury (*Bayt al-Māl*) but he took no account of that.'

The subject of the lawfulness or otherwise of *qāt*-chewing is discussed by no less an authority than the great Shāfi'ī scholar and legist Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī¹⁹³ (ob. 973/1565 or, more likely, 994/1587) of Mecca, as follows.

I received three books composed by the ulema of the Yemen on the prohibition of *kaftah*¹⁹⁴ and *qāt*, a plant well known in the Yemen and Abyssinia, whose people eat it much, and the Imām of the Zaydiyyah, Sharaf al-Dīn, took the view that in this plant there are noxious properties (*maḍārr*), and his proclamation was spread abroad in the mountains and towns under his rule (*ḥukm*) to strictly prevent eating and planting it, accompanied by severe threat to anyone disobeying, and he continued to take severe action over the matter until it disappeared from his country. Then he asked for a legal opinion (*istaftā*) of the ulema of the Shāfi'īyyah in the Yemen, and a body of them collected/composed (*ṣannaf*) for him, and he himself composed (*ṣannaf*) a book, copying down in it a proof supported by (Islamic) Traditions (*mabḥaṭh ḥadīthī*) from certain virtuous (*fuḍalā'*) sons of it (Yemen?), all of them agreeing on (its) unlawfulness (*ḥurmah*). Then he sent those books to Mecca so that I might peruse them and give him clear proof of the truth of the problem. Now, when I came to those books I learned that their authors had taken their stand on the prohibition which they (the books) contained, only in that it (*qāt*) has highly noxious properties (*maḍārr*), including turning the face yellow (*taṣfir*) and the dissipation of (sexual) power (*inhilāl al-quwwah*); others were the over-production of semen (*takthīr al-madhy*) and the breaking down of the constitution so that it becomes impossible to retain it—to the extent that the (*qāt*)-eater is absolutely unable to perform a valid prayer.¹⁹⁵

Further details follow, and Ibn Ḥajar continues with their argument,

So that both their mosques and clothing are impure (*najisah*) and anything else in contact with them. Other (properties) are that it prevents conception and renders the ability for sexual intercourse (*quwwat al-jimā'*) ineffective—to such an extent that the women of Ta'izz (a town in the Yemen)¹⁹⁶ went to its Sultan 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ṭāhir (894-923/1489-1517) on the occasion of one of his comings to the city, to complain to him of their husbands' loss of desire for them through over-indulgence in it—so he ordered the men to be prevented from eating it. But their means of subsistence broke down, and the conditions of that kingdom had decayed on account of the ineffectiveness in the powers of its menfolk, and the Sultan took the view that the evil (*mafsadah*) arising from their not eating it was the more acute, so he took into account the greater interest (*maṣlahah*) and permitted the men to eat it. This was the sum of what those books contained.

When I learned that the authors had come to their conclusions solely because of the detrimental/noxious qualities in this, I said, 'Before making any pronouncement in this matter the physicians have to be consulted.' Then I went to the Khān¹⁹⁷ (of Mecca) and related the case to him and showed him those books so as to see what he thought about that from the medical and other points of view, and he spoke about (the case) concerning what was in conformity with principles (*qawā'id*) in respect of medicine and other things. Then he said, 'The safest thing would be for us to seek clarification by consulting the view of someone concerned with the science of medicine.' So he summoned the Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm, the best acquainted with medicine of those in Mecca, and we informed him of the case in its entirety. 'As for *qāt*,' he said, 'I am acquainted with it, since I was in the Yemen, but as for the noxious/detrimental qualities mentioned of it in these books I did use to hear that some of them are found in it.' I said to him, that he must make a pronouncement on the question to us in accordance with medical principles (*al-qawānin al-ṭibbiyyah*). 'This,' he said, 'is impossible because the Imāms of medicine and those who made pronouncements (*al-mutakallimūn*) about herbs and plants have neither mentioned nor discussed this plant.'

The physician adopted the attitude that for a medical opinion to be promulgated experiments must first be made with *qāt*, but Mecca, he argued, was not a suitable place to do so on account of the heat etc., and he refused to give a decision. Ibn Ḥajar therefore composed his *Takhḍīr al-dhāt min akl al-kaftah wa-'l-qāt*,¹⁹⁸ the gist of which, he informs us, is that eating it should be avoided as far as possible. He adds however,

As for an outright decision on its being forbidden (*al-jazm*)¹⁹⁹ *bi-'l-taḥrīm*, before any of those noxious/detrimental qualities are established as existing in it in a legal way (*ḥarīq shar'ī*), that is a conjecture (*muḥāzafah*) about religion and a departure from the customary procedures (*sunan*) of

188 Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished collection.

189 Cited by El Attar who, incorrectly, calls it *al-Imām*. He avers that *qāt* is first mentioned 'dans un manuscrit unique' of Muḥ. b. 'Alī Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (ob. 619/1222), *al-Qarābādhin*. . . . In fact many Mss. of this treatise are available. *Western Arabia*, op. cit., 492, says *qāt* was brought from Ethiopia to Hodeidah in 1430 by a Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Zahrāy, without quoting a source. Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, 22, adds 'Before Kaṭ is taken at a gathering, the Fatiha, or opening chapter of the Koran is recited, after invoking a blessing on the 'Sheikh of Kaṭ', one Ibn Zarbain'. This probably applies only to the Lower Yemen.

190 Op. cit., II, 689.

191 So rendered from Dozy, *Supplément*, but literally of course it means 'he altered.'

192 *Faṭḥ al-ma'būd fī dhikr ijlā' al-Yahūd* of Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Ānīsī, Ms. transcript lent me by Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Ḥabshī.

193 Or al-Haythamī, in his *Riyāḍ al-riḍwān*, reproduced by Ulughkhānī, *An*

Arabic history of Gujarat, ed. E. Denison Ross, Indian Text Series, London, 1910-28, I, 356-8. Ibn Ḥajar prefaces this chapter with an account of a discussion held in Mecca on the lawfulness of nutmeg (*jawz al-ṭib*), *hashishah*, *sunbul* (presumably hyacinth), and mare's milk (*laban al-ramakah*) for human consumption. Cf. O. Löfgren and R. Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Vicenza, 1976, 198, for questions by Ṣan'ā scholars in 959/1542-3 on *bunn*, *qahwah*, *qāt*, *kaftah*, *bang*, *hashish*, *afyun*, probably to Ibn Ḥajar.

194 *Kaftah* is an infusion of *qāt*.

195 Being ritually impure.

196 Probably Ulughkhānī's gloss.

197 This looks like an Indian term for a Turkish official.

198 Elsewhere, e.g. in the Cairo Dār al-Kutub catalogue, VII, 195, it is entitled *Takhḍīr al-thiqāt*. . . .

199 Al-Mu'allimī nevertheless in his *maqāmah* makes Coffee allude to Ibn Ḥajar's *jazm bi-taḥrīm al-qāt*.

the practising ulema.²⁰⁰ As for the adducing proof of the prohibition (*taḥrīm*) of it from the (same) proofs the ulema have adduced from the Traditions and other (sources) with regard to the prohibition of *hashishah*, this is out of place because the ulema have probed into the circumstances of *hashishah* and what is caused by it, over numerous centuries until they knew (what) judgement was required on it, and came to an outright decision in regard to it, without disagreement among them about it, the physicians concurring with them in regard to the noxious properties/detriment and (effects) of loss of sensation²⁰¹ it has. There is no analogy between it and this unknown plant the *kayf*²⁰² of which is not known, nor what is caused by it. It is like the drink recently introduced, called *qahwah* (coffee)—the ulema of Egypt, Mecca, the Yemen and elsewhere have differed over it, so each proffered an opinion, or wrote regarding it, on such detriment (*maḍarrah*) or benefit (*manfa'ah*) as was evident to him, but the truth is that no prohibition (*taḥrīm*) applies to it except in the case of a person in whose body there is an ailment with which it is incompatible, such as consuming atrabiliousness (*al-sawdā' al-muḥriqah*), seeing that it is recognised that it will harm him.

Ibn Ḥajar's attitude on the *qāt* question was evidently politic and moderate. Certain of the effects claimed to be produced by *qāt* by the Shāfi'ī ulema of the Yemen, as he reports, seem fictional. However it may be, there is a vast difference between the situation as seen by the ulema when Ibn Ḥajar was writing, in the latter part of the 16th century, and that implicit in the regulations of *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. The *Qānūn* aims at making *qāt* available on a fair basis of distribution to a society long used to it. The sources consulted remain silent in the interval upon the *qāt* question. May it be assumed that Imām Sharaf al-Dīn's ban simply became a dead letter? Consultation of Zaydī books of law might give hints of a change of attitude to *qāt* on the part of the ulema.

The medicinal qualities of *qāt* are ignored by its detractors but recognized at least, by one author.²⁰³

In *Nūr al-abṣār wa-jilā' khawāṭir al-afkār* of the shaykh Aḥ. b. 'Abdullāh b. Ismā'il al-Dhananī (?) al-Wāqidī al-Ḥārithī,²⁰⁴ he says, *verbatim*, 'Let us return to our present concern, seeing that is what is intended, namely the account of the *qāt*-shrub, its effects (*af'āl*), its powers and special properties. The nature (of *qāt*) is cold, dry in the second degree.²⁰⁵ The effects and special properties found in it are causing constipation (*qabḍ*) and deprivation of sensation (*takḥḍīr*) accompanied by a slight temperature (*ḥarārah*) depending on the degree of costiveness that occurs in the organs, in which there may be a mild temperature. Dry *kaftah* (pounded *qāt* from which an infusion is made) is more severely constipating than it is. Crushed leaves of it with vinegar and opium alleviate throbbing when it arises from a temperature, and, (when taken) with yoke of egg and saffron, in (the case of) cold.

'Swellings and pustules (*buthūr*)—it is efficacious against hot swellings, especially with vinegar and ceruse (*isfidāj*); with flour of beans (*bāqillā*) and gruel (*sawīq*) it alleviates the smarting of scrofula (*nākhīs al-khanāzīr*) and, with coriander (*kusbarah*), resolves the swelling (caused by) it. Wounds and ulcers (*qurūḥ*)—it helps against them and dries them up,

especially when burned and applied in oil of roses. The organs of the head—when taken in a known quantity after food it prevents the vapour that mounts to the head from the phlegm in moist things (*maṣṭūbūn*). It cures from epilepsy (*ṣar'*), and its efficacy in (the case of) nightmare is tried out by experience.'

((I have) confidence in what he recounts for I have tried it out, and when some sprigs of it are taken on going to sleep this is truly so).

'Powder (*dharūr*) of dry leaves of it with vinegar stops nose-bleeding, ameliorates lesion (*nakhbah*) in the mouth and drives away bad breath, but there is a sort which causes pustules to break out in the mouth. The organs of the eye—a sprig of it burned with a sprig of quince takes the place of flowers of zinc (*maghsūl²⁰⁶ al-tūṭiya*) for sharp sight, itching, tumours of the eye-lid (*sulāq*), vascular opacity of the cornea²⁰⁷ (*sabal*) and for drying watering (of the eye). It prevents (also) throbbing of the eye, and application of its leaves prevents the eye running. The organs of the chest—it brings the heart complete relief, expands the soul, rejoices it, removes depression and melancholy (*al-waḥshah wa-'l-waswās*), hot palpitation (*khafaqān*), introspective thoughts (? *al-khawāṭir al-naṣāniyyah*), and removes anxieties (*kurab*) when taken in a known quantity, for you know that all excess is harmful. The alimentary organs—it removes nausea (*ghathayān*), dries up and takes away wateriness of the stomach (*bullat al-ma'idah*), hardens it, and induces thirst, but it is slow in descending into the intestines and is therefore retentive of the food and sets up borborigma and winds. It (*qāt*) . . .²⁰⁸ colic (*maghṣ*), binds the bowels and inhibits movement, sets incontinence of urine flowing, is utterly harmful to those affected with haemorrhoids, but it alleviates haemorrhage when a *mithqāl*-weight of dry powder (*daqīq*) of it is added to four ocques of tamarind water and applied to a hernia (*fatq*) along with cypress (*sarw*) leaf. . . .²⁰⁹ It (*qāt*) appears to be lawful as I understand, and my discussion of it is occasioned because of the fact that doctors, whether of the ancients or the moderns, have not mentioned it.'

According to a prominent Yemeni leader, the use of *qāt* in the tribal north has greatly increased over the past forty years or so, prior to which it was little known. Tribal soldiers say it is a stand-by in war-time during the cold nights when on watch in their mountains or moving from one place to another along rocky paths in the darkness. Al-Sayāghī,²¹⁰ commenting on the regulations for *qāt* in the document of a similar type to the *Qānūn*, remarks that in his earlier days *qāt* fanciers (*mutawallī'ūn*) used not to be over fifty per cent of people, but now it is planted under every stone and in every district and all have become *qāt* fanciers—hardly five per cent of persons do not chew it. The inflation (*mughālāh*) in the price of it has grown enormously and there is no control on it or *qānūn* (regulation ?). He considers this harmful (*ḍarūrāt*, harmful things), and thinks that those in power should see to what it is necessary to do about *qāt* in the public weal. As the proverb quoted above indicates, there are many *qāt* fanciers who would agree that their penchant for *qāt* should be curbed.

In both the learned class from which the officials used mainly to be drawn and with the ordinary man in the street *qāt*

²⁰⁰ *Al-'ulamā' al-'āmilūn*.

²⁰¹ *Takḥḍīr*.

²⁰² *Kayf* is of course a well known term applied to the effect of tobacco, hashish etc., but the precise sense here is not quite certain. Wehr gives the senses of state, humour, state of mind, pleasure, well being, narcotic, opiate, etc.

²⁰³ In an anonymous note, *Fā'idah fī khawāṣṣ al-qāt*; cf. Renato Traini, *I manoscritti arabi di recente acquisizione della Fondazione Caetani*, Roma, 1967, 9, Ms. 316 (Rossi 16), for copies of which I am indebted to Professor Traini's kindness.

²⁰⁴ This author, though unknown to the standard Yemeni biographical works, is mentioned in the *qāt Muṣḥakkarah* (supra); his treatise is unknown to Brockelmann.

²⁰⁵ The author is referring to the four humours.

²⁰⁶ Conjectural emendation for the text's *mughaffam*, following Max Meyerhof, *The Book of the ten treatises on the eye ascribed to Hunain Ibn Is-haq* (809-877 A.D.), Cairo, 1928, 211.

²⁰⁷ Meyerhof, op. cit., 191.

²⁰⁸ The text here is clearly corrupt, inserting a heading, 'the respiratory organs'. Some words informing of the effect of *qāt* on colic should probably be supplied.

²⁰⁹ At this point the text is unclear to me for a line and a half, probably corrupt, and therefore omitted.

²¹⁰ See p.233 seq. There may be some exaggeration in the way in which this is expressed.

chewing is associated with that good fellowship the Englishman finds in beer drinking. One might say, 'There was a lot of fun at the *qāt*-session today, (*Fi 'l-madkā kān al-yawn nidr kashir*). *Nidr* = *zabjah*, and a funny man is *naddār* and a joker *zabbāj*. At the *madkā* the choicest young shoots are selected for the guest, even for the non *qāt*-chewer like the writer, and thrust upon him, while if one passes through the *Qāt Market* when the *Ṣan'ānis* are milling round to buy (*yidawwir lah takhzinah*)²¹¹ a man will frequently press a sprig on the foreigner in a friendly way. Each variety of *qāt* has its own distinctive qualities like wine in Europe, and the customs and lore of *qāt* are many.²¹²

The writer was told in Ibb that to remove the unpleasant feeling after having taken *qāt*, the poor drink tea, the rich whisky. They say that one *yufassikh ba'd 'l-qāt*—we buy something to remove the effect or feeling (*nashṭarī lanā faskh*). In a circle possibly hostile to the Sayyids it was alleged that they use a secret word for wine—*al-Hājj Muḥammad*. *Haḥṣah* is used in Ibb as a name for hashish and in *Ṣan'ā' laḥṣah/ḥiḥṣah*. The Ibbis who take hashish (*ḥashshashū*) also take it in sweets (*ma'jūn*). Each group, it was averred, had names secret to itself for such things, which they use in front of others not of their own group when the occasion demands.

Measures taken against the use of *qāt* are the prohibition of its sale, import and cultivation in Sa'ūdī Arabia on August 2nd, 1971, and the banning of the consumption, sale and purchase of *qāt* instituted in Aden from January 2nd, 1977. *Qāt* trees were to be rooted up. Eight farmers of Ḍālī' in a demonstration against this measure, were, it is reported, to be shot by a firing squad but the sentence was reduced to long term imprisonment.

Tobacco

The advent of tobacco was received with disapproval by ulema throughout the Middle East generally, but though Imāms at times exerted themselves at least to restrict the use of it the addition of the Supplementary regulations for the sale of it by the early 19th century in the *Qanūn Ṣan'ā'* are an indication that it had by that time long won acceptance. Zabārah²¹³ cites a chronogram showing that the tobacco plant (*shajarat al-tutun*) appeared from the west in the year 999/1590-91, and, under the events of 1013/1604-5, *Ghāyat al-amānī*²¹⁴ states,

In this year the tobacco plant (*shajarat al-tunbaq*), known as *tutun*, appeared in the Yemen. The shaykh 'Alī al-Maghribī brought it from the West or from India. With him he had some seeds of it—they were planted in the Yemen—and it became plentiful. Sinān (the Turkish governor of the Yemen at this date) and others of the Amīrs used it. A *waqiyyah* of it sold at a *qirsh*, but when it became plentiful a *waqiyyah* sold at a *buqshah*. The name *tutun*²¹⁵—a Turkish word meaning smoke in Arabic—prevailed over it. Some doctors (*ḥukamā'*) stated that it has advantageous properties (*manāfi'*) such as expelling wind from the belly, digesting food, and cutting of the phlegm concealed in the chest. It is mentioned in the

books of simples (*mufradāt*) of medicine. People devised utensils (*ālāt*) with which to smoke it, and invented methods of doing this, smoking it over²¹⁶ water, but some smoke it dry. Many persons of honour (*murū'āt*) consider using it among the sinful acts (*saqqāt*),²¹⁷ and rarely does a man of note employ it but it detracts from his honour in the eyes of people of religion.

Some time in the first half of the 11th/17th century, possibly even in the days of Imām al-Qāsim (ob. 1029/1620) Tritton²¹⁸ states that 'The soldiers were addicted to tobacco so the Imām forbade its use. Some in Yifrus paid no heed to this prohibition.' He describes a quarrel when two of them both wanted to buy the same pipe-bowl—after which Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim had all tobacco burned in the streets and issued an edict, 'Whosoever sells or uses tobacco, does so at his own risk.' In 1089/1678 the Imām 'prohibited the sending up of *tutun* from the Lower Yemen to the Upper country', and, again in the same year, as he left *Ṣan'ā'* for Shur'at al-Raḥabah, ordered whatever tobacco (*tutun*) should be found in the city to be burned, and the utensils²¹⁹ for smoking it to be broken. People of *Ṣan'ā'* therefore removed it (*ghayyaba-hu*) from the markets so that it was sold in papers (*qarā'is*)—presumably little screws or packets.

In these actions the Zaydī Imāms were undoubtedly extremely conservative in comparison with attitudes in other parts of Arabia. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī in the first half of the 10th/16th century had declared that one should not break one's fast by smoking tobacco but Bā Makhramah a little later actually speaks of a scholar who 'followed the practice of betaking himself to breaking the fast with a smoke of *tunbāk*.'

Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Anisī²²⁰ appends to his treatise defending al-Mahdī for his action in expelling the Jews from *Ṣan'ā'* (1675-6 A.D.), an attack on tobacco—may God wipe out its traces! The Imām, he says, forbade it to be sold or used, ordering the tobacco plants to be cut down and all traces of it obliterated—what a fine order it was, what a noble prohibition! An ounce (*waqiyyah*) of tobacco, he avers, may come to as much as eight dirhams—for something that has no part in nourishing the body and is like dry herbs (*ḍarī'*). This treatise—really a sort of propaganda of a highly learned type—must then represent the views of al-Mahdī. His sentiments regarding tobacco, to say nothing of Jews and Bāniyāns were held also by the extremist Sayyid al-Maḥaṭwārī, the 'Magician' (*sāḥir*) who rose to power in the Ḥajūr mountains in 1111/1699-70, and under the very nose of the Imām's governor, would enter the markets of the western districts of northern Yemen and prohibit tobacco and burn the tobacco pipes! He was described as,

A sharīf whose origin is noble,
But one not noble of deed.²²¹

The literature of the polemic over tobacco is exemplified in such as the treatise of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (ob. 1163/1750) on the 'prohibition of the use of tobacco which has spread in these times.'²²² The celebrated, if somewhat turbulent scholar, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr maintained, on the contrary that tobacco is lawful and permitted (*ḥalāl mubāḥ*),²²³

211 *Takhzinah* would be a 'chew', a mouthful, but a *riḥjah* bundle is intended. Customs associated with *qāt* are numerous, as also ideas. For example the person who takes soup must follow by chewing *qāt*—a popular saying, because soup brings up the 'heart' for *qāt* (*yitallī' al-harāah li-'lḥarārah*).

212 The earlier enquiries into *qāt* are well summarised in F. M. Hunter, *Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia*, London, 1877, and reprint, 139. C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen*, Roma, 1933, 199-202 has a little on *qāt* at *Ṣan'ā'*. Muḥ. b. Aḥ. 'Isā al-'Aqīlī, *al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī*, al-Riyāḍ, 1958, II, i, 319, has some interesting remarks, but sources are abundant, especially the Aden press up till late 1967, and for a short time a newspaper called *al-Qāt* used to appear there. Since this chapter was written two useful works have appeared, Maxime Rodinson, 'Esquisse d'une monographie du *Qāt*', *Journal Asiatique*, 1977, CCLIV, 71-96; Armin Schopen, *Das Qāt: Geschichte und Gebrauche des Genussmittels Catha Edulis Forsk. in der arabischen Republik Yemen*, Wiesbaden, 1978. On p. 68 types of *qāt* are listed.

213 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 646, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 506.

214 Op. cit., II, 787.

215 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 645, gives also *ṭabāq*, *tabagh*.

216 Lit. 'with water'.

217 *Saqqah* might also mean an action that detracts from a man's honour.

218 *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford-Madras, 1925, 119, based on the history of Aḥ. b. Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ al-Sharāfi, but without reference to the pages of Ms. and unclear as to the date.

219 *Ṭabaq*, fol. 121 a. The words rendered 'utensils' and 'removed' are conjecturally restored from undotted letters.

220 Cf. p. 418a.

221 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 42. The verse runs,

Sharīf-un aṣlu-hu aṣl-un ḥamid-un
Wa-lakinna fi-'la-hu ghayru ḥamid-in.

222 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 642, *taḥrīm isti'māl al-dukhān alladhī fasha 'sti'mālu-hu fi ḥādhihi 'l-azmān*.

223 *Ibid*, II, 425.

even writing an essay²²⁴ to show the weakness of the indications that tobacco is prohibited by way of refutation of al-Sindī who seems to have followed mostly the Mālikī school²²⁵ in his arguments. The controversy is discussed by Zabārah²²⁶ and the arguments for and against it—of which its expensiveness is one, are set forth. He quotes also, *in extenso*, a poem by a Ṣan'ānī or Tihāmī on the curative properties of tobacco which, were the poet to be believed, is a veritable panacea, to be applied to yellow bile, phlegm, coughs, and the ulcer (*qarḥah*) which has baffled all the doctors—to name but a few. It was not prohibited by the Prophets, says the poet, and is permissible (*jā'iz*) in *sharī'ah* law.

The water-pipe (*madā'ah*, pl., *madāyī'*) has, with the chewing of *qāt*, become an integral part of Yemeni social life, and indeed of society anywhere in southern Arabia. Some women also smoke it. The pleasant sound of the bubbling of water as the smoker draws deeply on the long pipe-stem adds a sense of deep physical contentment to the company assembled in the *mafrāj*. It is polite custom in the Yemen to hand one's *madā'ah* to a companion to take the first puffs,²²⁷ and one sees, as the pipe circulates round the company that smokers hold the mouthpiece in the hand so that their lips do not actually come into direct contact with it. When the *madā'ah* is about to go round in Ḥaḍramawt salons someone will say, '*Shī ḥabīb, shī sulṭān, Is any sayyid or sultan here?*' This is because they would be given precedence.

Yemenis say that the pipe of a man with a craving for a smoke won't light! 'The morning pipe is the pin that holds the knees together.'²²⁸ This latter is of the man who cannot do without a smoke immediately on rising. Of a person with intense craving for tobacco or snuff (*nashūq*), they say that he has the craving of a sweeper (*kharmat khādīm*),²²⁹ and the Jews were also credited with intense cravings for tobacco, in the sayings *kharmat miwaqqir*, the craving of a (Jewish) stone-mason.²³⁰ Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alī Zabārah one day in Ṣan'ā' quoted to me in defence of the habit,

They find fault with me for tobacco and smoking
Stop blaming me, I said, for the case requires it.
Of a truth the Satan of cares stands on my chest
And I smoke against him so as to drive him out.²³¹

There is even one of those literary debates of the *maqāmah* types beloved by the Arabs called the 'Evening discourse between the friends about what there is between Qāt and Tunbāq,' cited by Zabārah²³² which might throw interesting side-lights on Yemeni attitudes to tobacco.

The *Madā'ah* (fig. 12.2)

Each part of the *madā'ah*, a name derived from *madā'*, a Yemeni word for the coconut, has naturally a name of its own. *Qafashah* - the conical metal cover pierced with a pattern of small holes, placed over the charcoal and burning tobacco. *Būrī* - the pottery bowl, glazed or unglazed, to hold the charcoal and tobacco.

Ṣaḥn - the small round brass tray to catch cinders.

Quṭb - the pipe-stem of turned wood, ornamented in various ways, e.g., inlaid (*mazrū'*) with little aluminium nails etc., or plain. It can be made traditionally in Ṣan'ā' of pear-wood (*'ambarūd*), walnut (*jawz*), or apricot (*barqūq*) wood.

Al-Multaqā - the join of the stem and coconut.

Al-Ḥabbah - the coconut containing the water of the *madā'ah*.

Jillās (pl. *āt*) - the brass tripod or stand for the *madā'ah*.

Qaṣabah - the snake-like pipe with a mouthpiece (*mashrab*) which

²²⁴ Ibid, II, 526—*al-Idrāk li-ḍu'f adillat taḥrīm al-tunbāk*.

²²⁵ Muḥ. al-Nūr Dayfullāh, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, al-Kharṭūm, 1971, 52, discusses the Mālikī prohibition of the use of tobacco.

²²⁶ *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 642 seq.

²²⁷ Ismā'il al-Akwa', *al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 44.

²²⁸ Ibid, I, 321, nos. 936, 937.

²²⁹ Ismā'il al-Akwa', unpublished proverbs. For the *khādīm*, see *Commoners, Climbers and Notables*, ed. van Nieuwenhuijze, Leiden, 1977, 233.

²³⁰ The *miwaqqir* used to renew the *khushūnat al-maḥṣan* (*al-raḥā*), its roughness, when worn smooth. In this the Jews used to be the specialists.

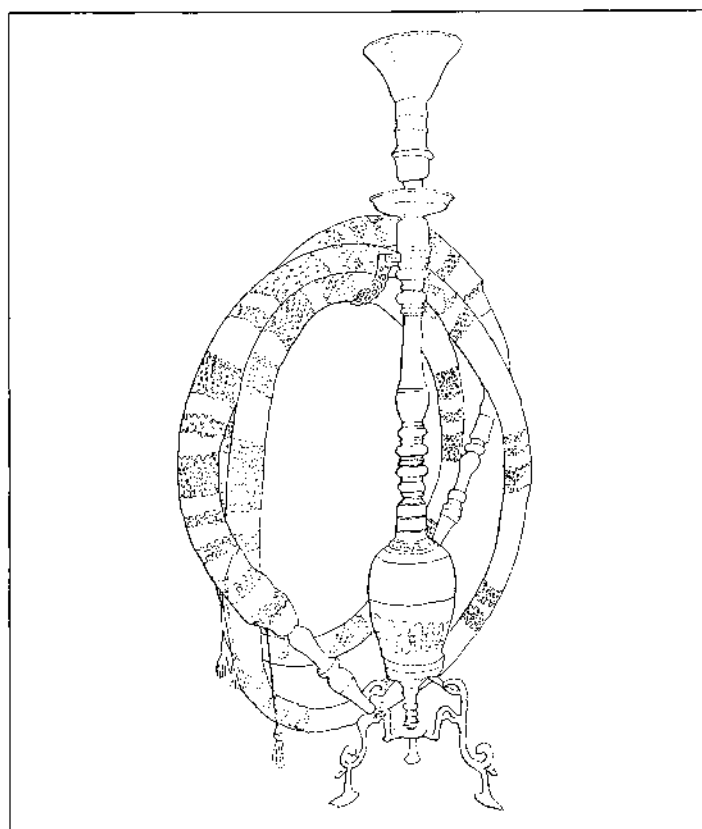


Fig. 12.2 The *Madā'ah* (water-pipe)

is ornamented (*manqūsh*) or inlaid with an aluminium nail pattern (*mazrū'*), and has a second *mashrab* at the other end to be inserted into the hole on the upper side of the coconut (*ḥabbah*). In Ṣan'ā' the *qaṣabah* is made of wire (*jarr*) of brass or copper finely twisted, but inferior pipes of plastic are sold also in the *sūq* nowadays; they are less springy than the metal pipe.

Makhmal - the cloth cover of the *qaṣabah*-pipe. It is usually made of scraps of brightly coloured cloth of the kinds used for women's frocks, but nowadays there is a sort of knitted *makhmal* sold by women in the Ṣan'ā' *sūqs* called *khawḥ*—a word also sometimes including the pipe itself.

Al-Dīk - the pipe is held in an ornamental brass bracket as called because of the shape it has of two confronted birds—this it seems is nowadays made in India. The *dīk* is attached to the *quṭb*.

Milqāt - tweezers of brass or iron, used for removing the charcoal from the charcoal holder (*mawqūd*) to place it on the heaped pipe-bowl.

Malat - the wooden tobacco-box with a hinged lid sometimes inset with pieces of mother of pearl. A tobacco pouch is a *kīs*.²³³

Qāḍī Ismā'il cites several proverbial sayings²³⁴ drawn from smoking. '*Khiyār mā yakhlūq Allāh 'immār*²³⁵ min *kīs ghayr-ak*, The best things that Allāh has created—a fill (of the pipe) from some other person's pouch.' '*Ammir wa-jammir*²³⁶ *wa-rabb-ak bā yijallī-hā*, Fill (your pipe) and light it with a red-hot ember and your Lord will show hot it is.' The sense is that one should look on the bright side of things and not bother about the difficulties of life which God will remove. On the other hand, '*Lā*

²³¹ *La-qad 'annaḥu-nī fi 'l-dukhānī wa-shurbi-hi*

Fa-qultu da'u 'l-ta'nīfa fa-'l-amru aḥwajā

Alā inna Shayṭāna 'l-humūmi bi-ṣadri-nā

Muqīm-un fa-dakḥkhannā 'alay-hi li-yukhrajā.

²³² *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 683.

²³³ Cf. *Jemenica*, 152, no. 1146.

²³⁴ These are unpublished.

²³⁵ '*Immār*—putting the tobacco in the *būrī*, placing a hot coal on top of it, then placing the *būrī* on top of the *madā'ah* (*mid'ī*).

²³⁶ '*Ammar wa-jammar* might be read.

*timakkin*²³⁷ *mawla* *ī* *yilaṣṣi lak*, *wa-lā* 'azab yakhtub lak, Don't get a tobacco addict²³⁸ to light (your pipe) for you, nor an unmarried man to ask in betrothal on your behalf!

There is an amusing tale of a Ḥaḍramī who went to Jeddah and took service with a merchant. The merchant told him to change (*ghayyar*) the pipe—meaning to change the water. The Ḥaḍramī, in whose dialect 'change' meant 'break', asked if the merchant really meant '*ghayyar*'. 'Certainly', was the reply, but the merchant was astonished when the servant started to smash the pipe!

In Ṣan'ā', indeed everywhere in northern Yemen one sees on the ground the dried yellow trace of expectorated snuff, *burdaqān* or *burtuqān*, which all classes, but especially the tribesmen, keep as a quid in the mouth, though it can be taken by sniffing. Nazih al-Mu'ayyad al-'Azm²³⁹ saw snuff manufactories in Ṣan'ā' in the days of Imām Yaḥyā—mud houses with a number of small rooms in each of which were three or four handmills operated each by a Jewish girl or woman wearing bands of cloth to prevent the snuff from going up their noses. For working from sunrise to midday, when they rested and ate, then continuing till sunset, they were paid a quarter *riyāl*. A little dust (called *duḡduḡah*)²⁴⁰ was added to the tobacco to make the snuff, and the tobacco itself imported by the large merchants from Aden and Suez in quite considerable quantities. Qāḍī Ismā'il's proverb,²⁴¹ '*Lā tiftaḥ ḥuqqat-ak bayn ahl Khawlān*, Don't open your snuff-box when you are among Khawlān,' expresses their particular fondness for it, for if you do open your snuff-box all present will ask for a pinch—this is taken with the thumb and forefinger.

Types of tobacco known to the Yemen, apart from that imported from abroad, are *al-tutun al-Ḥamūmī* (which grows in the Tihāmah at al-Zaydiyyah),²⁴² *al-Ḥimyarī*,²⁴³ and *al-Khabī*.²⁴⁴ *Al-Ḥimyarī*, I was told, is supposed to be an indigenous variety that grew in the Yemen before tobacco came from America—al-Sayāghī calls it *tutun aswad*. This does not seem very likely. In Imām Yaḥyā's day, Nazih²⁴⁵ considered the *tutun* and *tumbāk* growing in various parts of the Yemen to be poor varieties for which imported stock might be substituted.

At the close of the 13th/19th century the Ottoman Turks imposed their Régie des Tabacs, attempting to create a Government monopoly. This giving 'authority to the Christian Italian over the Muslims and granting him the farming of tobacco (*taqbīl al-tutun al-tumbāk*), his taking all the tobacco found in the Ṣan'ā' tobaccoists' shops and his prohibiting them from selling it' gave rise to disturbances in the city. A body of the townsfolk met and went up to the Wālī (Governor) Aḥmad Fayḍī/Fayzī to refer the matter to him, and it was in turn referred to Constantinople. The reply from there confirmed the grant of the tobacco farming to the Italian and prohibition of selling tobacco except under licence from him. 'Through this,' says Zabārah,²⁴⁶ 'the Italian acted in an overbearing fashion to the Muslims, and even placed his assistants at the Gates of the city of Ṣan'ā' to search anyone entering and seize all tobacco they came upon on his person.' This is evidently a reference to the Caprotti²⁴⁷ brothers. It is interesting to read that one of the Italians going

to collect the tobacco at Manākhah in 1895-6 was killed, more or less by chance, by tribesman at al-Ḥaymah after a courageous resistance, and his riding animals sent by them to the Imām in the mountains.

The tobacco monopoly imposed by the Ottomans was keenly resented by the Yemenis for, according to Zabārah,²⁴⁸ 'the merchant would purchase a holding of Kāzīrūn (tobacco) and the like, and from him more than its price would be taken—so that he was obliged to put what was taken from him onto the price, plus expenses (*makhāsīr*), and sell it to poor folk (*du'aḡā*) at several times its (original) price so that his merchandise for a hundred *riyāls* would get sold at over two hundred and fifty *riyāls*.'

Nowadays there is a lively smuggling of cigarettes from Sa'ūdi Arabia into northern Yemen—this seems to contradict the idea that tobacco is not a profitable article of commerce to move from place to place as expressed in the proverb, 'Kāzīrūn—they lose—every time the donkey farts it loses a *raḡl* (in weight)' ²⁴⁹ Kāzīrūn is presumably tobacco imported from the town of that name in the Fars province of Persia, and since travellers record that the Yemen imported Persian tobacco²⁵⁰ long before the second Ottoman occupation the proverb itself may be quite old.

Spices, Condiments, Cosmetics

At the main entrance to the old city from the recent Shārī 'Abd al-Mughnī, there used to be stalls selling spices, condiments and cosmetics—by 1975 these had been moved to the high open bank forming the east side of the Sā'ilah, about half a dozen stalls at most, with an identical range of commodities. Samples of each item were purchased for the stall at the Ṣan'ā' Exhibition.²⁵¹ These were:

Turmeric (*hurud*) - 3 *ūqiyyah* for a *riyāl*.

Pounded pepper (*filfil madqūq*) - half a *raḡl* for 4 *riyāls*, but it was probably usually sold locally by a *waqiyyah* for 20 *buqshahs*.

Pepper corns (*filfil*) - a *waqiyyah* for 20 *buqshahs*.

Cummin (*kammūn*) - a *raḡl* for a *riyāl*.

Potash (*ḥuḡum*),²⁵² made from burning the '*aṣal* plant, used for washing clothes - a *raḡl* for two *riyāls*.

Walnuts (*jawz Hindī*), used in tea - sold by the nut, 30 *ḥabbahs* for 3 *riyāls*.

Saffron (*asfur*), price not recorded, used to colour food.

Cardamoms (*hayl*), 2 *ūqiyyahs* for 5 *riyāls*, a flavouring.

Cloves (*zirr*), 1 *ūqiyyah* for 2½ *riyāls*.

Black cummin (*quḡḡah* or *ḥabbah sawdā'*), sold by the heaped *naḡar* for 2½ *riyāls*.

Pounded fenugreek (*ḥulbah/hilbah madqūq*), a heaped *naḡar* for 2 *riyāls*.

Pounded chillies (*shaḡḡah madqūq*) - a plastic bag for two *riyāls*, weight not recorded.

Pounded chillies (*bisbās madqūq*), as the previous.

Ammi, also called wild aniseed or Abyssinian cummin (*nakhwah*),

excursion botanique faite en 1887, Paris, 1889, 56, describes MM. Luigi et Giuseppe Caprotti, 'negociants italiens, représentants de la maison Mazzucchelli et Perera, me souhaitent la bienvenue et mettent gracieusement à ma disposition un spacieux et confortable appartement dans la maison qu'ils habitent près de la mosquée Salah el-Din. Réconforté par cet accueil si cordial, je procède gaiement à mon installation. Dans la soirée, assis à la table hospitalière des frères Caprotti, j'oublie, en vidant une verre de vino spumante d'Asti à la santé de mes aimables hôtes, et les fatigues du voyage et les mauvais procédés du Vali Aziz-Pacha.' Guiseppe's services to Yemenite literature in purchasing and preserving rare Mss. were indeed great. He had a circular Arabic seal of which I have an impression in red ink.

248 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 66. Cf. A. K. S. Lambton, 'The Tobacco Régie: prelude to Revolution', *Studia Islamica*, XXII, 1965, 119-157, XXIII, 1967, 71-90.

249 *Kazirūn Khāsirūn, idhā ḡaraṣa 'l-ḥimār naḡaṣ raḡl*.

250 See p. 187a, n. 129.

251 Cf. *City of Ṣan'ā'*, ed. James Kirkman, London, 1976, 23.

252 E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic vocabulary*, 127.

237 *Timakkin* means *tukallif*.

238 One can be *mawla* *ī* of *qāt* or *tumbak*, or nowadays one says, of *khamr*, fondness for these is called *wil'ah*.

239 *Riḡlah*, I, 147-8.

240 Vocalisation uncertain.

241 Unpublished. The *ḥuqqah* used to be made of wood.

242 *Ḥamūmī* tobacco grows at Ghayl Bā Wazīr. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramūt*, calls the tobacco and tribe *Ḥumūmī*.

243 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2) II, 147.

244 This word might be derived from *khabī*, an uncultivated plain, or the *Gloss. daḡ*, *Khabī* *li-l-tutun*, with a craving for tobacco, used in Dathinah speech, with the same sense as *khamrah*. Al-'Arshī, *Bulūḡ al-marām*, op. cit., 421. (al-Kirmīli's note).

245 Op. cit., II, 236.

246 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2) II, 131, and 181.

247 Cf. pp. 93b, 99a. The Caprotti brothers, Luigi and Giuseppe, came from Magenta. Luigi died aged 30 in 1889, but Giuseppe continued another 30 years importing Italian goods. A. Defflers, *Voyage au Yemen, Journal d'une*

used in coffee (*qahwah*) - a quarter *raṭl* for 2 *riyāls*.
 Fennel (*shamār*), used with coffee - a quarter *raṭl* for 2 *riyāls*.
 Thyme (*za'tar*), 2 *nafars* for a *riyāl*.
 Java incense (*bakhūr/bukhūr fāwī*), for burning, - half a *raṭl* for 3½ *riyāls*.
 Water incense (*bukhūr mā'*), for perfuming water pots or putting in drinking water - a quarter *raṭl* for 3½ *riyāls*.
 Henna (*hinna*), half a *raṭl* for 2½ *riyāls*.
 Cinnamon (*qirfah*), a *waqiyyah* for a *riyāl*.
 Tamarind (*tamar Hindī*), a plastic bag for a *riyāl*, weight not recorded. It is also called *humar*.
 Ginger (*zinjaḥīl*), half a *raṭl* for 6 *riyāls*.
 Garlic (*thūmah*), a *raṭl* for 1½ *riyāls*.
 Coriander (*kabzarah*), a *naḥar* for 1½ *riyāls*.

Chillies (*bisbās*) loose, half a *raṭl* for 4 *riyāls*.
 Ma'rib salt (*milḥ Ma'ribī*), 2 *raṭls* for 2 *riyāls*.
Shādhar, unidentified, but this is an ICI product, a white bar with a stamp in Arabic, sold either whole or by a piece broken off it. After henna has been applied to the skin, a mixture of *ḥuṭum*-potash and *shādhar* pounded together, is applied to the skin to turn the colour black.

Most of these commodities are sold by the small measure called *naḥar*, but they also sell some by the *rub' naḥar*, *thumn naḥar*, and *thumn al-thumn* if the customer wishes. As *Qānūn Şan'ā'* commends, the salesman usually adds a little extra to ensure that he is not selling short measure. For weights lumps of metal, not stamped cast weights are commonly used.

Chapter 13 (1)

The Statute of Ṣan‘ā’

(Qānūn Ṣan‘ā’)

Introduction

The *Statute*¹ of Ṣan‘ā’, a collection of market regulations, is at present accessible to us in the form published by Qāḍī Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāghī,² and in his typescript summary³ containing two additional pieces made available to us by Qāḍī ‘Alī Abu ‘l-Rijāl, Deputy Minister of Works. The text⁴ which presents many difficulties was thoroughly studied in 1972 with Qāḍī Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī al-Akwa’, though a few unsolved problems of language and background remain, and al-Sayāghī’s useful notes and introduction have been drawn upon where relevant.

Two Ms. texts were used by al-Sayāghī, the first of which, Document A (Basic), bore the heading,

1. ‘This is the copy of the Regulation (*Qā‘idah*) laid down in the Statute (*Qānūn*) which my father, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mutawakkil ‘ala Allāh al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (1128-39/1716-1726-7), Commander of the Faithful, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (God’s pleasure be upon them), laid down, this taking place during the governorship (*imālah*) of the faqīh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Khazindār⁵ over the city of Ṣan‘ā’ the protected (*al-mahmiyyah*) by Exalted God.’

The various sections of the Statute follow, the author concluding,

‘Now that this written ordained exemplar (*mithāl marsūm*)⁶ and Statute inscribed (*qānūn marqūm*) is laid down, let everyone bearing the name of the loftiest faith (*īmān*) and those whom Mahdī-an solicitude envelopes with regard for (his) well-being and security (*īmān*), set (it) as a guide-mark. The Commander of the Faithful, God bless him, has guided to that to which the

shar‘ (law) directs, and overwhelmed both great and small with all manner of benefits. So it is not lawful to anyone whosoever it be to whose ears has come the regulation of this Statute (*qā‘idah hādha ‘l-Qānūn*) to refrain for one moment, from acting in accordance with what it contains. The transcription (*zabr*) of this ordinance was concluded in preserved Ṣan‘ā’, the protected of Exalted God in the month of Dhu ‘l-Qa‘dah al-Ḥarām of the year 1161/October, 1748.’⁷ At the head of the copy, under the seal (*‘alāmah*) of the Imām al-Mahdī ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. al-Manṣūr ‘Alī b. al-Mahdī b. al-Abbās (1231-51/1816-1835-6) appears an undated noted, ‘This Statute, established in the interests (*maṣāliḥ*) of the Muslims, is to be relied upon, and whatever the change in prices in the (present) age necessitates is to be set before our penetrating gaze, dated . . .’ This note then re-affirms the validity of the Statute but permits of appropriate modifications.

2. The second text, Document B, is that actually published by al-Sayāghī—which embodies the previous text of 1161/1748. It was laid down by order of the Imām al-Mahdī ‘Abdullāh mentioned in the immediately preceding paragraph, as the writer of it, the faqīh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥaymī⁸ recounts, the latter being commanded to include additional material (*ziyādāt*)⁹ upon which it was obligatory to act. This Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī was the governor (*‘amil*) of Ṣan‘ā’ in the time of the Imām al-Mahdī ‘Abdullāh. He tells us,

‘The transcription of it (the basic document no. 1), taken from the text of the Statute (*Qānūn*) which the respected governor

1 *Qānūn* can, by extension, mean *majbā*, a duty, customs tax. Al-Jarmūzī, *Ṣirah*, 300, alludes to a *majbā* called *qānūn* taken by governors in the Yemen Tihāmah on those using the roads, and (257) to a *qānūn* paid on wine to the Ḥaḍramī sultan when sold at al-Shihr. Muḥahhar b. Muḥ. al-Jarmūzī in a Ms. copy of *al-Jawharah al-munirah . . . fi akhbār . . . al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim*—this Imām (flor. 1054-87/1644-76), took over the administration of the Mocha suq, and, finding tyranny (*jawr*) there, remitted three quarters of each *qānūn*.

2 ‘Qānūn Ṣan‘ā’’, *Majallat al-makḥṣūṭat*, Cairo, 1964, 273-307.

3 *Qānūn Ṣan‘ā’ li-awqā‘i-hā fi ‘l-qarn al-thālith ‘ashar*.

4 The text contains a number of printer’s slips owing to hurried publication, but the editing is often insufficient to clarify the text, and the introduction by al-Sayāghī, though containing valuable data, is confused in presentation.

5 Khazindār means *amin al-ṣundūq*, treasurer. Of this official *Nashr al-‘arf*, I, 300, tells us that he was descended from Turks who remained in the Yemen after the end of the first Ottoman occupation, but *al-Khazrajī*, text, I, 328, *passim*, mentions a family of this name prior to the Ottomans, and cf. Hikoichi Yajima, *Chronicle*, 126, 144, *passim*. ‘The city of Ṣan‘ā’ was taken

over by him (as governor) and he acted well in it. He fixed its weights and measures (*mawāzin*) and whatever embellishes it. He managed its affairs and finances (*aḥwāl-hā wa-amwāl-hā*), put down evil-doers in it, and took vigorous measures to deal with and punish a group of the Government slaves (*‘abid al-dawlah*) and irresponsibles (*sufahā*) so that he withheld their hands from the unarmed (*du‘afā*) and poor folk of the city.’ He appears to have been governor of Ṣan‘ā’ from 1132-46/1719-20—1733-4. *Nashr al-‘arf*, II, 422, says he was imprisoned for a short time by al-Mahdī. *Masājid Ṣan‘ā’*, 53, mentions a house of the faqīh Aḥmad Khazindār near Masjid al-Zubayr, perhaps an ancestor.

6 *Marsūm* also means a diploma.

7 Al-Sayāghī states that this is a rendering of the original ‘a little free’.

8 Al-Sayāghī quotes a descendant of al-Ḥaymī as stating that the latter was an intelligent man, a good faqīh, and that he took over the governorship of Ṣan‘ā’ in the time of al-Mahdī ‘Abdullāh. It looks as if it was a descendant of his, Muḥ. b. Muḥ. b. Aḥmad, who was later a governor of Ṣan‘ā’. Cf. Zabārah, *A‘immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 35.

9 Indicated by the word (Supplementary) in the translation below.

(*ḥākim*), the very learned, the celebrated 'Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣaḥūlī,¹⁰ God rest him, confirmed and put into execution is terminated. Upon it is the noble seal (*al-'alāmat al-sharīfah*), the seal of our Lord the majestic Imām, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Lord of the Worlds, al-'Abbās, son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Husayn b. al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh (reigned 1163-89/1750-75), God's pleasure be upon them all. Dated Dhu 'l-Qa'dah al-Ḥarām 1161/1748.' Al-Ḥaymī continues, 'This is the *Supplement* (*al-Ziyādah*) that requires setting down so as to seek out the benefits of it—if Exalted God will.'

Al-Ḥaymī then re-iterates each item of the basic document no. 1—to which he appends the particular *Supplement* appropriate to it, adding in conclusion,

'The written/ordained exemplar (*mithāl marsūm*) and the Statute inscribed (*qānūn marqūm*) on the authority of the Commander of the Faithful and Lord of the Muslims, may God preserve him, Amen, is concluded. To act in accordance with it is obligatory, as is to reprove anyone who disobeys its sound dictates (*al-qawīm min katbi-hi*). We beseech God to guide us on ways of uprightness and to teach us happiness, uprightness and the right course, and to make us guides truly guided, neither straying nor leading astray. By the right of Muḥammad al-Amin¹¹ (the Trust-worthy) and his Pure Family, God bless him and his Family, all, and his rightly guided Companions, and deliver them a good and blessed delivery up to the Day of Judgement. Penned in the month of Jumād (*sic*) I, year 1234 H./February-March, 1819 by the meanest of God's servants and the one of them most in need of His mercy, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaymī, may God pardon him, his parents and all Muslim men and women, Amen, O God, Amen.'

Historical Antecedents to the Statute of Ṣan'ā'

It can hardly be doubted that the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* had antecedents remounting to quite early Islamic times, perhaps even to the pre-Islamic age.¹² For the Islamic period however no actual document embodying the ordinances for the markets of Ṣan'ā' is, as yet, known to have existed prior to the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks from it in 1629-30 A.D. Nevertheless the legal opinions¹³ of the first Zaydī Imām al-Ḥādī (248-98/898-911) where market-law is in question are in general correspondence with the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, though they must have been delivered mainly in Ṣa'dah as his stay in Ṣan'ā' was brief. His ordering of the market of Ṣa'dah as reported in the *Sīrah* is specially insistent on price-fixing—a subject with which the present *Qānūn* is so closely concerned.

The principle that it is prohibited that goods on the way to market be intercepted, to the advantage of the person intercepting them, has persisted from the pre-Islamic age of the Timna' market, is embodied in the *ḥisbah* manuals, and persists today in Ṣan'ā' and other south Arabian towns. It is embodied in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* in appropriate cases such as the purchase of coffee-husk, oil and ghee (section 10) and firewood (section 21). From the latter case, the prohibition that individuals should buy timber and

the restriction of purchasing it to the two depots (p.253a), is a simple extension, if in fact it is not merely the re-affirmation of an already existing regulation. Indeed this is probable since the principle of price-fixing of raw timber in the *Qānūn* (section 31 a) is repeated in the modern document.

The Preamble to the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* alludes to a *Qānūn* of al-Mutawwakil . . . Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim (regned 1054-87/1644-5 to 1676-7). Of this Imām the historian al-Jarmūzī¹⁴ tells us, 'In his *maqām* (residence) he investigated the Statute (*Qānūn*) of the city and altered (certain) matters of which he disapproved. He acquainted himself minutely with the reprehensible things (*al-munkarāt*) until scarcely anything was hidden from him. He established the statutory punishments (*ḥudūd*) and the *ta'zīrāt* (punishments decided by a judge), demolishing dwellings which belonged to harlots (*baghiyyāt*) and probing deeply into the dues (*wājibāt*).'¹⁵ This *Qānūn* appears to have been a written document—to judge by the contexts at least—but if it still is extant I have seen no copy. However, in 1066/1655-6 the Commercial Statute (*Qānūn al-Bay' wa-'l-Shirā'*)¹⁶ of Ṣan'ā' is invoked against the Hindu Bāniyāns who had been putting up prices, so it presumably contained provisions on price-fixing as indeed the Preamble avers.

Al-Mutawakkil seems to have been the first Zaydī Imām to control Ṣan'ā' after the departure of the Ottoman Turks. It can hardly be doubted that the strictly Sunnī Turkish governors, especially such as Sinān who concerned himself closely with the *waqfs* of Ṣan'ā', paid attention to the administration of the Markets, though at present no information is available as to whether they made any alteration to the tradition of Market custom, either to bring it into line with Ḥanafī practice or for some other reason. The Turks probably tolerated brothels in Ṣan'ā' as one may deduce from al-Mutawakkil's reforms, for the use of Turkish troops in the garrison, whereas the Zaydī Imāms and quite likely even popular feeling in Ṣan'ā' would be averse to this. Profligacy and wine-drinking¹⁷ do not, however, come within the scope of the *Qānūn* of Ṣan'ā', but would be dealt with under the *sharī'ah* in the ordinary way. A Statute or *Qānūn* of Ṣan'ā' was clearly in existence before al-Mutawakkil's reforms and with fair certainty it may be assumed to have been a written document.

List of Market Statutes (*Qānūn*) Known to Yemeni History

1. The pre-Mutawakkil *Qānūn*, probably the customary law of the Markets observed during Ottoman occupation and perhaps even before that.
2. *Qānūn al-Mutawakkil*, issued before 1066/1655.
3. Document A (Basic), compiled between 1128-39/1716 to 1726-7, and copied in 1161/1748. It was confirmed by 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil (1231-51/1815-6 to 1835-6), at an unspecified date.
4. Document B, consisting of A (Basic) plus the Supplement. This was compiled by order of 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil (1231-51/1815-6 to 1835-6) and contains;
 1. Al-Ṣaḥūlī's copy of an original document A (Basic) dated 1161/1748.

it contains regulations against intercepting grain coming in from the countryside. See p.164b seq.

13 *Sīrah*, 386, and in 'Abd al-Khalīq Kāzi, *Critical Edition of the Kitāb al-Muntakhab fi'l-Fiqh*—a collection of answers of the Zaidī Imām Yahyā b. al-Husayn to questions by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Kūfī. Thesis in the Library of the S.O.A.S.

14 *Al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 270.

15 By *wājibāt* the Islamic taxes are usually meant.

16 Cf. p.433.

17 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 817, states that in 1031/1621-2 A.D., the new Turkish governor prevented the people of the Dhimmah, the Jews, from selling wine, and punished a number of persons for drinking it; two years later he had wine in Dhimmī houses poured away and executed a Dhimmī who had sold wine after his prohibition of selling it. In 1034/1624-5, a new Pasha, Ḥaydar, not only drank wine himself, but it was openly sold in the markets as if the *Qur'ān* had never prohibited it.

10 His biography is given by Zabārah, *Nayl al-waṭar*, II, 384, no. 525, where he is described as *qādī 'l-quḍāh* and *wazīr* (1134-1209/1721-1794-5), a legist and administrator who seems to have been expert in *qawā'id al-amwāl*, probably on the management of state properties. Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tālī*, II, 333, calls him the *marja'*, ultimate legal authority for all *qādis* of the Yemen; he had a comprehensive knowledge of all customary law matters (*al-umūr al-'urfīyyah*), accompanied by great sagacity. In his time he was Shaykh al-Islām. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 850, adds that his great grandfather Husayn (ob. 1073/1662-3) was *ḥākim* of Ṣan'ā' and his grandfather (ob. 1113/1701-2) was a settler/confirmer of the regulations (? *muqarrir li-'l-qawā'id*). It is he whose *raqm* and *marsum* are appended to the *Qānūn*, pp.233-34.

11 The epithet *Amīn* may be used intentionally, though commonly given to the Prophet anyway, to reflect the term *umanā'* (sing. *amin*), 'honest men' much used in the Statute.

12 Cf. A. F. L. Beeston, 'The mercantile code of Qatabān', *Qaṭān*, London, 1959. This inscription comes from Kuḥlān-Timna' of the Wādī Bayḥān, and if it be accepted that the root *shyṭ* means to purchase grain, it looks as if

II. The Supplement (*Ziyādah*), dated 1234/1819.

It appears then possible to trace back documents of the law of the Markets of *Ṣan'ā'* to approximately the early 11th/17th Century.

The Style and Language of Qānūn Ṣan'ā'

The *Qānūn* is couched in written colloquial *Ṣan'ānī*, i.e. following the loose grammar of the spoken language and employing colloquial diction, yet also showing the strong influence of the literary language—so that it cannot be characterised as simply the spoken Arabic of the city. There is a large number of technical terms unknown to the lexicons, and the writers, familiar with the background, use short cuts to express what they want to say, much as in speech, giving little explanatory detail even of the briefest sort. (For example an adjective qualifying a defined noun is quite often separated from it by an intervening phrase.) For these reasons the *Qānūn*, at first sight, often seems cryptic, and, in translations, it is necessary to supply (within brackets) explanatory matter to complete and convey the full sense of the Arabic original. To enable the text to run with as much smoothness and clarity as can be achieved and preserve the feeling of the Arabic, other data have been relegated to the footnotes. The Supplementary passages (*al-Zawā'id*) differ a little in style from the basic *Qānūn*—perhaps one might even detect slight differences in style between parts of the basic *Qānūn* itself. Al-Sayāghī's text must be accepted as he has copied it, with, of course, the correction of the obvious misprints, but one occasionally suspects a corrupt phrase going beyond mere printer's errors. The punctuation, which has doubtless been inserted by the editor, is patently unreliable and frequently better ignored.

Al-Sayāghī's notes have been used though they are not always very enlightening, and he leaves a number of problematical terms without comment. Some of the vocabulary may be unknown to *Ṣan'ānīs* themselves today—for example I have not as yet found a *Ṣan'ānī* who knew the farriery terms of the *Qānūn*, though tethering rings for horses, mules and donkeys can be seen fixed to many house-walls in the old town.

In contrast to the *Qānūn*, the Preamble by the scholarly Qāḍī al-Ḥaymī is in formal ornate prose, rather pompous, employing rhyme (*ṣaj'*) and some technical legal terms—a rather wearisome style out of which the sense has to be teased.

The Translation

The printed Arabic text indicates each place where additions to Document A (Basic) commence—in the translation these are introduced by the word *Supplementary*. It has had to be assumed that the end of a *Supplementary* paragraph actually terminates the addition—and that a next following paragraph not so marked, resumes Document A (Basic). Yet the translator has had doubts whether, in certain places, this is in fact so.

Clauses of Document A (Basic) are given Roman numerals. *Supplementary* sections have their clauses indicated by letters of the alphabet. None of these numerals appear in the Arabic text which has been arranged arbitrarily into clauses in the English translation. South Arabian documents of this sort do not normally separate their contents into a series of clauses.

Each main section has, for convenience, been numbered in the translation, and one sub-title (no. 38) has been added to those supplied by al-Sayāghī's text. Al-Sayāghī states that he has added some sub-titles within brackets, but a scrutiny of the printed Arabic text indicates that many bracketed sub-titles can only be part of the original Ms. If not then these sections would have no application—e.g., nos. 39 and 40 have bracketed sub-titles referring to the Jews of 'Aqīl and the Hindu Bāniyāns but these are essential to the sections. As the employment of brackets is

inconsistent the translation ignores their existence. Words bracketed in the body of the text have been similarly treated.

The translation attempts—as far as possible—to indicate by brackets such words and phrases it is essential to introduce in order to convey the full meaning of the Arabic text. I have attempted to give, if feasible, a uniform English equivalent. Terms equivocal in sense, or technical, are frequently inserted after the English rendering in transliterated Arabic to ensure greater precision.

The numerals following the headings of the various sections refer to the pages of the printed Arabic text.

Analysis of the Sections of the Qānūn by Documents

A (Basic)—early 12th/18th century

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50.

B (Supplement)—early 13th/19th century

1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48.

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The Statute of Ṣan'ā' (*Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*)

Preamble

In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Praise to God who, in his Noble Book, revealed, 'O those who have believed, do not consume your properties among yourselves unprofitably, but let there be trading between you by mutual consent.' (*Qur'ān*, IV, 29).

But—how far things are from that!

Where does the connection lie between this (verse) and such as he who, if what he has in his hand shows itself to him to be in demand, makes much¹⁸ of it, schemes¹⁹ to cheat the would-be buyer, exaggerating and coercing? Where, too, does the connection lie between (this verse) and him who, when brought some article for sale, looks it over, then frowns, and, if he does chaffer for it, belittles it and does it out of a fair price?²⁰ Blessings and peace upon Muḥammad the Trustworthy,²¹ benevolent to the Believers, and upon his Blessed Family and rightly guided Companions!

Now—when the self-interested had mounted to the heights of greed, turning from application and lending an ear to religious law, to plunge for profits into commerce,²² regardless of the (stormy) billows of those seas, refusing to seek the light but staying ever in the dark shades of inflating (prices), be it by false assertions even, forsaking the (considered) views of eminent ulema, abandoning the dicta of the thinkers of the community of Islam, all but perishing in the dark deserts of death while shunning the lamps (that would light them) on those ways—then shone forth the Sun of honourable Approval and the Moon of elevated and lofty Opinion came to its full—to wit) the Approval²³ of our Master the Commander of the Faithful, and the Opinion²⁴ of our Ruler the Lord of the Muslims, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh²⁵ (Lord of the Universe), may God support him with victory and empower him

(over his foes), making the Law (*Sharī'ah*) of his Ancestor, Lord of the Apostles, flourish through his prowess. Thus, through this brilliance (from his Sun) were enlightened those places where the interests of (God's) servants lie, and the benefits to both townsman (*ḥāḍir*) and countryman (*bād-in*) attained their fullness.

I considered God's words, 'And it is not for a believing man or a believing woman, when God and His Apostle have decided a matter, that they should have a choice in their matter, and whosoever disobeys God and His Apostle is in manifest error.' (*Qur'ān* XXXIII, 36). Then I hastened to re-consult²⁶ the Imāmic Statute (*Qānūn*)—insofar as my comprehension could guide me to this—namely the Statute established through the Approval²⁷ of our Master, the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Lord of the Universe, al-Qāsim b. al-Husayn²⁸ God rest him, embodying (his declaration on) price-fixing (*tas'ir*), except on the two foodstuffs (*al-qūtān*), deriving its support from the statute (*Qānūn*) of al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Ismā'il,²⁹ God rest him, approved by the *mujtahids*, generation after generation.

I considered (this) and the last light of the proof (*dalīl*) appeared to me, and it constituted, along with those affairs/commands, an established basis—namely what has been substantiated in the two Ṣaḥīḥs³⁰ concerning the evaluation (*taqwīm*) of a slave at the price of another like him, neither more nor less.³¹ With my pen I wrote down what I found comprehensible following that pattern, and what I opined when its (the pattern's) traces had vanished, as also that of which the general and particular had become obscure to the reader, such as what is expressed in it (the *Qānūn*) by the *kabīr*,³² the *kabīrayn*, the *ḥarf*, and the *ḥarfayn*, connected with that Mutawakkilite coinage and the statutes of that by-gone community—the change for the French *qirsh*³² being two *ḥarfs*. Herein I follow a path which the people of the present age understand, the change for the *qirsh* being eighty *buqshahs* in these times (of ours). At the end of it I have added what he overlooked though requiring explanation.

I then said, 'In God lies success. He it is of whom help is sought. How far he is from any imperfection, Exalted, Majestic in power.'

Text

1. The Cloth Market (Sūq al-Bazz) 282

i. Merchandise consisting of cloth arriving from Mocha (al-Mukhā) and other ports (*banādīr*)³³—(what costs) ten shall (be sold) at eleven and a half. Whatever the purchaser (i.e. local merchant) buys in Ṣan'ā'—of that which he buys by the score (*kawrajah*) ten (shall be sold at) eleven—of that which he buys by the bolt (*ṭāqah*) ten (shall be sold at) eleven—and of that which he buys by the cubit (*dhīrā'*) ten (shall be sold at) eleven.

18 Reading *tazayyan* for *tazabbān*, but the latter is possible, in the sense of to treat somebody as liable to be defrauded.

19 Paraphrased as *khaffaṭa khuffat taḥḥir*.

20 *Wakḥasa wa-bukḥasa*, a cliché. Al-Sayāghī explains *bakḥasa* as *bakḥasa-hu ḥaḡga-hu*, he wronged him (of what was due). Both words are said to mean *naqs*. Cf. *Wakḥasa/awḥasa* 'i-tajir fi tijarat-hi, the merchant failed in his trading. The verbal noun is *wakhs*.

21 Cf. n. 10.

22 A more appropriate reading here might be *al-abḥār* for *al-ittijār*—'to plunge into the seas'.

23 Arabic *tarjīḥ*, lit. to approve after examination (Dozy). Every Imām has his choice of the particular view to make on a given issue. Cf. Qāḍī 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shamāhī, *Sirāt al-'arīfīn ilā idrāk ikhtiyārāt Amir al-Mu'minin*, Maṭba'at al-Ma'arīf al-Jalīlah, Ṣan'ā', 1356 H., 3-4. Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 7-8, speaks of the *tarjīḥāt* of al-Hādī, the first Imām of the Yemen, whose books and school spread about in al-Jīl and al-Daylam as well as the Yemen itself. An example of his *tarjīḥāt* is given concerning *Qur'ān*, IX, 29, 'O, those who have believed, the Polytheists are unclean (*najas-un*)...' On the authority of al-Ḥasan—whosever shakes hands (*ṣāḡah*) with a Polytheist must perform the ritual ablution (*wuḍū'*)—this is also the tenet of al-Hādī and the Imāms of the Zaydiyyah. Another example of his *tarjīḥāt* was his initiative in making witnesses swear in a legal judgement that he gave. *Rajjaḥa 'l-Imām fi 'l-qāḍiyyah al-fulāniyyah* means *ra'ā kadḥa wa-kadḥā*.

24 The technical term *ra'y* is used.

25 I.e., al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh of the early 13th/19th century, who ordered the

Qānūn to be reissued as it is in Document B.

26 *Mu'awadah*, i.e. *murāja'ah*.

27 *Tarjīḥ*, cf. f.n. 23.

28 I.e., the Imām who laid down the *Qānūn* in the first part of the 12th/18th century.

29 I.e., Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim, 1054-87/1644-1676-7.

30 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Bulāq, 1290, I, 440 (*al-'itq*) quotes Traditions that the Prophet declared that whoever frees a part/share belonging to him in a slave, his (the slave's) redemption shall come from his property/money if he has any. If he has no property then the slave is valued at the price of the like (of him) (*quwwima 'alayhi l-'abd qimat al-'idl*). Cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, edit. L. Krehl, Leiden, 1862-1908, II, III, (*al-shirkah*), (*passim*).

31 *Bilā waks wa-lā shaḡaḡ*, the last word meaning according to Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, *jawr*, but Qāḍī Ismā'il gave it the sense of *al-mughālāh fi 'l-si'r*.

32 For these coins see p. 30ba, 309a, seq.

33 *Bandar*, port, is sometimes applied to the inland towns in the Yemen.

The provisions in this section imply the existence of some bill of lading or manifest from Mocha with the merchant importing the cloth to Ṣan'ā' on the basis of which the retail price was calculated. Bills of lading were in regular use in the 15th century and later (cf. *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, 34, 105, 173-4), and a *taḡḍīr* was in use in Ṣan'ā' (p. 231b). Cloth imported to Ṣan'ā' is sold at a profit of 15% but locally purchased cloth only sells at a profit of 10%. In 1073/1662-3, according to *Ṭabaq al-hakwā*, 49, a very little cloth (*bazz*) was getting into Mocha because of the trouble (*ḡinah*) the Franks had been making.

ii. Ḥaḍramī cloth³⁴—the profit on ten shall be eleven. Head-wraps (*nuqab*)³⁵—to dye these in Ṣan'ā' is prohibited unless they be displayed before the Shaykh of the Market, an honest (*amin*) man of integrity (*adl*), lest a man defraud by (dyeing) an old one (to look new).

iii. (In the case of) Zabīd cloth likewise, ten shall be (sold for) eleven. Hodeidah,³⁶ Yarīm, and Wuṣāb cloth (shall be dealt with) in the same way.

(Supplementary) 282

a. Cloth shall be sold by the (iron) *dhirā'*³⁷ only, stamped with the name of the Commander of the Faithful.

b. No one who is known for slowness³⁸ in payment, or who has gone bankrupt shall buy, but must³⁹ be suspended. If he does buy and the commission agent (*dallāl*)⁴⁰ displays⁴¹ some goods belonging to a stranger (*gharīb*) to him—as soon as the commission agent stands surety (*ḍamān*) for⁴² the goods of the stranger he must be punished⁴³ and severely reprimanded.

c. The people of the Cloth Market are required to provide the watch (*ḥirāsah*) when the town needs watchmen (*ḥurrās*), paying the customary⁴⁴ wage of the watch for which they are liable. They are required to provide part of the fleece-lined coats (*jurum*)⁴⁵ distributed⁴⁶ each year to the watch, under the supervision of the Shaykh of the Police (Shurṭah), each family⁴⁷ being liable for thirty-two *qirsh* ready money (*ʿadadiyyah*)⁴⁸ plus a *qirsh* as collection⁴⁹ charge on that.

d. For dealing wholesale (*ijbār*)⁵⁰ in the Cloth Market twenty-four *qirsh* ready money must be paid, plus a *qirsh* and a half

collection charge. Individual (cloth-merchants) of the Cloth Market must pay eleven *qirsh* plus half a *qirsh* collection charge. The allotment (*tafrīd*) of these (rates) shall be (effected) in accordance with the known regulations (*qawā'id*) issued by the respected *ḥākim*⁵¹ (and) kept in the hands of the Shaykh al-Mashāyikh.

2. The Market of Ḥaḍramī Cloth (Sūq al-Ḥaḍramī)⁵² 283

i. The avoidance of fraudulence over head-wraps (*nuqab*) is stipulatory upon them.

ii. Anyone against whom there is evidence of slowness in payment to the stranger (*gharīb*) shall be suspended from buying until he settles in full.

iii. They are responsible for watch duty (*ḥirāsah*) when the town has need (of it). They are required to provide the customary fleece-lined coats for the watch, (contributing) sixteen and a quarter *qirsh* plus a *qirsh* collection charge on that, in accordance with the custom(ary payment ?) and the allotment of it in the original document (*al-umm*).⁵³

3. The Silver Market (Sūq al-Fiḍḍah) 283

i. Silver purchased from the Jews (*Dhimmiyyīn*) and others, whatever (silver) it be—silver *qirsh* coin (*qirsh ḥajar*)⁵⁴ or Maghribī (Western silver ?),⁵⁵ or Buhārī (Bohrah silver ?),⁵⁶ consisting of seven less one third—i.e. seven *qafḥahs* less a third—the profit (*maṣlaḥah*) for the owner of the capital (*rās al-māl*) shall be seven *buqshahs* to the *waqīyyah*.⁵⁷

ii. Silver other than the afore-going is broken up to become small

34 Ḥaḍramī cloth would reach Ṣan'ā' both by the land and sea routes. Al-Shihr port still had active looms in the sixties of this century and would presumably export its wares by sea to Mocha. Al-Jarmūzī, 235, speaks of the cloth named after Ḥabbān (of the Wāḥidī Sultanate) 'a large village, nearly a town', about the middle of the 17th century, a town where there were looms still working about the 1940's. The *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 63 b, records that a caravan from Ḥaḍramawt was plundered in the Jawf area in 1077/1666-7. Tarīm, at one time, also had a large population of weavers and might, conceivably, have exported to the Yemen. Al-Jarmūzī, 147, says of al-Bayḍā', 'Their clothing, like the rest of the Mashāyikh of al-Mashriq is only a waist-wrapper (*mizar*) and a *liḥfah* of the top quality of choice al-Shihr cloth.' The tribal chiefs here go to great trouble to decorate (with silver) their arms which are the *bunduq* and powder-horn (*iddah*), and they wear their hair long.

35 Sing. *nuqbah* in Ḥaḍramawt, al-Sayāghī gives *naqbah*, pl. *niqbah*. These are black also, like a modern Ḥaḍramī *nuqbah* in our possession, but the Yemeni *maḡwan* is a rectangular cloth wrapped round a woman's head and shoulders. It is smaller than a *siṭarah* which reaches to the ground.

W. B. Harris, *Journey through the Yemen*, 312, noted caravans from Ḥaḍramawt and Yāfi' at the Ṣan'ā' *khāns* or hostleries.

Nazīh Riḥlah, I, 291, refers to caravans of Ḥaḍramawt to al-Bayḍā', Radā' and Ṣan'ā'.

36 Hodeidah has a Quarter named after the weavers Ḥārat al-Hawak (Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 110). Ḥudaydah and Wuṣāb cloth may resemble that still made today at Bayt al-Faqīh where *wuzars* are made for the tribes, also the *liḥfah* of white cotton with red and yellow stripes for waist-wrappers or turbans, reinforced (*yitqawwā*) with starch called *burr* (lit. wheat) at the time of sale. There are about half a dozen looms still working at Bayt al-Faqīh, each about 16 feet in length; the winding of the cotton twist is done on a little wooden machine called *sīdar haqq al-kabīb* which *yikubb-uh*, winds it into balls. Cloth is also said to be made in Bājil. Imām Aḥmad encouraged the weavers to manufacture this type of Tihāmāh cloth at Bayt al-Faqīh when he had subjugated the Zarānīq, as well as *burūd* (of wool ?) after the prevailing insecurity had put an end to weaving there (Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 35).

37 Paolo Costa purchased two iron *dhirā'* cloth measures in Ṣan'ā', one still in his possession is 65cms and bears a stamp upon which *al-niṣf* can be made out, with possibly a date. The other which he presented to me is 20 3/16" long the breadth at the narrowest point 6/16" and at the two splayed ends 10/16". *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 32, states that the iron *dhirā'* in Ṣan'ā' is 66 2/3cms. C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen*, 220, makes a *dhirā'* 66cms. The *dhirā'* of al-Ḥādī the first Zaydī Imām is recorded as being a *dhirā' wa rub' wa-thumn*, i.e., a cubit plus a quarter plus an eighth.

38 In the unpublished section of his *al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyyah*, Qāḍī Ismā'īl al-Akwa' cites, '*Khudh min al-maṣṣāl ḥajar*, Accept (even) a stone from the slow payer.' This is so that you may get paid what he owes even if by slow degrees. Thursday is the day for settling weekly payments in Ṣan'ā'.

39 *Istahaqq* here means *wajaba*.

40 The Ṣan'āni *dallāl* does not perform the same function as the Ḥaḍramī *dallāl*. Cf. section 4 infra.

41 *Dalla*, explained as '*arḍu-hu la-hu biḍā'at al-gharīb*. The *gharīb* is a person stranger to Ṣan'ā', not a Ṣan'āni.

42 Al-Sayāghī's typescript summary (see p. 179a) understands this to mean if the *dallāl* delivers some of the property of the stranger to the man who has been suspended.

43 *Ta'dīb* is any sort of punishment, fine, reprimand, prison, as used in this document.

44 *Mu'tāḍah* is almost certainly to be read for the text's *mu'tāḍin*. Cf. al-Jarmūzī, 183, '*awā'idu-hu al-mu'tāḍah muḡrāt-un min-hu*, and *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 209.

45 *Jurum*, sing., *jaram*, the long coats lined with sheep's fleeces worn in the Yemen highlands, including Ṣan'ā' town to keep out the winter cold.

46 *Mafrūq*—cf. *al-farq 'alā ahl al-qaryah*, a sum imposed on the villagers, *yafriqu-hā*, they impose it. Cf. *tafrīd*, section 1, *Sup. d*.

47 *Ashirah*, usually a small sub-tribe, sept, community—the meaning here is dubious.

48 *ʿAdadiyyah* means *ma'dūdah*, lit. counted out, i.e. ready money. The editor of an article in the same issue of the *Majallat al-makhṭūṭāt* entitled *Dirāsah li-ba'd al-wathā'iq tata'allāq bi-bay' wa-shrā khuyūl fi 'l-'asr al-Mamlūki*, 250, states that the expression is used for money paid by coins counted out, not by weight.

49 *Siyāq*, below, *siyāqah*, is said to mean *ujrat al-naql*, cost of transport.

50 *Jabr* means *al-bay' bi-'l-jumliyah*, wholesale.

51 Explained as *al-ṣādirah min al-qāḍī al-mawṭūq bi-hi*. *Al-ḥākim al-mu'tabar* seems to be the title by which the *qāḍīs* of towns are described as also in *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 752.

52 The existence of a special Ḥaḍramī cloth market is curious, possibly indicating that there was an appreciable import of Ḥaḍramī cloth into Ṣan'ā'.

53 Does this mean *Qānūn al-Mutawakkil* or some special agreement about watch duties?

54 *A riḡāl ḥajar* I was told in 1966 means *jāmid*, i.e. *ṣaḥīḥ*, sound. Richard F. Burton, *Personal narrative of a pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, London, 1893, I, 370, also calls *qirsh ḥajar* 'a sound dollar'. Cf. *The Portuguese*, 153-4. Niebuhr, *Description*, III, 191, says the *qirsh ḥajar* is a German Crown or an *écu d'Espagne*. For *riḡāls* in general see G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, 'The late Francisco Carbone's collection of thalers from Yemen', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1977, VII, XVII, 148-51.

55 At this period silver coin is unlikely to have come from North Africa to the Yemen, so Maghribī is rendered as 'Western'. Thomas Brooks, *An authentic account* . . . 45, speaks of Spanish dollars, Cruzadoes, English, French and German Crowns, Mexico and Pillar Dollars at Mocha about this period.

56 This may indicate the existence of a Bohrah community in 18th century Ṣan'ā'. At a much earlier period, Shahzādī Shehrbanu informs me Sayyidi Ḥasan b. Nūḥ, who plays a part in the Yemen history of the Bohrah (Da'wah Ḥādīyah) movement at that time, the 10th/16th century, and who is buried at Masār, was an Indian merchant of Broach dealing in silver.

57 Both Qāḍī Ismā'īl and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī with whom I discussed this section considered that it was a case of melting down coined silver into ingots, which were then sold for the weight of the silver plus a profit of seven *buqshahs* to the *waqīyyah*. The passage seems to imply that the ordinary silver standard is six and two thirds *qafḥahs* of pure silver plus an alloy content of one third of a *qafḥah*—the alloy no doubt of copper. *Mukhlāṣ* would be 100% silver, but the ordinary standard, described here, would have 1 part of alloy to 20 parts of silver. There are ten *qafḥahs* to the *waqīyyah* which is a *riḡāl*, *qirsh* or dollar, so I calculate the profit on smelting at 7/80ths of a dollar, i.e. 8.75%. The main cost would be for charcoal (*sawd*). A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, II, 55, speaks of alloys, *nuṣfi*, half copper, *rub'ī*, a quarter silver and three quarters copper. For Zaydī law on selling gold or silver see Aḥmad . . . al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkḥār*, Cairo, 1366-1368/1947-1949, III, 385 seq.

pieces.⁵⁸ It is marked with the name⁵⁹ of the silver-smith after rubbing⁶⁰ it with the touchstone and ascertaining its value.
 iii. The wage for silver-smith work (*ṣiḡḥah*)—the wage of the smith who fashions (*yaṣiḡḥ*) it is an eighth of a *qirsh* per *waqiyyah* for white smelting (*al-ṣabb al-abyaḍ*)⁶¹ into buckle⁶² pieces, bracelets⁶³ and the like.
 iv. For hammered (*maṭrūq*) silver—the ornament of daggers, swords and guns—the wage is an eighth of a *qirsh* and four *buḡshahs* per *waqiyyah*.
 v. The wage for gold-washing (*ṭilā*) is according to the *qaflah*⁶⁴ of gold plus the cost of the mercury.
 vi. The wage for (women's) necklaces (*labbāt*),⁶⁵ hollow bead-balls (*duḡqah*), and for any mounting (*zar'*)⁶⁶ (of silver ornaments on a silver base) is a quarter of a *qirsh* per *waqiyyah*.
 vii. The (silver) standard (*ta'dīl*)⁶⁷—seven *qaflahs* less one third—is stamped with the Imāmic stamp (*ṭābi'*),⁶⁸ and the silver-smith inscribes his name (on the piece of silver jewellery). Anything other than this—if it be in accordance with the pure silver (*mukhlāṣ*)⁶⁹ standard, *mukhlāṣ* is inscribed, and the silver-smith inscribes his name. If it be anything else it is treated in the same way to guard against fraud.

4. Commission Fees (*Dilālah*)⁷⁰ and the Conditions Thereof 284

i. Commission agents (*dallāl*)⁷¹ are entitled to a commission fee in respect of any item of merchandise they sell. The vendor pays a *buḡshah* and a half and the purchaser one *buḡshah* per *qirsh* on anything up to ten *qirsh* or less.
 ii. (Both) vendor and purchaser will be present, and he (the commission agent) will act as intermediary⁷² between them over each article of merchandise, and stand guarantor.⁷³
 iii. Every commission agent will make himself known.
 iv. If any (commission agent) sells a thing without acquainting himself with what the vendor and purchaser are selling, he is liable to severe punishment⁷⁴ and suspension from selling on commission (*dilālah*) on account of the deception (*khiyānah*) between vendor and purchaser which becomes laid at his door (*yatarattabu 'alayhi*).

58 *Khashr*, broken up pieces (*ajzā' mufattatah*). One sees boxes of such broken pieces in the silversmith's workshops in Ḥadramawt, as well as old coins.

59 Several pieces in my possession seem to have a name and *mukhlāṣ* stamped on a raised seal applied to the main surface.

60 Reading *ba'da ḥakki-hi*, for *yu'add ḥakku-hu*. It is rubbed on a stone to see if there is fraud.

61 I.e. the making of old and dirty silver white by melting it. Cf. Sūq al-Abyaḍ, the Silver Market.

62 *Maḡsarah*, pl., *maḡāṣir*, a sort of ornamental buckle on a brocade belt for holding the dagger, doubtless once functional but now superfluous.

63 *'Asāwir* (perhaps no singular), bracelets of many types worn by women, so called from the twisted silver bracelet.

64 A *qaflah* is a tenth of a *waqiyyah*, the latter being the weight of a Maria Theresa dollar.

65 *Labbāt*, sing., *labbah*. *Duḡqah*, pl., *duḡaq*, hollow balls *ḥubūb mujawwafah*, also women's ornaments. *Fatāwā Ibn Ja'mān* (Ms. in my possession), 278 b, contains the case of a man who took a *duḡqah fiḍḍah* from his wife's throat (*ḥalq*).

66 Cf. *mazrū'* which means an object, such as the wooden stem of a water-pipe or the handle of a dagger, which is decorated with a pattern of small silver, or nowadays aluminium, nail-like ornament driven into it. Other ornaments are *madwar*, pl., *madāwir*, a silver ring, *qashīḡah* a woman's brow ornament, etc., Cf. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 156; al-'Arshī, *Bulūḡh al-marām*, ed. Anastase-Marie al-Kirmili, 438.

67 This sense is deduced for *ta'dīl*, cf. *ta'dīl*, quantity of precious metal in an alloy (S.D. Goitein, *Travels in Yemen*, (Ḥabshūsh). Jerusalem, 1941, 90).

68 Explained as *khatm*, *damḡah*.

69 See f.n. 59, supra. The old Silver Market in Ṣan'ā' is called Sūq al-Mukhlāṣ. The prices for the three categories of silver ornament are, per *waqiyyah* or ounce, ten *buḡshahs*, then fourteen *buḡshahs* for hammered silver, and twenty *buḡshahs* for women's necklaces etc. If the ornaments are made from the dollar which weighs an ounce and is worth eighty *buḡshahs* the price per ounce of each manufactured article can be ascertained without difficulty. Cf. the Jewish document (p. 238) which corroborates some of the *Qānūn*.

70 In Ṣan'ā' the *dallāl* is not a broker as he is in Ḥadramawt, the Ḥadrami *dallāl* having a function closer to that of the Ṣan'āni *muṣliḥ*, dealers or brokers. Cf. C. de Landberg, *Ḥadramawt*, 322 seq., where *yedīl* is rendered as *yuslah baynahum*.

71 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, 1, 228, no. 645, quotes the Tihāmah proverb, '*Am-dallāl ḡhashsh wāḥidat-ih*, The *dallāl* cheats his mother.' He also quotes, '*Rās māl al-dallāl al-kadhb*, The *dallāl*'s capital is lying.'

v. The stranger⁷⁵ commission agent (*al-dallāl al-gharīb*) who does not make himself known, will be suspended for fear of people losing their property.

vi. When the commission agent purchases (for himself) he is forbidden to take the commission fee for effecting a sale (*al-bay' wa-'l-shirā*).

vii. Commission agents dealing in silver are prohibited from ordering silver to be manufactured for themselves as a precaution against fraud.⁷⁶ Anyone who orders any to be made for himself will be suspended and punished (*uddiba*).

viii. Commission agents in grain receive a *buḡshah* on the *qirsh* from the vendor and a *buḡshah* from the purchaser. The (charges)⁷⁷ have been made the same for (both) vendor and purchaser lest giving short measure,⁷⁸ or the reverse, should take place were the commission fee to be payable by one of them only. The commission fee for the stranger (*gharīb*) is one *qirsh* on every hundred *qirsh*.

ix. The commission fee on cloth (*bazz*) when sold by the score is half a *qirsh* on every hundred *qirsh*, and the commission fee on loads (*'idīl*)⁷⁹ of cloth is, as in the preceding case, half a *qirsh* on every hundred *qirsh*. On Ḥadrami cloth, on the bundle (*ribḡah*)—i.e.⁸⁰ a score and a quarter (25), (is due) what is special to it, namely the *qirsh* on the hundred *qirsh*. White cloth in this market (Sūq al-Bazz ?)—a *qirsh* on the hundred *qirsh*, half (of it) to be paid by the vendor and half by the purchaser.

x. The charge (*kharij*)—to the warehouse-keeper (*samsari*)⁸¹ a *buḡshah* on the bundle (*ribḡah*), and a *buḡshah* to the porter.

xi. The commission (on the sale of) houses—a *qirsh* on the hundred *qirsh*—vendor and purchaser.

(Supplementary) 284-5

a. Commission agents (carrying wares on their) shoulders (*kutuf*)⁸², and al-Mibṣāṭah⁸³ (the old clothes market)—it is stipulatory upon them that they give a guarantee of responsibility⁸⁴ (for any incident) to the Shaykh of the Market, and that they (the group as a whole ?) should get from the vendor, if he be an unknown person, a man who will introduce (*mu'arriḡ*) him, lest something that has been stolen should be sold. They are prohibi-

72 Arabic *nāzara*.

73 So as to guarantee (*yaḡḡman*) against a *ḥadath ḡhishsh*, or fraud. He will be responsible to get back the money or the defaulter.

74 *Uddiba*, i.e., he will probably be fined. *Adab* means *gharāmah*, a fine.

75 Presumably a commission agent from outside Ṣan'ā'.

76 I.e. *dallāls* are not allowed to give a wage to the Jews (*ta'yir al-Yahūd*) to make silver for the *dallāl*'s own use. This seems to mean that the *dallāl* only receives a fee for acting as an intermediary—which he would not be doing were he to purchase for himself.

77 One has to understand something like *fi 'l-'āyid li-'l-dallāl* here, i.e. the charges payable to the *dallāl*.

78 *Taffif*—a *muṭaffif* is one who does not give full measure. Cf. *Qur'ān*, LXXXIII, 1, '*Wayl li-'l-muṭaffifin*, Woe to those who give short weight—who when they measure against others take full measure; but when they measure or weigh to them, diminish.'

79 '*Idl*'/*'idīah*, half of a camel-load; cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2271, '*le sac qu' on charge sur la bête de somme*. A camel-load on the Arhabiyah or Ḥamdāniyyah camel was stated to be sixteen *ṣafihahs*, or eight *qadahs*, or four boxes. Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, 1, 418, no. 1254, cites the proverb, '*Al-jamal al-jid yihmil 'idlatayn aw thalāth*, The good camel carries two or three half-loads'. Cf. *Jemenica*, 143, no. 1072.

80 Reading *wa-hiya* instead of *alladhī*, or *alladhī hiya*.

81 Here *samsari* means *ṣāhib al-makhzan*, store-keeper. Al-Sayāḡhī says the *makhzan* is called *samsarah* in Ṣan'ā'. *Samsari* can also, however, mean *muḡahwī*, keeper of a coffee-house or hostelry.

82 The *dallālin al-kutuf* are hawkers who go round selling goods which they carry in a *buḡshah*, i.e. a cloth.

83 Al-Mibṣāṭah is where old clothes—for the most part—are spread out on the ground (*tubṣaṭ fi 'l-arḍ*) in the street itself, or displayed in the shops there. It has a *sabil* built by a certain Rizq al-Muḡannī (the Seller of Henna) according to *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 84. The Sūq al-Ḥarāj (Auction Market) is normally called Sūq al-Mibṣāṭah, but it is also called Sūq al-Janābī (the Dagger Market), vendors of daggers accosting passers-by there.

Niebuhr, *Description*, I, 334, speaks of a market where '*on peut troquer les vieux habits contre des neufs*.'

The vendors of *ḡarad* (also called *maḡlā*) stone bowls for cooking in, *yufrushūn al-ḡarad*, 'spread out' their wares going from one part of the town to another as the market becomes saturated. I have also seen them going round the Ṣan'ā' market with them as hawkers.

84 *Taḡmīn*—*ḡamānah* means here responsibility for anything that happens.

ted from purchasing for themselves.⁸⁵

b. They are required to provide for the customary watch (*haras*) as required, (at the rate of) thirty-four *qirsh* per annum, plus two and one eighth *qirsh* the customary collection charge on that, the whole amounting to thirty-six and one eighth *qirsh* with the customary collection charge included.

5. Concerning Merchandise⁸⁶ Which Comes With Strangers (*Aghrāb*) 285

Any goods coming with strangers,⁸⁷ such as merchandise of Syria, al-Nu'mān,⁸⁸ and the Persians (*'Ajām*), and such as gold, silk, spicery (*mi'fārah*),⁸⁹ twist (*ghazl*), frankincense (*lubān*), indigo (*nīl*), etcetera, shall first be offered for sale to the craftsmen (*ahl al-mihār*), retailers⁹⁰ of spicery, the Silk Market (*Sūq al-Ḥarīr*), and weavers⁹¹ for three days, and they will be given first choice to acquire whatever pertains to them as a craft (*ḥirfah*). Then after them will come those who display (their goods in boxes in the streets) (*al-raṣṣāfīn*).⁹² Others apart from these will not (be able to) acquire any of this till after three days have passed. The charge of this is the responsibility of the commission agents and the Shaykh.⁹³

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6. The Spicery Market (*Sūq al-Mi'fārah*)

a. Goods shall be displayed for three days, and any person known for slowness in payment shall be suspended from acquiring property and shall not be allowed any merchandise till after he pays what he owes.

b. The retail (*kasr*)⁹⁴ profit in spicery (costing) ten *qirsh* is twelve and a half *qirsh*, the additional profit being to cover (*ilā muqābil*) (the cost of) paper (*qirṣās*) and thread.⁹⁵

7. Wax Melting (*Ṣabābat al-Sham'*) 285

i. The payment for the melting of (bees) wax⁹⁶ is half a *qirsh* on

the *farāsilah*,⁹⁷ subject to the usual cleansing and straining,⁹⁸ it being stipulatory on the smelter (*shammā'*) that he imprint his name upon what he manufactures on account of (possible) fraud. Anyone in whose work evidence of fraud appears is liable to suspension and punishment (*ta'dīb*).

ii. They are required to pay the customary wages of the watch as the town needs, and they are required to provide fleece-lined coats of the watch (*ḥirāsah*) to the tune of five *qirsh* per annum, plus two *qirsh*, the customary collection charge on that.

iii. The sale of (bees) wax—the maund (*mann*) (consists of) thirty-two *ūqiyahs*⁹⁹ equivalent to two pounds (*raṭl*) in weight, according to the weights.¹⁰⁰ On other things such as spicery and silk, sold by the *raṭl* and *farāsilah*, the profit shall be (in the ratio of) ten (sold for) eleven. (On) what is sold by the *waqīyyah* and the quarter *raṭl* the profit shall be (in the ratio of) ten (sold for) eleven. Anyone who opens the door to inflation (*ziyādah*) incurs punishment.

8. The Silk Market (*Sūq al-Ḥarīr*) 286

i. (The procedure) laid down for them in regard to the merchandise of Syria¹⁰¹ has already been mentioned.

ii. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch as they are accustomed to do, to the tune of three *qirsh* plus a half as collection charge on that, and (to provide men for) the customary watch (*ḥirāsah*) of the town when needed.

9. *Sūq al-Ḥalaqah*¹⁰² 286

i. It is the responsibility of the Shaykh to keep an eye on the cost of goods and assign to them (the vendors ?) the (rate of) profit imposed on the rest of the goods, on account of the goods being liable to breakage, and to loss where cheap¹⁰³ things are concerned. He will inspect¹⁰⁴ them twice a month.

ii. They are required to pay what markets beside theirs pay, and they are required to pay for the fleece-lined coats necessary for

From it candles used to be made in moulds. Till recently large candles were used in the mosques, especially in Ramaḍān, or when there was a dead man (*mayyit*) to be laid out. These were put in large candlesticks of brass (*naḥās*) or iron called *maghrāz*, plur., *maghrāz*. (Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2364, E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic Vocabulary*, London, 1893, 26); Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 154.

97 The *farāsilah*, plur., *farāsīl*, according to Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 152, is 20 *raṭls*, about 5 kilos.

98 Arabic *tanfīf*, for *tanḥīf*, explained as straining (*taṣfiyah*) with the strainer (*mashann*). *Mashann* is also the name for the small settling cistern between collecting channels feeding a large cistern and the cistern itself. These large cisterns one sees over the Yemen. Mud and gravel settle in the *mashann* where they can be removed more easily than from the main cistern.

99 Thomas Brooks, An authentic account . . . 42, states that the maund is 2 2/3rds rattles or 4 vakias (*waqīyyahs*). This seems to be a Mocha weight as in Niebuhr, *Description*, I, 192. The *ūqīyyah/waqīyyah* is an ounce weight, also the weight of a Maria Theresa dollar. Rossi, loc. cit., gives the plurals, *awāqī/waqīyyāt*, circa 33 *grammi*, divided into 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/8, 1/10.

100 Of the *raṭl*, Rossi, loc. cit., cf. C. Ansaldi, *Il Yaman*, 229, says, *peso variabile secondo le merci da pesare*. It is 17 *waqīyyahs* for coffee, sugar, rice, dates, drugs—this is the small *raṭl*; it is 24 *waqīyyahs* for meat and vegetables—the medium *raṭl*; the large *raṭl* of 20 *waqīyyahs* is used for wheat, oil, butter, honey, petroleum. Fractions of the *raṭl* are *nuṣṣ*, *thilith*, *rub'*, *thumun*. These measures may all have been altered from an older system by the Turks, for Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 75, states that in 1305 H. (1887-8 A.D.) 'Uthmān Nūri Bāshā arrived in Šan'ā' and two months later deposited the shaykh 'Alī b. Muḥ. al-Bilaylī al-Šan'ānī from the mayorship (*nī'asat al-baladīyyah*) and imprisoned him. He installed as mayor a certain Mustafā Effendi al-Qayṣarlī who 'regulated the affairs of Šan'ā', fixed the weights and measures (*al-mawāzin wa-l-makāyīl*) in its markets, making the *raṭl* (twenty *ūqīyyahs* for meat, fruit, vegetables and the like after it had been sixteen *ūqīyyahs* only.)

For *bi-lā wazn*, read *bi-l-awzān*.

101 Syrian merchandise was probably silks such as used to be sold by Syrians, obviously strangers—with blue eyes—in *Sūq al-Za'farān* in Aden.

102 Al-Ḥalaqah means literally a round circle (*dā'irah mustadīrah*). It was the place of unloading (*maḥaṭṭ*) for all goods arriving in Šan'ā' and from *Sūq al-Ḥalaqah* they were distributed to the other markets. Al-Sayāghī, perhaps drawing on 'Abd al-Wāsi', *al-Badr al-muzil*, 10, says that *al-khurdawāt* are sold there—the Yemenite word for these being, according to al-Wāsi', *al-kharaz*, lit., beads—*khurdawāt* for Qāḍi Ismā'il means such various things as locks, nails, dry-saltary in general. China-ware (*ḥīnī*), rosaries (*ḡubāḥ*), glass chains, bracelets etc. are for sale there. Most of the merchants have no shops, but sit on chairs with awnings (*khiyam*) over them and what resembles wooden tables in front of them upon which they display their wares. See p. 161a seq., 247a.

103 *Ḥaqrāh*, explained as *ṭāfiḥah*.

104 *Yata 'āhad—yamurr 'alay-him—he will pass by them.*

85 They are not allowed to act as intermediary (*wāsiyah*) to themselves, so collecting a commission from the vendor. Cf. the case of the *dallāls* supra, p. 184a.

86 Niebuhr, *Description*, I, 334, speaks of merchandise of the Indies, Persia and Turkey at Šan'ā' in the latter half of the 18th century, while in 1836, Cruttenden, *Journey*, 285, said its imports were 'principally piece-goods and Persian tobacco, with dates from Tehāneh; and a great quantity of thread, or rather twist, for weaving.' The import duties in Šan'ā', he says, 'are very light, and indeed almost nominal. Glass is in great request, and the demand is supplied from Egypt. Very magnificent silks and velvets are exposed for sale in the bazar, as well as spices, sugar, &c.'

87 *Al-aghrah*, i.e. persons who do not normally bring goods (*tawīd al-biḍā'ah*) to Šan'ā'. Cf. *Sirat al-Hādī*, 62, on foreign merchants (*ghurabā'*) who come to trade and stay three months, most likely in the Ša'dah region.

88 *Luhfah Nu'mān* is the name for a sort of striped cotton cloth of the type made at Bayt al-Faqīh (Cf. f.n. 34), but in the context I have wondered if it might be from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān of Syria. However *Ṭabaq al-halwā*, 71 *passim*, uses al-Nu'mān for Oman of eastern Arabia, and one sees striped cotton cloth like that of the Yemen in the *sūqs* there.

89 *Mi'fārah* covers a whole range of wares such as drugs, perfumes ('*uṭūr*'), spices (*ḥawāyij*), incense (*bakhūr*), finely ground sugar powder (*bathik*), etc. Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 274, for *mi'fārah*. Qāḍi Ismā'il al-Akwa' quoted the amusing verses,

Marartu bi-'aṭṭār-in yaduqqu qurūfūl-an
Wa-misk-an wa-kāfur-an wa-qultu lahu . . .

Wa-qāla li-'l-'aṭṭārī ruddu qurūfūlī
Wa-miski wa-kāfurī wa-qultu lahu . . .

I passed by a perfumer pounding up cloves
And musk and camphor, and I said to him . . .

Said the perfumer to me, give (me) back my cloves,
And my musk and my camphor, but I said to him . . .

At the end of each line one says nothing but sniffs—meaning '*shumm shumm*'. In the first case this means 'sniff, sniff', in the second verse it means refusal in a haughty manner.

90 *Kasār* is a retailer—Cf. *kasr* retailing in section 6 below, and *Gloss. dat.*, 2573, *kasara*, changer.

91 *Hawāk*, pl. of *ḥayik/hayk*, a weaver. Cf. *Ḥarat al-Hawāk* or *Ḥayy al-Hawāk*, the Weavers' Quarter in Hudaydah.

92 *Raṣṣāfīn* are those who display their merchandise laid out on boxes in the streets of the open market. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 1289, *raṣafa*, to arrange.

93 Presumably Shaykh al-Mashayikh.

94 Cf. f.n. 90. *Miksārah* also means retail.

95 Thread is, or was until recently, still used for tying up small packets of spicery etc.

96 *Kars* is the wax remaining once the honey has been extracted from the comb.

the watch, to the tune of fifteen *qirsh* plus two *qirsh* collection charge on that. The allotment¹⁰⁵ of that shall be according to the regulation (*qā'idah*)¹⁰⁶ (kept) with their Shaykh.

10. Coffee-Husk,¹⁰⁷ Oil and Ghee (*al-Qishr wa-'l-Salīṭ wa-'l-Saman*) 286

i. Persons going out to intercept¹⁰⁸ those (three commodities) which are imported (to Šan'ā') by travellers shall be suspended from (going out) to any quarter (*jihah*). The importer (*jallāb*) shall come himself to Šan'ā'. Any person¹⁰⁹ who deprives (? *akhadh*) one of the markets in which imported articles coming to the town are displayed (*tuḥqā*),¹¹⁰ is liable to punishment and suspension.

ii. The retailer (*kassār*) in ghee and oil is entitled to a *buqshah* and a half on each *raṭl*, and the retailer in coffee-husk is entitled to one *buqshah*. For settling the deal in coffee-husk (*ṣulḥat*¹¹¹ *al-qishr*) the vendor will contribute two and a half *buqshahs* on the bag ('*idlah*)¹¹² and the purchaser a *buqshah* and a quarter.

iii. The deduction (*qaṭ'*)¹¹³ (allowed) in oil and ghee—from, it seems, the basic weight, because of (their) being separated up and handled¹¹⁴ and (because of) what remains in the containers (*a'ṭal*)¹¹⁵—on skins containing sheep-and-goat (ghee) (*azqāq*¹¹⁶ *al-ghanamī*) is six *raṭls*, and on skins of cow ghee (*al-baqarī*) it is eight *raṭls* on a hundred *raṭls*. The container ('*aṭal*) is returned to its owner when its content is in excess of this amount. Woollen sacks (*gharā'ir*)¹¹⁷ also are returned to their owner.

iv. The person supervising¹¹⁸ the distribution of the oil among the people of Šan'ā' (the retailers), and undertaking the payment to the vendor of what is due to him (receives) a fee of a quarter *qirsh* on each load (*ḥiml*).

v. The warehouse-keeper (*samsarī*) is due the customary charge (*kharj*) on the purchaser, but what the man of Šan'ā' buys for his

own household has nothing to pay.

vi. In the Ghee Market (Sūq al-Saman) there shall be a single dealer (*muṣṭah*) for skins and jars (*azqāq wa-ku'ad*).¹¹⁹ No sale shall be made to those who display (their goods on boxes in the streets), retailers, and Bāniyāns¹²⁰ till after (the needs) of the townspeople have been satisfied.¹²¹

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a. In the Ghee and Oil Market weighing shall be done with stamped weights only and no importer (*jallāb*) shall weigh for himself but (must weigh) on the Government Scales¹²² (Mizān al-Dawlah).

b. The (rate of) profit is as previously mentioned.

c. Anyone who sells adulterated or poor quality ghee, such as ghee a year old or more (*al-saman al-dāyil*)¹²³ will be imprisoned and suspended (from dealing). So also anyone who adulterates oil with other oils¹²⁴ (*dihānāt*) like bitter almond (*al-lawz al-qubbī*) oil etcetera, is liable to punishment.

d. (The rate of) profit in honey is the same as that on ghee.

e. The *raṭl* in the case of these (three commodities) is made up of twenty-four *waqiyyahs* (equivalent to an ordinary small) *raṭl* and a half, in accordance with the custom ('*adah*) and regulation (*qā'idah*).

f. They are required to carry out such watch duties (*ḥirāsah*) as by custom they do at (times of) need in the town. They are required to provide the customary fleece-lined coats to the tune of forty-one and a half *qirsh* reckoned out, plus two and a half *qirsh* as the customary collection charge on that, the allotment of which shall be (effected) in accordance with the regulation.

a/b. In the Coffee-Husk Market (Sūq al-Qishr) they are entitled to the (rate of) profit previously mentioned.

b/b. Blowing water (*bakḥḥ*) from the mouth (onto the husk so as

105 Cf. f.n. 46, supra. *Tafriḍ al-mablagḥ* is distribution of the (total) sum.

106 *Qā'idah* would appear to mean here at least, an agreed statute, or a procedure. One says in the Yemen, '*Al-qabilah al-fulāniyyah mutaḥā'idin—bayna-hum mu'ahadah*'. The tribe so and so are mutually agreed—they have a treaty between them.

107 Coffee in the Yemen has of course much lore attached to it, but a few useful notes are to be found in Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 163-4.

108 *Mutalaqqim*, syn., *mutalaffiqin*. One says, '*Kharajū al-malqā*'. They went out to perform the *istiqbāl*,—e.g. the reception of the President on his arrival. This clause is intended to prevent the townsfolk of Šan'ā' from going out to purchase from countryfolk coming into town to sell their wares, and thus creating a corner in these products. As early as the 8th century A.D. a Tradition is cited by the Zaydis, 'The Apostle of God prohibited (going out to) meet travellers (*talaqqi 'l-ruḥbān*)'. 'A townsman shall not sell on behalf of a countryman—let the people alone for God to provide for the one through the other (*lā yabī'u ḥādir-un li-bād-in . . .*)'. This is quoted from E. Griffini, '*Corpus iuris*' di Zaid ibn 'Afi, Milano 1919, but the maxim is quoted in many other sources, Sunni and Shī'i. The same source declares that 'The importer of food is thanked, while the monopoliser/hoarder is a sinner, cursed (*jālib al-tā'ām marzūq qa-'l-muhtakir 'ās-in ma'ūn*). See p. 164a.

Cf. Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ with al-Nawāwī's commentary, Cairo, 1283 H., IV, 7, seq. *Bāb tahrīm talaqqi 'l-jalāb*. The maxim '*tahrīm bay' al-ḥādir li-'l-bādī*' is explained. What is meant by it is that a stranger (*gharīb*) should arrive from the steppe (*bādīyah*) or another town (*balad*) with goods (*matā'*) the need of which is common (to all) to sell them at the price of the day, and the townsman (*baladī*) says, 'Leave them with me so that I may sell them gradually, at a higher (price)'.

109 The subject here is *al-multaqī*, the person who goes out to meet the importer.

110 *Tuḥqā al-jalūbah*, i.e. *tu'raq*, the imported article is displayed.

111 *Ṣulḥah*, a deal made by a *muṣṭah*, though Qāḍī Ismā'il said that the deal here would be made by a *dallāl*.

112 '*Idlah* here means a bag, *ḡunīyah* or *kis*. Cf. f.n. 79, supra.

113 *Qaṭ'* means *inqiṭā'* or *tanqis*. If one buys, say, a hundred *raṭls* of oil the customer will be reckoned to have received only ninety-nine because one *raṭl* remains sticking to the sides of the containers. In Section 50, iv, allusion is made to a custom of compensating the customer for this loss.

114 *Na'ath*, according to al-Sayāghī, means *al-mufarraḡ*, what is separated, but the *Taj al-'arūs*, gives the verb *na'atha* the sense to handle, which seems appropriate here.

115 '*Aṭil*, pl., *a'ṭal* is, according to al-Sayāghī, a vessel for holding ghee—so-called once its contents have been emptied. The text as it stands also gives a singular '*aṭal*'. However, '*aṭal*, pl., *a'ṭal* is a common word for a sack made of '*azaf*, palm-leaf as in *Gloss. dat*.

116 *Azqāq*, sing., *ziqq*, is also a classical Arabic word.

117 *Gharā'ir*, sing., *ghirarah*, a *juwāl/shuwāl*, sack, also called *juwālīq* by Qāḍī Ismā'il, *al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 151, no. 408. *Zabārah*, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 1, 149, mentions in 634 H., *juwālīq al-ja'ām*, sack(s) of millet. A *juwālīq* containing a *rizmat burr* is mentioned in the time of al-Hādī, cf. K. *al-Muntakhab*, 569.

118 The person who distributes the oil and collects the money for it in Šan'ā' does so in order to save the vendor from being delayed in the town while collecting the money from the purchaser. *Mukḥarraj al-bā'i* was explained as *yadfa' al-thaman*. *Mustaqim* has here the sense of *muṣṭah* and he is responsible for *al-inṣāf bi-daf' thaman mā bā'*, seeing justice is done through payment of the price of what he (the oil vendor) has sold.

119 A *ku'dah*, according to al-Sayāghī, is a pottery (*khazaf*) vessel like a *qulḥah*, used as a water and ghee jar. This, however, is not the sense in Ḥabbān and Ahmad. . . al-Miḥḍār (Cf. my *Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḡramawt*, 29) laughs at them for making '*aṣīd* in a *ku'dah* which would mean a flat serving dish there. The handle is called *mazqam*, pl., *mazāqim*.

Thomas Brooks, op. cit., states that, 'Oyl is sold by the Cudda, Noosfia and Vakia'. These are evidently *ku'dah*, *nuṣfiyyah* and *waqiyyah*, but he makes 16 *waqiyyahs* equivalent to one *nuṣfiyyah*, and four *nuṣfiyyahs* to 'one Cuddy poise (weight) about 18 lbs'—this in itself cannot be correct, but see Section 45—a large *ku'dah* has a capacity of fifteen large *raṭls*.

Gotein, *Jemenica*, 146-7, no. 1098, reports that a poor (Jewish) household would buy an *ūqiyyah* of oil (*saṭī*) as seasoning, but a normal household, a *thumunah*, equivalent to an eighth of a *raṭl*. This he describes as a jug with a handle. A *rub'ah* (quarter *raṭl*) has two handles, a half *raṭl* jug has three handles, and a *raṭl ku'dah*-jug four handles. Cf. Rossi, f.n. 100.

120 The Hindu merchants of Šan'ā', for whom cf. Section and pp. 432-35.

121 This is when these are being sold in quantity, wholesale. The other three groups can then buy in order to retail after the townspeople have purchased what they need.

122 In each Šan'ā' sūq there is a Government Scales, even in the Mijzārah, the Butchers' Market. Al-Ghaffārī said that the Mizān al-Dawlah was so called up to the end of Turkish days, and located in the Samsarat al-Mizān. It was supervised by Bayt al-Akwa' family.

123 *Dāyil* (cf. *Gloss. dat.*, *dāl*, *yadūl*, devenir vieux) would be ghee a year or more old. Another term for it is '*āmī*, explained as '*alladhī marra 'alayhi 'ām*, that over which a year has passed.' In the cold districts ghee does not go bad even after a year, and sometimes old ghee is considered good and preferred.

124 Other oils include oil of apricots (*barqūq/mishmish*), almond (*lawz*) oil, oil of '*tubsha'* = *khirwa'*, castor oil—these may be used to adulterate the oil in question. Bitter almond oil is described as *qubbī* and one can say, '*Aqabb min al-ṣābir*, bitterer than aloes.' (*Al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 199, no. 553). Some apricot oil is sweet and some bitter. An oil is also made of peach (*khawkh/firsik*), kernels. Apricot, almond and peach oils, made of course from the kernels of the stones of the fruits are also used in tanning. Oils used for burning in lamps included *saṭī khardal*, oil of mustard—this grows in the northern highlands and takes the place of sesame which grows in the lower Yemen but not in the north—apricot oil called *tūm al-mishmish*, kernel oil (*saṭī qawqa'*), and peach oil. The kernels are ground just as sesame is ground, and the resultant oils used.

For *qawqa'ah*, cf. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 123, no. 891, *lawzi* is the kernel of the almond.

to increase its weight) is prohibited.

c/b. Weighing¹²⁵ shall be done with the stamped weights (*wazanāt*).

They are required to carry out such watch duties (*ḥirāsah*) as they are accustomed to do, and to provide, of the fleece-lined coats distributed to the watch, fifteen *qirsh* plus two *qirsh* collection charge on that, the allotment of which shall be (effected) in accordance with the regulation (kept) with the Shaykh.

11. The Tobacco Market (Sūq al-Tunbaq) 287

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a. They are entitled to the same (rate of) profit as that previously mentioned in the case of coffee-husk.

b. Blowing water on it is prohibited, as also is the mixing of poor quality tobacco with good (*al-ḥa'if bi-'l-maliḥ*) because this is fraud. Good and poor quality tobacco-powder (*duqqah*)¹²⁶ shall each be (offered) for sale separately.¹²⁷

c. They are required to provide the watch duties they customarily do when needed, and they are required to provide the fleece-lined coats of the watch to the tune of twenty-two and a half *qirsh* ready money, plus a *qirsh* and a half collection charge on that.

12. The Market of Black Tobacco¹²⁸

(Sūq al-Tutun al-Aswad) 288

a. They are entitled to the same (rate of) profit as that previously mentioned in the case of the coffee-husk, providing it is the goods of the region (*iqḥim*)¹²⁹ and that good quality (tobacco) is not adulterated (*yukhlaf*) with poor.

b. Weighing shall be done with the weights stamped with the Imāmic stamp.

c. They are required to carry out such watch duties as they are accustomed to do when the town needs, and they are required to provide the fleece-lined coats of the watch to the tune of ten *qirsh* ready money plus half a *qirsh*, the customary collection charge on that, the allotment (*tafriq*) of which shall be (effected) in accordance with the regulation.

13. The Rope-Fibre Market (Sūq al-Salab)¹³⁰ 288

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a. Honesty (*amānah*) without deception is stipulatory in the evaluating¹³¹ of the load (brought in by) the importer (*jallāb*). The Shaykh also (must comply with this condition).

b. The Shaykh of the Rope-Fibre Market is responsible for fixing the price (*tas'ir*) of the *raṭl* of worked rope-fibre (*salab*) in accordance with what he considers the best interest (*maṣlahah*) for the Muslims. The Shaykh is responsible for obliging (*ḍabī*) the Market people to deliver the money (? *māl*) to the stranger (*gharīb*) in accordance with the regulation (*qā'idah*).

c. They are required to carry out such watch duties (*ḥirāsah*) as they are accustomed to do when the town needs, and they are required to meet the due (*ḥaqq*) they customarily pay for the fleece-lined coats of the watch, namely three and a half *qirsh* plus a quarter *qirsh* collection charge for that.

d. Rope-fibre imported (*majlūb*) to the town—the regulation on it (stipulates) that the earth (*nays*)¹³² shall be shaken off the load of the donkey (*bahimah*)¹³³ and the load carried by a man. As for the camel-load a single coil (*'uṣrah*) (only) has (the earth) shaken off it, and (when this coil has been dealt with) the experts¹³⁴ (*mukhtabirīn*) release¹³⁵ the rest (for sale ?).

e. If fraud comes to light the (rope-fibre) is not imported, should the importer (*jallāb*) be a stranger, the fraud rebounding upon him. If he be a frequenter (*mutaraddid*) (of the Rope-Market) he is liable to imprisonment for fraud.

f. It is sold by weight (of ?) a hundred (coils,¹³⁶ *raṭls* ?), the (fixing of the) price of it being the responsibility of the Shaykh given charge in the Market. He will allow (*ja'ala*) the retailers (*kassārīn*) a labour charge (*shaqā*)¹³⁷ in proportion to the difficulty of the work, for work with it differs, well ropes (*sirār*)¹³⁸ in proportion to the amount of work, and nets (*shibāk*) similarly.

14. The Grain Market (Sūq al-Ḥabb) 288

There shall be twenty persons there, measurers (of grain) (*kayyālīn*), honest (*umanā'*)¹³⁴ men (specially) selected, known for their honesty (*amānah*) and lack of deception. They will collect the customary measuring charge (*kiyālah*)¹⁴⁰—an eighth of an

125 P. Boxhall, 'The diary of a Mocha coffee agent', *Arabian Studies*, London, 1974, I, 110, quotes from the experience of the British factor at Mocha in 1733. 'We have made our Banians speak to the weighers, and desire them to show us how far their Dexterity extends, which they have given us a specimen of in the above Coffee, in which we find we have gained above Three and a half per cent at the Sale, tho' the manner of doing it is not very commendable, for it is done by giving the weighers a small Sum of money, and keeping them constantly supplied with Liquors, for which they have given us so great an overweight, and for a small Trifle wronged the owners of the Coffee of a considerable Sum.'

The factor had much trouble over the pilferage of coffee in carriage to Mocha.

126 *Duqqah* is explained as *daqiq*.

127 Reading *waḥda-hā*.

128 See on tobacco, p. 175a.

129 Cruttenden, *Journey*, 282, 285, alludes to the Persian tobacco in *Ṣan'ā'*—this would not be 'goods of the region'.

130 *Salab*, *Gloss. dat.*, 1961, nom d'une plante *Sansevieria Ehrenbergii*. *Schweini*, dont les feuilles contiennent des fibres employées pour la fabrication des cordes. There is a Sūq al-Salab to this day in *Ṣan'ā'*—cf. Rossi, op. cit., 146.

131 Reading *muthamman* for *m th n*.

132 *Nays* is usually coarse sandy soil.

133 *Bahimah*, pl. *bahayim*, in the northern Yemen usually means a donkey, fem. *atān*. Cf. Algerian *bhim* mules. Cf. *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 320, no. 933, for the excellence of the donkeys of Thila.

134 This presumably means that the experts, or men of experience, only examine one coil of the rope.

135 *Fari* means *fakkah*, loosening. This last phrase was interpreted to mean *yūqās 'alayh al-bāqī*, the rest is judged by it.

136 Probably 'coils' is to be understood after 'hundred'.

137 *Shaqā*, the work and the wage for it, (al-Sayāghī). Cf. *shāqī* labourer.

138 *Sirah* is a rope for the drawing (*naz'*) of water (al-Sayāghī). Cf. C. de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, I, *Ḥaḍramūt*, Leiden, 1901, 606.

139 The *amin* in certain other countries is sometimes the head of a corporation of artisans—e.g. the *amin* (pl. *umanā'*) of the dyers, blacksmiths etc., in *Qānūn bi-'l-Jazā'ir 'ala 'l-aswāq wa-ghayri-him*, (1609-1753 A.D.), no. 1378, of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Algiers, upon which we have also been working at Cambridge. *Amin*, as noted above is applied to the Prophet—the Trustworthy.

140 The *kayyāl* comes under the supervision of the Shaykh al-Sūq; he receives only his *kiyālah*, i.e. his wage (*uṣrah*) for measuring.

eighth (i.e. 1/64th) on the *qadah*¹⁴¹—measure from the vendor, and half an eighth of an eighth (i.e. 1/132nd) from the purchaser.¹⁴² (Supplementary) 289

a. Nobody but a person of known honesty (*amānah*), guaranteed¹⁴³ (*dummina*) to the Headman of the Porters (*ʿāqil al-ḥammālin*) will be employed (*yuḥammal*) as a porter.

b. The measurers (of grain) are required to carry out watch duties when the town needs. The porters along with the porters of the Firewood Market (Sūq al-Ḥaṣab) are required to perform watch duties on al-Khanādiq;¹⁴⁴ they are required also to perform watch duties at the Gates when (these) need repair and a gate¹⁴⁵ remains unlocked (*min ḡhayr taghliq*)—theirs is the responsibility for watch duties upon it.

c. The lads¹⁴⁶ of the Grain Market—I mean the labourers (*shuqāh*) (working to) the measurers (of grain) are responsible for cleansing the Market by sweeping (it), attending to it every day, and removing the sweepings from it to a place outside¹⁴⁷ far away from being trodden upon by sandals (*niʿālāt*).

d. They—I mean the measurers—are required to provide the customary fleece-lined coats of the watch to the tune of thirteen *qirsh* plus the customary collection charge on that of a *qirsh* less a quarter and half of an eighth (i.e. less 5/16ths).

15. The Salt Market¹⁴⁸ (Sūq al-Milh) 289

(Supplementary) 289

a. They are required to carry out the assigned watch duties (*al-ḥirāsah al-mujrāyah*) they are accustomed to perform.

b. It is stipulated that their Shaykh should be characterised by honesty (*amānah*), and without deception, a man who will scrupulously investigate (*al-taḥarri*)¹⁴⁹ the measuring out for (both) the importer (*jallāb*) and lad¹⁵⁰ of the Market (*walad al-Sūq*). If it be some other person (i.e. not the Shaykh himself) then he must maintain careful surveillance.

c. They are required to provide those fleece-lined coats of the watch which they are accustomed to do, to the tune of two and a

half *qirsh* plus an eighth of a *qirsh* collection charge on that.

16. The Raisin Market (Sūq al-Zabīb) 289

(Supplementary)

a. They are charged with the (same) honesty and lack of deception as that previously mentioned in the case of other markets.

b. The measurers (of raisins) are required to perform the customary measuring out for the importer (*jallāb*), townsman and lads of the market (alike), regarding all with the eye of impartiality.

c. They are required to pay of the remuneration (*rudūd*)¹⁵¹ to the Shaykh of the Watch for watching¹⁵² the assignment which they customarily make, and to carry out such watch duties as they customarily do when the town needs, as also (to provide) the customary fleece-lined coats of the watch to the tune of five *qirsh* reckoned out plus the collection charge on that of a quarter *qirsh*.

17. The Henna Market (Sūq al-Ḥinnā) 289

(Supplementary)

a. The Shaykh of the Henna Market is charged that he regard (both) the importer and the henna-seller (*al-muḥannī*) with the eye of impartiality when fixing¹⁵³ (and estimating) prices. He must be acquainted with the cost of a load in al-Sūdāh¹⁵⁴ so as to (be able to fix) its price in the town and he will reckon out (a rate of) profit for it depending upon the opinion at which he arrives after scrutinizing the (charges for animal) hire and octroi-tax (*jibāyah*)¹⁵⁵ that accrue to the load. After this he will assign to the lad¹⁵⁶ of the Market five *qirsh* on the *qadah*-measure, and depending upon the opinion which he has formed—(he may alter it?). If it be full of stalks (*ʿidān*) he will see what should be removed from it, and after checking that (they have been removed) he will fix a suitable (rate of) profit for him/it.

b. They are required to provide those fleece-lined coats of the watch which they customarily do, namely two and a quarter *qirsh* plus an eighth of a *qirsh* collection charge on that.

141 The *qadah*, according to Rossi, op. cit., 152, is approximately 36 litres. It is divided into 64 *nafar*. Up to some time before 1962 the following signs were used for its subdivisions:

<i>Qadah</i> —or 64 <i>nafar</i> and so also called <i>thamāniyah</i> <i>thamāniyyah</i> , i.e. eight times eight	٨
<i>Qadah illā rubʿ</i> , three quarters	¾
<i>Nisf qadah</i> , half	½
<i>Rubʿ qadah</i> , quarter	¼
<i>Thumn qadah</i> , eighth	⅛
<i>Nisf thumn</i> , one sixteenth	⅙
<i>Rubʿ thumn</i> , one thirty-second	⅓
<i>Nafar</i> , (pl., <i>anfar</i>), also called <i>al-thumāniyah</i> <i>min al-thumāniyah</i> , The eighth of an eighth	⅓

A *qadah* less one *nafar* would be written, ٧

This has certain similarities to the *kirmeh* notation as known to Rasūlid Yemen, and studied by Claude Cahen in our 'A fiscal survey of the medieval Yemen', *Arabica*, Leiden, Jan., 1957, IV, 1, 31, the signs for 3/4 and 1/2 being identical, that for 1/4 less close, that for 1/8th rather different, and the signs for the smaller measures not found in his table at all. The late 'Alī al-Muʾayyad first gave me a list of these signs, but Qāḍī Ismāʿīl al-ʿAkwa' has provided the details above, and he characteristically quotes a proverb, 'Fi-hi qarbat nisf al-thumn. There is the mark of the sixteenth (part of the *qadah*) on him.' This is said in detraction of a person.

A specimen of the half *qadah*, which was purchased in Ṣan'ā', bears the names of the Imāms al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Mutawakkil, carved upon it (1139/1227 to 1224/1809). May it be inferred that the *qadah* was checked during the reign of each of these Imāms, and his name carved on the *qadah* to certify that it was a true measure? An old wooden *nafar* also purchased in Ṣan'ā' has *ḡahh*, true carved on its side.

In his latter days Imām Yaḥyā tried, by proclamation, to make the Ṣan'āni *qadah* the standard for all the Yemen, but still today in many centres a local *qadah* is in use. In Dhamār and Taʿizz the *qadah* is larger than that of Ṣan'ā', the Taʿizz *nafar* being equivalent to four Ṣan'āni *anfar*. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 51, no. 284, says that in Ṣan'ā' they call the *thumāni* a *rubāʿ*, so that the *rubʿ al-rubāʿ* is really a *rubʿ al-thumāni*—i.e. the quarter of a quarter is a quarter of an eighth—all very confusing! The *thumāni* is properly the *thumn* as above. The Imām al-Mahdī al-ʿAbbās (before 1189/1775), in order to stop the measurers giving defective measure (*bakhs al-kayyāfīn*), 'gave an order concerning the measures that (have) the grain with which they are filled) smoothed (level) by the hand) (*makāyil al-mash*), i.e. he made a hammered iron (rim) as an obstacle (to fraud) on top of the mouth of the measure. So they used to fill the measure and smooth (it level) over the iron

(rim), and there was no short measure (*taṭfiḥ*, see f.n. no. 78) to the purchaser.' (*Nashr al-ʿarf*, II, 215.) The year 1321/1903-4, when Imām Yaḥyā besieged the Turks in Ṣan'ā' was called Sanat al-Nafar because during the famine that ensued in the city a *nafar* of grain rose to a *riyāl*.

142 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 207, no. 575, says the purchaser takes away the grain he has bought in a leather bag (*masabb*). Cf. *Jemenica*, 50, no. 277, 118, no. 866.

143 He must be guaranteed by another person already known to the *ʿāqil*.

144 Al-Khanādiq, also called al-Manāshir, are described by al-Sayaghī as the openings in the town wall from which the flood (*sayl*) comes out after rain. The name is applied to that part of the wall borne on arches the pillars of which have triangular stone breakwaters (*mirzaf*) to lessen the drive of the flood against them, which crosses the flood-bed al-Sāʿilah—there are two al-Khanādiq, one on the south side where the flood enters, and one on the north from which it emerges. I was also told that this applied to the old metal grill at these apertures placed there to stop thieves entering the city at night. The name ought to mean 'the Ditches/Moats' but it appears not to do so here.

145 Lit., the Gate.

146 Here the word lad seems only to mean a young boy (*ṣabīyy ṣaghīr*), but elsewhere in the *Qānūn* it appears simply to mean the market folk.

147 *Al-muntazah* fi 'l-barriyyah—here *muntazah* should mean a distant place, and *barriyyah* means *al-barr* the country outside Ṣan'ā' town.

148 For Sūq al-Milh see pp.248-9. A Sūq al-Mallāhin, Salt-sellers' Market, is mentioned by *Nashr al-ʿarf*, I, 349, but whether this is to be identified with Sūq al-Milh is not known.

149 Explained as *yudaqqiq fi ḡabt al-maqāyis wa-'l-makāyil*, he will take minute care over investigating/controlling measures.

150 The *walad al-Sūq* here must mean market folk trading in salt. Charles Millingen, *Notes of a journey in the Yemen*, 121, says that in 1874 rock-salt from Mārib was chiefly used at Ṣan'ā' and the uplands of the Yemen. In 1064/1653-4, says al-Jarmūzī, 103, the travelling with salt from Mārib was cut for about four months and the Ṣan'āni *qadah* rose to ten *ḡurūf*.

151 *Rudūd* is thought to mean a fee (*ʿayid*) but the word was not precisely known to Qāḍī Ismāʿīl and others.

152 The text seems corrupt here, and *jirāyah* must in any case be read for *jirābah*.

153 *Tathmūn*, colloquial for *tathmin*, means *taqīm wa-taḡdīr al-sī'r*.

154 Al-Sūdāh of the region north of Ṣan'ā' and west of Khamir.

155 Qāḍī Ismāʿīl thought, though he was not certain, that the *jibāyah* meant dues payable to the Sūq, i.e. to such persons as the *ʿāqil al-Sūq* or the Shaykh al-Layl.

156 The ordinary henna retailer appears intended here.

18. The Qāt¹⁵⁷ Market (Sūq al-Qāt) 290

The price of each bundle (*ribḥah*)—for good quality Shabraql¹⁵⁸ (*qāt*), free of stalks—along with the packaging (*tashjūr*)¹⁵⁹ is an eighth of a *qirsh*,¹⁶⁰ its weight being ten *ūqiyyahs*. In *Ṣan'ā'* the *qāt*-sellers (*maqāwitat*)¹⁶¹ who purchase a (bundle) receive a *buqshah* and a half (profit) on each bundle in *Ṣan'ā'*. Middling and poor quality *qāt* (will fetch a price) depending on how the man of integrity (*al-'adl*)¹⁶² selected by the importers and the *qāt*-sellers evaluates it (acting) in conjunction with the Shaykh of the *qāt*-sellers.

(Supplementary) 290

a. In this time of ours a pair—two bundles of *qāt*—the finest of the bales of bundles (*barākis*)¹⁶³ brought¹⁶⁴ from the owner of the *qāt* (plantation ?)¹⁶⁵, the price of the pair from the bales of bundles being eight *buqshahs*, plus half a *buqshah* fee (*ujrah*) to the town, plus half a *buqshah* in respect of (*qubāl ilā muqābil*)¹⁶⁶ the tithe on the bales of bundles, plus (packing of) 'uthrub¹⁶³ (leaf) and a saddle-bag, plus a *buqshah*, the profit of the *qāt*-seller—the price of the (said) pair (of bundles) for the man in *Ṣan'ā'* comes to an eighth of a *qirsh*. So the right price to the consumer (*al-mutamariqih*)¹⁶⁷ for a (single) bundle of the best *qāt* is half of the eighth (of a *qirsh*).¹⁶⁸ Middling quality *qāt* will fetch the price at which the expert man of integrity responsible (*al-'adl al-mukhtabir al-mu'ahhad*) evaluates it.

b. They are required to provide for such of the fleece-lined coats of the watch which they customarily do per annum, namely three *qirsh* plus a quarter *qirsh* collection charge on that.

19. Grapes and Similar Fruits 290

i. Eight persons, men of integrity ('*udūl*'), honest (*umanā'*), chosen persons, undertake to distribute them¹⁶⁹ and settle the price for the people, and are entitled to the customary fee.

ii. None of the lads of the Market will take anything coming to the Market until after late afternoon¹⁷⁰ when people have fully satisfied their requirements.

(Supplementary) 290

a. (In the case of) such fruits as mulberries (*tūt*), citrons (*utrujj*) lemons, pomegranates, and other things previously mentioned, the lads of the Market may not buy until after the full satisfaction

157 See the discussion of *qāt* on p. 169 seq.

158 My collaborators did not know of this kind of *qāt*.

159 Explained as *taḥḥiq*, binding of a bundle.

160 Qāḍī Ismā'īl said an eighth of a *qirsh* worth of *qāt* would cost twenty *qirsh* today (1972).

161 *Maqāwitat*, sing., *muqawwit*. An unpublished proverb of the Qāḍī's collection runs, '*Shimāl al-muqawwit wa-lā yamin-ah*, The left hand is to be preferred to the right hand of the *qāt*-seller.' This is explained as when the *qāt*-seller divides a *ribḥah* in two and invites you to choose, he probably puts the larger half in his left hand.

162 The '*adl*' is said to mean the *muṣliḥ*, cf. p. 162b, seq. One speaks, e.g. of '*udūl al-qaryah*, the trustworthy persons of the village.

163 *Barākis* is a collection of bundles (*ribāḥ*) packed in an oval form among fresh branches of the 'uthrub to preserve the *qāt*'s freshness. The *maqāmah* which I was editing in 1972, entitled *Tarwīḥ al-awqāt fi 'l-muṣakkarah bayna 'l-qahwah wa-'l-qāt* of Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Mu'allimī, has Coffee address Qāt, '*Wa-laffu-ka fi lafa'ifi 'l-summāq*, They have wrapped you up in wrappings of *summāq*.' The *summāq* is the same as the 'uthrub which Muḥ. Muṣṭafā al-Dunyāḥī, *Mu'jam asma' al-nabā'iat*, Cairo, 1966, 75, calls *Rhus coriaria* L., tanner's sumach.

164 *Yujbā*, i.e. *yuhḍar*, but *jabā* can mean to take *jibāyah*, a duty or tax.

165 The *mālik* might just possibly mean the man who brings *qāt* from the plantation to the town.

166 *Ilā muqābil* simply means *muqābil*; *qubāl* means *muwāḥḥ* *li-'l-wajh*. The compound expression is regarded as weak or loose.

167 *Gloss. daḥ.*, 2690, *tamarqah*, to relax in drinking coffee. In the Yemen a *mutamariqih* is one who *yikhazzin al-qāt*, chews *qāt*. Cf. *Jemenica*, 126, no. 917, '*Kull marāqih qūl la-'l-qurṣ*, *Yā Sidi*, Every luxury says to the round of bread, My Master.'

168 The arithmetic of this is—2 bundles cost 8 *buqshahs*
Town tax ½
Tithe etc. ½
Profit 1
Total 10
1 bundle costs 5 *buqshahs*

Five *buqshahs* make an eighth of a *qirsh*.

Qāt used to be taxed on the tree and on entering the Sūq. Now it is only taxed on the tree.

169 I.e. distribute them to the purchasers.

of the requirements of the people of the town. They will (be allowed) to buy them only at the evaluation the men of integrity ('*udūl*') have made in the presence of the Shaykh of the Market. They are sold at the price the Shaykh of the Market fixed for them so that he may settle (the rate of) profit (allowed) on them in accordance with the amount at which he valued them (when bought from ?) the importers.

b. They are required to carry out such watch duties as they customarily do when the town needs, and they are required to meet the due (*haqq*) they customarily pay for the fleece-lined coats of the watch—seven *qirsh* ready money per annum, plus half a *qirsh* collection charge for that.

20. The Meat Market (al-Majzarah) and the Dealers (al-Muṣliḥin) in the Sheep-and-Goat¹⁷¹ Market (Sūq al-Ghanam) 291

i. The purchase of (live) sheep-and-goats is made from day to day (*kull yawm bi-yawmi-hi*), and butchers are prohibited from purchasing sheep-and-goats for a day following. Any sheep-and-goats brought to the Market (*al-jalb*) remaining (unsold) remain in the hands of the importer (*jallāb*). Buyers (*muṣawwīn*, middlemen¹⁷²) are prohibited from taking sheep-and-goats from the Market—through which overcharging¹⁷³ could result.

ii. For slaughtering an animal the butcher (*jazzār*) receives the skin and head only.¹⁷⁴

iii. The Shaykh of the Town must inspect the sale of beef (*lahm al-baqari*) every week (*wa'd*).¹⁷⁵ The evaluation¹⁷⁶ of the cattle will take place under his supervision, the Shaykh of the Butchers and the Headman of the Dealers ('*Āqil al-Muṣliḥin*') attending with him.

iv. The butchers' charge for slaughtering sheep-and-goats at the Feast of the Sacrifices ('*Id al-Naḥr*') on 'Arafah¹⁷⁷-day—for a large animal (*rās*) the charge is an eighth and half an eighth (i.e. 3/16ths) of a *qirsh*, for a middle-sized animal an eighth of a *qirsh*, and for a small one five *buqshahs*.

v. The Dealers (*muṣliḥin*) in the Sheep-and-Goat Market are sixteen (in number)—of these honesty (*amānah*) and lack of deception are stipulated. It is their duty to send the vendor of the sheep-and-goats to the Clerk of the Market (*Kātib al-Sūq*) to

170 *Ṣan'ā'* townsfolk buy their grapes direct from the *jallāb* who brings them to the town, and it is only after the late afternoon ('*asr*') that the retailers can buy. H. Burchardt, (*Aus dem Yemen*, ed. E. Mittwoch, Leipzig, n. d., 64) says that the grape-sellers come from al-Rawḍah and put down their load (*ḥamūlah*) at Sūq 'Āqil and the purchasers (*mishtariyin*) come and buy from them the grapes from the top part of the basket because the good grapes are always on the top of it. This is in Turkish times.

171 As *ghanam* means both sheep and goats, these two words have been hyphenated to convey this.

172 A *muṣawwīd* is one who buys from the *jallāb* to sell to the consumer. The *jallāb* is a *mustawwīd*, importer.

173 *Al-mughālah* fi 'l-si'r—the sense is—lest the prices rise high.

174 Butchers were given nothing for the slaughtering but the head and skin from ancient times, as can be deduced from the Islamic Traditions (*ḥadīth*). This was the case even when they came to a private house in *Ṣan'ā'*, but now (1972) they usually do also get a little money over and above these perquisites. The 3rd/9th century Zaydī manual of *ḥisbah*, of Uḥrūsh, 20, prohibits the butchers at the Aḥḥā Feast from accepting the skins or part of the meat of a beast sacrificed as part of their fee. In north Yemen the carcass of the bull/cow is slung under a tripod of three wooden poles which has been lowered flat—the tripod is then raised and the cutting up of the animal commenced. The tripod is called *sibah* in *Ṣan'ā'* and *shar'ah* in Ta'izz. An unpublished proverb of the Qāḍī's collection runs, '*Al-sibah mā tirkab illā 'alā thalāth*, lit., the *sibah* rides only on three.' *Gloss. daḥ.*, 2007, derives it from the Persian *sih pā*, three feet. Cf. *Tarjī' al-ayyār*, 396, for a verse and comment on *sibah*. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 74, no. 214, gives the Tihāmāh variant of a very ancient proverb, '*Idhā ta'allagan (ta'allagan) al-jazarah tikthir al-sakākin*. When the slaughtered beast is hung up the knives are many.' A variant is '*Lā uqra 'l-ithur kathurat al-sakākin*'.

175 Cf. Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tarikh al-Mustaḥsir*, 191, *uwa'ada* to go to the market every week; C. Löfgren, glossary to *Arabische Texte*, (Abū Makhramah) for *wa'd*, *Gloss. daḥ.*, 2928. Khazraji, *al-Uqūd al-hu'ū'iyyah*, text, II, 198, says under the events of 790 H. (1388 A.D.), 'In the latter half of Shawwāl the Sultan's edict (*marṣūm*) came out that the *wa'd* of Zabid should be on the Thursday, for its *wa'd* and market used to be on the Friday.' Cf. *Tarjī' al-ayyār*, 239, for comment on *yawm al-wa'd*.

176 *Taqwīm* usually means *yuhaddir al-si'r*, to evaluate, but the Qāḍī thought it meant here *fahḥ-hā*, scrutinising them.

177 The Feast of the Sacrifices, al-'Id al-Kabīr.

acquaint him with how much the price is. Anyone against whom there is evidence of deception or tricks (*khida'*) or over-charging or shortcomings must pay a fine (*qasāmah*)¹⁷⁸ to the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl).

vi. The charge for settling the deal (*ṣulḥah*) (over an animal) is two *buqshahs* from the vendor and a *buqshah* from the purchaser. On a small lamb (*qūzi*)¹⁷⁹ the vendor is charged a *buqshah* and the purchaser half a *buqshah*, but the Šan'ā' townsman pays no dealer's charge (*ṣulḥah*) on what he buys on other¹⁸⁰ days.

(Supplementary) 291

a. They must wash the wooden boards (*ṣurūf*)¹⁸¹ and blocks (*maḍrab*)¹⁸² (for displaying and chopping up meat) each day.

b. It is the responsibility of the Deputy¹⁸³ (Nā'ib) to observe them carefully at the Scales (al-Mizān)¹⁸⁴ and to inspect what they have slaughtered at the time it is weighed, recording¹⁸⁵ it (in the Market Book¹⁸⁶ (*Daftar al-Sūq*)) and noting into what category it falls—male (*faḥl*) or ewe or goat (*mi'zā*).

c. Anyone disobeying any of this is liable to punishment (*'iqāb*).

d. They are responsible for removing the bones from the Meat Market and what lies in front of it, the responsibility herein being upon the Deputy of the 'Āmil.¹⁸⁷

e. Anyone who makes a deal (*aṣḥaḥ*) for a butcher in excess of what he slaughters in a single day (*fi yawmi-hi*) is liable to punishment, since this leads to loss of the importers' goods. Whatever loss the importer incurs that can in no way possibly be recovered, will be rectified (by deduction from) the income (*ma'āsh*) of the dealers (*muṣliḥin*).

f. They are required to carry out such watch duties as they customarily do when the town needs, and they are required to provide for such of the fleece-lined coats of the watch as is customary, thirty-two *qirsh* per annum plus two *qirsh* collection charges on that.

21. The Firewood Market¹⁸⁸ (Sūq al-Ḥaṭab) 291

i. Buyers (*mufāwidin*) (purchasing direct from importers) who are a cause of damage (*taghyir*)¹⁸⁹ to the Market and lead to firewood being dear, and persons going out to intercept firewood being imported shall be suspended.

ii. Firewood shall be sold only in its accustomed Market. Anyone who sells it outside its own Market shall be imprisoned and liable to punishment;¹⁹⁰ the purchaser shall also receive such punishment as the Governor (Dhu 'l-Wilāyah)¹⁹¹ considers fit.

178 *Qasāmah* was rendered as *gharāmah*, a fine, *ta'wīd*, compensation.

179 *Qūzi*, pl., *qawāzi* (Rossi, *L'Arabo*, 160) from Turkish. In Ibb, *qūzi* means a large stone, and in Šan'ā' it means a *kabsh*.

180 Other days, not on feast days. *Ṣulḥah* is to be read for the text's *maṣḥaḥ*.

181 *Ṣurūf*, pl., *ṣurūf*, wooden boards upon which meat is laid for display. Cf. p. 234a.

182 The *maḍrab*, pl., *maḍārib*, called a *jizfah* in Dhamār, is a thick (*samīk*) block of wood, usually a *jīdh'* or (section) of tree-trunk, upon which meat is chopped.

183 The Deputy would be the 'uqqāl (headmen) or shaykhs of the butchers.

184 See p. 162a.

185 *Raṣāda-hu*, meaning *sajjala-hu*, or *qayd-ah*, writing it down.

186 This would be kept by the clerk of the Market. See p. 189b.

187 'Āmil looks to me like a misprint for 'aqīl, since the 'Āmil of Šan'ā', the Governor, would be too elevated a person in all to have any direct responsibility for so menial a duty. Today the actual slaughterhouse (*Majzarah*) is outside Bāb al-Yaman, but on the old Ottoman Turkish map a *qaṣṣāb-khānah*, a butcher's shop, is marked in Sharārah, the square west of Bustān al-Sulṭān. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 959, alludes to going to get meat at Bāb al-Yaman.

188 Today (1973) firewood is cut in Dhū Muḥammad country between al-Baraṭ and the border east of al-Ḥarf and disposed of by the local people. Some probably take it to Šan'ā'. They pay nothing for cutting the wood.

189 Qāḍi Ismā'il said this would alter the organisation (*niẓām*) of the Market and lead to a rise in prices.

190 *Āḍab* means a fine, *gharāmah*.

191 This means the *ḥākim* or the 'āmil, *ṣāhib al-sulṭah*, the authority.

192 Goitein, *Jemenica*, 169, no. 1319, from Jewish informants, states that firewood grows in Bilād Anīs in ground belonging to no-one (*fawā'ish*, seemingly another pl. of *faysh*, pl. *fuyush*. *Gloss. dat.*, 2445). The tribes bring it in long caravans to Bāb al-Balaḥ (i.e. near Qā' al-Yahūd). A *muṣliḥ* (*muṣliḥ*) manages the sale of it. A *buqshah* (by this period 1/40th of a *qirsh/riyāl*) goes to the authorities, and the middleman receives a *buqshah* also. The tribesfolk must leave a pledge (the dagger) before obtaining permission (*fakk*) to sell (*yiqaffirū*); they pay the tax later.

In effect the dealer's charge is the same in the *Qānūn* itself, since the rate of *buqshahs* to the *qirsh* at that time was eighty but in the 1930's it was only

iii. The dealer's charge (*ṣulḥah*) on a large load shall be two *buqshahs*¹⁹² from the vendor instead of (his charge being paid in) wood. It is prohibited that wood (*'ūd*) be taken (in lieu¹⁹³ of the dealer's charge) since this involves much unfairness (*ẓulm*) to the vendor. The purchaser pays two *buqshahs* as dealer's charge.

iv. (The dealer's charge) on a small load shall depend upon what the Clerk of the Market considers appropriate. (The charge on) a donkey (*bahimah*) load shall be half of that on the load of a small camel,¹⁹⁴ and be dependent on what the Clerk of the Market considers appropriate.

v. The dealers (*muṣliḥin*) in the Firewood Market consisting of persons known for their honesty and lack of deception are sixteen persons (in number).

(Supplementary) 292

a. They are required to carry out the assigned watch duties (*al-ḥirāsah al-mujrāyah*)¹⁹⁵ they are accustomed to do, and the same watch duties, at need, on the Gates and al-Khanādiq as the porters of the Grain Market are obliged to perform. They are required to provide for the fleece-lined coats of the watch to the tune of a quarter *qirsh* plus an eighth of a *qirsh* collection charge on that.

22. The Cattle¹⁹⁶ and Donkey Market (Sūq al-Baqar wa-'l-Bahā'im) 292

(Supplementary)

a. Honesty (*amānah*) and lack of deception are stipulatory on the dealers (*muṣliḥin*), and they must acquaint the vendor with the purchaser.

b. On the large head of cattle (the vendor is charged) a quarter *qirsh*, and the purchaser contributes an eighth of a *qirsh*.

c. The purchaser of a ploughing bull (*al-faḥl al-ḥārith*) has the right to try out the action of ploughing¹⁹⁷ in one of the gardens. If no trial takes place on one of the gardens he has the option (to rescind the sale). Similarly (he has the right) to test how it feeds. (In the case of) a cow the purchaser has the right to test how it milks and how it feeds (*al-ḥalbah wa-'l-aklah*).¹⁹⁸

d. If he purchases a female calf (*bahmah*) which has not yet calved, and at parturition some defect (*'ayb*) comes to light such as kicking (*al-rakḍah*),¹⁹⁹ or she does not separate from her calf,²⁰⁰ or any other defect (*'ayb*) that comes to light at parturition, the purchaser has not the right to return (her to her vendor) on account of this defect, since the vendor was unaware of it.

forty.

Al-Sayāghī (p. 237) says that each sort of firewood has a fixed measure (presumably in those times) and price assigned to it. Of firewood in general he states, 'Even for small bundles (*ḥuzam*) of firewood they set a standard measure (*mi'yār*)—a hoop (*ṭawq*) of iron, and appointed a statute (*sannū qānūn-an*) for it (the measure) in accordance with which the decision about the price-fixing (*ḥukm al-tas'ir*) should be exercised for any sort of bundle of any kind of firewood.

193 *Ilā muḡābil*, is explained as *bada'al-an*.

194 This could be interpreted as 'the small load of a camel'.

195 This was said to mean *alladhī yarjī/yujrā 'alā ghayri-him*, which are assigned to others.

196 The Sūq al-Baqar is stated by *Masājid Šan'ā'*, 51, to be near Masjid Dāwūd.

The Sūq al-Bahā'im and al-Jabbānah haqq 'Alī al-Manṣūr, are said to be ancient, the base being Ghamdān castle (*qadīm—al-aṣl Ghamdān*). This latter is often called Sūq Ḥarat al-Jabbānah—in it is the Akamat Sūq al-Qaḍab, the Hillock of the Lucerne Market—this is also called Sūq al-'Irj ('irj = *bahā'im*, donkeys). They speak also of the site as al-Qaṣr al-Mashīd (*Qur'ān*, XXII, 44). It certainly seems to be a mound of debris. A *jabbānah* is used in the same sense of an open space or tract of land in northern Yemen. The Lucerne Market has, or had, animals unfit for work standing about it (1972). There is a *waḡf* for their fodder (*'alaf al-qurāsh*), but free gifts of this are also made by the fodder-dealers there.

197 Qāḍi Ismā'il's unpublished proverbs include, '*Khubr al-baqar tiḥi al-aḥjāj, mā khubra-hā fi 'l-ḥawīyyah*, The decision about the quality (*aṣālah*) of cattle is not in how they look, but when they are set to ploughing, —lit. 'The testing (*khubr* or *makhbar*) of cattle is under the yokes, their testing is not in the courtyard (*ḥawsh*).' Cf. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 65; Goitein, *Jemenica*, 67, nos. 419, 1251, *Al-nās makhābir*.

198 *Aklah*—testing the animal to see if it is eating its feed (*waḡbah*).

199 *Rakḍah*—kicking while being milked. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, *rakḍah coup de pied*. For defects (*'ayb*) in horses, cattle, sheep and mules, see *al-Baḥr al-zahhār*, II, 357, seq.

200 Retaining the placenta, in which case the animal would die.

e. The purchaser of a female donkey²⁰¹ (*atān*) has the right to try out its walk (*sayr*), and he has the right to return it on account of the statutory defect specified in *sharī'ah* law (*al-'ayb al-shar'ī*).²⁰²
 f. The dealer (*muṣliḥ*) is entitled to the dealer's charge (*ṣulḥah*) as in the previous case with cattle. When anyone whose right (to exercise) the option (to rescind a sale) has been established fails to find the vendor, the dealer (*muṣliḥ*) is responsible for getting the vendor to return the price paid.

23. The Camel Market²⁰³ (Sūq al-Jimāl) 292

(Supplementary)

a. What is obligatory in (the case of) cattle is also obligatory in this case.

b. The purchaser has the right to (exercise) the option over an animal accustomed to (?) carrying loads (*muḥammal*), and to test cud-chewing (*al-jarrah*)²⁰⁴ and wind (*al-kabdah*);²⁰⁵ and there is the customary dealer's charge (*ṣulḥah*).

c. The Cattle and Donkey Market is required to pay such returns (? *radad*)²⁰⁶ as they are due to the Head of the Watch (Shaykh al-Ḥaras), and they are required to provide watchmen (*ḥurrās*) in accordance with the customary requirement by the town. They are required to provide what they customarily do for the fleeced-lined coats of the watch to the tune of nine and a half *qirsh* plus a *qirsh* collection charges on that.

24. The Horse and Mule Market²⁰⁷

(Sūq al-Khayl wa-'l-Bighāl) 293

(Supplementary)

In it the dealer (*muṣliḥ*) is subject to certain recognised conditions. He may not conclude a deal (*yusliḥ*) until after the farrier's (*biṭār*)²⁰⁸ inspection (of an animal) to acquaint him with (any) defects (*'uyūb*), and until after it has been ridden if it be a riding beast, and after trying it out in the standings (*marābiṭ*).²⁰⁹

25. The Fodder Market (Sūq al-'Alaf) 293

The dealers (*muṣliḥ*) in it shall be ten persons, and the sale of fodder shall take place in its customary original²¹⁰ (*aṣlī*) Market, selling it elsewhere being prohibited. Anyone who disobeys what we have said will be liable to punishment and suspension.

26. Porters, Wood-Choppers and Water-Carriers

(*al-Ḥammālīn wa-'l-Mafāliqah*²¹¹ wa-'l-Saqqāyīn) 293

i. Porters in the Fodder Market—the charge for a net full of

straw (*al-shabakat al-tibn*) a donkey carries is one *buqshah*. The charge for a man who carries a net (*ma'arah*) full of straw is also one *buqshah*.

ii. Tobacco (*tunbuq*) porters—the charge for a load (*'idlah*) of a large camel is four *buqshahs* from the vendor and the same from the purchaser.

iii. The porters of the Coffee-husk, Ghee, Oil, etcetera, Market—the wage of a porter who carries a load from al-Ḥalaqah²¹² to the warehouses (*samāsir*) of al-Ḥalaqah is two *buqshahs*.

iv. The wage of a porter who carries a load (*'idlah*) of cloth from²¹³ the wholesaler (*al-mubtā'*²¹⁴ *al-kabīr*) is four *buqshahs*, and the payment to the warehouse proprietor (*samsarī*) is four *buqshahs*.

v. The wage of the porter who carries (goods) from the warehouses (*samāsir*) to the Scales (*al-Mizān*) is two *buqshahs* from the vendor and two from the purchaser; the (cloth) goes back to the warehouse or to the purchaser's shop. The wage of the porter who carries (goods) from al-Ḥalaqah to the warehouses in al-Ḥalaqah is one *buqshah* on every load (*'idlah*). The wage of the porter who carries (goods) from al-Ḥalaqah to the Samsarah of Sidi Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,²¹⁵ God rest him, and the warehouses of the Grape Market is two *buqshahs* on each load (*'idlah*). The wage of the porter who carries (goods) from al-Ḥalaqah to the Oil Warehouse (Samsarat al-Salīṭ),²¹⁶ the Samsarat al-Ṣawra'ah,²¹⁷ and the Samsarat al-Shumāh²¹⁸ is two and a half *buqshahs* on each load (*'idlah*). He who carries (goods) from al-Ḥalaqah to the Samsarat of the Shaykh Ḥmad al-Ḥājī²¹⁹ and the Samsarat Murid receives three *buqshahs* on each load (*'idlah*), and so, proportionately.

vi. The wage for (carrying) iron—he who carries a load (*'idlah*) to beside the Scales (*ilā taḥt al-Mizān*) (gets) three *buqshahs* from the vendor and three *buqshahs* from the purchaser for carrying back (to his place).

vii. The porter of the Firewood Market—the wage of the porter who carries (firewood) from the Firewood Market to the outskirts of the town is four *buqshahs*, plus four *buqshahs* for splitting it (*taflūq*). This is on the complete load (*al-ḥiml al-jam'*),²²⁰ the Badawī²²¹ load, the Nihimī load,²²² and the Mashriqī (load)—two *buqshahs* for portage plus two *buqshahs* for splitting.

If it be equal to the Badawī load in bulk it has its own assessment (*ḥukm*).²²³ The wage of the porter who carries (firewood) to the middle of town is three *buqshahs* for labour and splitting (*shaqā wa-taflūq*).

201 The Rasūlid monarch al-Malik al-Mujāhid (ruled 1321-62 A.D.), *al-Aqwāl al-kāfiyah* . . . , Brit. Mus. Supplement, 816, fol. 117 b., says that 'the best donkeys are the Egyptian, then the Yemeni (donkeys) and of these latter the Ṣan'ānī donkeys are larger in frame (? *akbar khulūq-an*), stronger to carry loads and ascend mountain passes (*'iqāb*), abler to endure the rough ground on account of the hardness of their hooves, but the largest of them tend to be stupid.' The Tihāmah donkey is slighter in build, and the Zabid donkey is mentioned. He also remarks (fol. 113 b.) on Abyssinian donkeys.

202 The *sharī'ah* allows, under certain conditions, defective goods to be returned to the vendor. Cf. al-Imām al-Mahdī Aḥ. b. Yahyā al-Murtaḍā, *K. al-Azhār fi fiqh al-a'immat al-aḥbar*, Beirut, 1973, 159, for a brief account of this, and *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkār*, III, 358 seq.

203 Al-Malik al-Mujāhid, op. cit., 118a-122a, gives the names of the various breeds and localities from which camels come. Nubian camels are named as imported from Sawākin. See f.n. 199.

204 *Gloss. daṭ.*, *jarra*, *ruminer*.

205 Qādī Ismā'īl thought *kabdah* would be an obstruction or choking in the throat, but *Gloss. daṭ.*, has *kabida*, *être hors d'haleine, être essoufflé*.

206 A word not apparently known, but cf. *rudūd*, f.n. 151.

207 Al-Malik al-Mujāhid, op. cit., fol. 115 a, considers that the best mules are those imported from al-Ḥabashah, Abyssinia. His treatise, of course, deals mainly with the horse.

208 This pronunciation was given me for the more standard *bayṭār*.

209 Lit. tethering place.

210 There may have been branches of this market elsewhere in Ṣan'ā'.

211 *Mufalliq*, pl., *mafāliqah*.

212 As already stated (f.n. 102) al-Ḥalaqah was the place where all goods arriving in Ṣan'ā' were unloaded. There are many *samsarahs* in its vicinity.

213 Reading *min* for *fi*.

214 Qādī Ismā'īl, understands this as *al-mabī' bi-'l-jumlah*.

215 This is the famous *samsarah* which al-Jarmūzī, op. cit., 556, seq., tells us was founded by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Qāsim, a nephew of

the Imām al-Mutawakkil, some time before his death in 1079/1668-9. His biography is to be found in al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-jālī*, II, 159. It was used as a sort of store (*mustawḍi'*) of property/money (*māl*) but looted by the tribes in 1948 and still closed and not accessible. Those who had put their goods there thought that it would not be plundered, and it is said many people were killed there. See pp. 104a, 278a seq.

216 The Oil Samsarah is now called Samsarat al-Baw'ānī, and is in Sūq al-Miṣṣāḥ. It was open in 1972 but in 1974 it appears to be closed.

217 Samsarat al-Ṣawra'ah is no longer known—at least under this name.

218 Samsarat al-Shumāh is said to exist and be near al-Ḥalaqah.

219 No information was forthcoming about the Samsarat Ḥmad al-Ḥājī, but Murid was said to exist under a different name. As the *samsarahs* appear to be commonly known by the name of the proprietor of the day identification of these places is not easy, but were it possible to study the *waqf* records one might perhaps know more about the history of the *samsarahs*.

220 Explained as *al-ḥiml al-kāmil*.

221 Niebuhr, *Description*, 334, notes that firewood is dear in the Yemen, and no less so in Ṣan'ā', taking two to three days to arrive there. In his time a camel-load cost two *écus* (dollars). Sometimes coal is used, but of a poor quality.

The Badawī load was said to come from al-Mashriq (the eastern part of the northern Yemen, al-Maghrib being the corresponding area on the west). Qādī Ismā'īl says that the tribes speak of 'Mashriq Allāh ḥayth im-raghādah wa-'m-jamāl wa-'min al-sharaf aṣli wa-faṣlī, The Mashriq of Allāh where is affluence and loveliness (in women), honour and wealth.' A proverb runs, 'Fulān aṣlu-h faṣlī, So and so has both honour and wealth,' (*jama'a 'l-sharaf wa-'l-tharā*). *Faṣl* seems to mean *tharīyy*, wealthy, and by *aṣl*, 'arīq, noble, is intended. There is however a contrary view! Goitein, *Jemenica*, 13, no. 61, quotes, 'Ilā sallam 'alayk al-Mishriqī 'addayt aṣābi-'ak, If the Mashriqī greets you, then count your fingers (to see if any are missing).

222 One sees strings of camels bringing down firewood along Wādī Sirr from Nihim to Ṣan'ā'.

223 *Ḥukm* is explained as *i'tibār khāṣṣ*, special consideration.

viii. The water-carriers' ²²⁴ wages and cost of water—for a short distance half a *buqshah*—the price of a skin (*qirbah*) (of water) for a middling distance is two thirds of a *buqshah*—the price for a skin for a long distance is a whole *buqshah*. Anyone who hires a water-carrier for a whole month—his reckoning (*hisāb*) will be after this pattern. If the water-carrier receives mid-day and evening meals ('*ashā wa-ghadā*') ²²⁵ half of the wage is deducted to compensate for that. This is in the houses in al-Qaṭī' ²²⁶ (Quarter) in the town—they being known. ²²⁷

27. Craftsmen and Workmen (*Aṣḥāb al-Ḥirāf wa-Ahl al-A'māl*) 294

(Supplementary) 294

a. Dyers and butchers (*ṣabbāghin, qaṣṣābin*)—they must adhere to the regulations (*qawā'id*) in their hands which (emanated) from the governors (*ḥukkām*). ²²⁸

b. They are required to provide the customary fleece-lined coats for the watch to the tune of three and an eighth *qirsh* plus the customary collection charge, ²²⁹ and they are required to carry out the watch duties they usually do when the town needs.

(Supplementary)

a/b. The Head-wraps Market (Sūq al-Maṣāwin) ²³⁰—action to fix the price of their manufactured goods (*tas'ūr biḍā'ati-him*) such as head-scarves and *rizah* ²³¹ is the responsibility of their Shaykh entrusted (with the matter), and the men of integrity (*udūl*), one from the weavers (*ḥawak*) and one from the Market of the Scarf-Makers, chosen to test indigo ²³² (*nīl*). They must adhere to the regulations (emanating) in a succession from the learned governors (*al-ḥukkām*) ²³³ al-a'lām).

b/b. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats of the watch which they customarily do to the tune of twelve and a quarter *qirsh* plus an eighth by way of collection charge.

²²⁴ Till very recently, water carriers drew water from al-Ghayl al-Aswad near Dār al-Shukr, and from a place at the south east corner of Bustān al-Sultān, outside the walls. This water was only for domestic purposes, not for drinking. Ghayl al-Bāshī at Bāb al-Salām had sweet water (*mā ḥilīl*) from Jabal Nuqum, used for drinking. Bāb al-Salām is east of Bāb al-Yaman. H. Burchardt, *Aus dem Jemen*, tafel XI, shows, in 1909, a San'a' water-carrier with two skins.

²²⁵ '*Ashā* would consist of a round (*qurṣ*) of bread, and *ghadā* of bread with some sort of relish (*idām*).

²²⁶ The Qaṭī' area of San'a' (for which see p. 125a) has houses in which there is no water fit for drinking (*ṣālih li-l-shurb*). Most houses in San'a' have wells but some are not used for drinking water. According to al-Rāzi (5th/11th century), 96, every dwelling had a well or two, and a garden with various kinds of sweet-smelling herbs (*rayāḥin*).

²²⁷ It is unclear whether this word (*ma'rūfah*) applies to the houses or the wells.

²²⁸ Qāḍī Ismā'il thinks the *ḥukkām* would be the Mashāyikh al-Ḥirāf, Shaykhs of the Crafts, i.e. of the Dyers and Butchers, but I wonder if it might in fact refer to the governor appointed over the city as a whole.

²²⁹ The text has here *siyāqah* for the *siyāq* of the other entries.

²³⁰ The *maswan* was described in San'a' as a *ridā' ka-l-niqāb* used by country women to cover their heads. It is a word known to the Yemen from at least medieval times.

²³¹ Reading *rizah* for *rirah* of the text with *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 570, which speaks of a Sayyid wearing a turban of cotton—a coarse one of the weaving of San'a' which they call *rizah* at the Feast—a turban which his father and grandfather had worn. This is dated before 1084/1673.

²³² Indigo was widely worn by Yemenis till perhaps some sixty years ago as can be seen in W. B. Harris, *A journey through the Yemen*, London-Edinburgh, 1893, 268. It was commonly worn in the tribal districts of the former Aden Protectorates though of recent years this had considerably lessened. In Ṣabāḥī village of the district south of Yarīm in December, 1974, at 'Id al-Nahr, I saw an old woman with a newly dyed indigo frock and head-dress, but younger women only wore indigo head-bands not indigo-dyed dresses. One sees tribesmen in San'a' from time to time with indigo-dyed turbans, but San'ānis do not wear it, and Sayyids and Qāḍis seem never to have used it at all. It is therefore exceptional in the eyes of the author of *Ghāyat al-amāni*, 814, that the Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (ob. 1029/1620) at his lofty mountain capital at al-Shahārāh, should wear *al-qamiṣ al-shuqqah al-sawdā' wa-l-lībās al-aswad*, the long black shirt and black clothing—possibly to be like the tribesmen? An example of an indigo-dyed *qamiṣ*, called *muṣabbaghah*, is on show at Imām Aḥmad's mansion, the 'Urḍī in Ta'izz—it is said that on occasion he would make presents of these to tribal visitors. Qāḍī Ismā'il defines *shuqqah* as a woman's *qamiṣ* when it is of *dāmūr* clothing dyed with *nīlah*. Aḥmad al-Ruqayḥī, descended from a family of Hāshidī notables forcibly settled in San'a' by Sinān Bāshā, expresses his pride in the profession of dyeing in a neatly turned couplet.

Glory lies in learning (*'ilm*) and a hand black from the craft (*fann*) of dyeing, not in the company of lords.

I have worked for the former and the latter at the one time only so as I may

a/c. Tailors (*al-Makhāyīṭah*) ²³⁴—tailors (*khayyāfīn*), border-weavers (*ḥazzāyyīn*), ²³⁵ and weavers (*ḥawak*) etcetera—the authority to which their wages are referred (*al-marja'*) (to decide) that to which they are entitled is their headmen (*'uqqāl*), then the Shaykh of the Town.

b/c. The makers of ready-mades (*al-mujahhizīn*) ²³⁶ with shoddy workmanship in the tailoring, and all roughly run up articles shall be inspected for defects in them to people's detriment by the Shaykh of the Town once in eight days.

c/c. They must have that honesty (*amānah*) and lack of deception previously mentioned.

d/c. The customary wages for the crafts—a *jawkh* ²³⁷ robe is (paid for at the price at which) they customarily (manufacture it) and in accordance with the expensiveness or cheapness of silk. The average (*awsaṭ*) charge to the customer is a *qirsh* and a quarter.

e/c. A cloak (*'ābah*) ²³⁸ of the best tailoring costs a *qirsh* less a quarter, a *jalābah* ²³⁹ (wide sleeved robe) a *qirsh*, and the long shirt (*qamiṣ*) ²⁴⁰ four for a *qirsh*.

f/c. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch they customarily do to the tune of five and a half *qirsh* plus collection charge on that of a quarter and eighth (i.e. 5/8ths).

(Supplementary)

a. Saddlers (*al-Sarrājīn*) ²⁴¹—the evaluation of goods is entrusted to their Shaykh and to a selected person. Equitable practice (*'adālah*), and evaluation of what they have manufactured according to the price set by the Shaykh and the man of integrity (*'adl*) as they consider appropriate, depending on the price set for the goods in (relation) to expensiveness or cheapness, is stipulatory upon them.

b. They are required to provide such fleece-lined coats for the watch as they customarily do to the tune of eight and a half *qirsh* plus collection charge on that.

join learning (*'ilm*) together with works (*'amal*).

Al-Ruqayḥī died in 1162/1749, *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 126.

²³³ These *ḥukkām* would certainly seem to be governors not heads of craft organisations.

²³⁴ *Makhāyīṭah*, sing., *mukhayyīṭ*.

²³⁵ The *ḥazzāḥ/ḥaḍḍā* or weavers of borders (*Gloss. daṭ.*, 436, *ḥaḍwah*, *frange*) one used to see working in Aden Crater, but I have not seen them working in San'a'. They add borders to *fūṭahs*, and the medieval work *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fīṭan* specifies whether cloth is *muḥashshā*, with a border or plain, in listing items chargeable to customs duties in Aden. Cf. *Jemenica*, 106, no. 745, '*Ad al-ḥudayyah shariṭ*, The silver border is only a strip.' Cf. pl. no. Valentia, *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea in 1802...1086*, London, 1809, was given a piece of silver cloth of San'a'.

²³⁶ The *mujahhizīn*, (a term perhaps derived from the sense of *jahhas*, to fit out) are those who perform tailoring work for the big merchant establishments (*al-matājir al-kabirah*) and do not bother about fine craftsmanship, not working to the requirements of an individual customer desiring good careful workmanship. Al-Sayāghī draws a distinction between *jihāz* tailoring (*khiyāṭ*) and '*amūlah*—this latter explained by Qāḍī Ismā'il as what is taken care over (*mā yu'tanā bi-hi*) in the way of tailoring.

²³⁷ *Jawkh/jukh*, according to Dozy, *Supplément*, from Tukrish *chūqah*, broad-cloth, *nom d'un vêtement de drap*. Cf. my *Islamic Textiles*, 132, where *jūkh Bunduqī* is discussed, presumably Venetian broadcloth. 'Alī Ṣālih Abū l-Rijāl (ob. 1135/1722) is recorded by *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 218-9, as addressing verses to the Imām al-Mutawakkil... Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim petitioning a *jawkh* from him. The Imām ordered him four *dhirā'* (cubits) from the treasurer (? *khazzān*), but the latter held back from delivering it and a dispute took place in verse between the two. He expected to receive *Bunduqī*, described as a sort of *jawkh* famous in the Yemen. Cf. *ibid*, 394, for reference to a *munāṣarah*, a contest in prose and verse, between al-Jubbah and al-Jawkh, two different types of robe personified.

The *jawkh* is worn by the ulema (see the picture of Zubayrī, p. 106), especially on the Friday, a Feast day, and on ceremonial occasions (*munāsa-bār*), and is inherited from father to son. It has long sleeves (*akmām jawlāh*), embroideries down the front called *qīṭān* (pl., *qayāṭīm*) in a strip (*shariṭ*) and buttons (*azrār*). The fifteenth century Persian author, Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Qārī of Yazd, *Diwān-i albisah*, Constantinople, 1303 H., speaks of *chūkhā-yi pashminah-i bi-astin-i khāss-i rāhibān*, woollen cloth robe without sleeves, special to the monks. Cf. Hikoichi Yajima, *Chronicle*, 122, for *jūkh* imported to Aden in 832/1428-9.

²³⁸ The *abāh* is described as the finely woven black and white short jacket of the tribesmen.

²³⁹ Al-Sayāghī describes the *jalābah* as a *jubbah* with wide sleeves made of silk embroidered (*muqayyab*) with gold or silver thread. If made of *jawkh* it is called *jawkh* but the two types seem to be closely similar.

²⁴⁰ The *qamiṣ* has wide sleeves (*ardān wāsi'ah*) and reaches about half-way down the leg. The *qamiṣ al-ṣalāt* is used by women only.

²⁴¹ *Sarrājīn* are described by al-Sayāghī as makers of leather belts.



1 Şan'ā'. A general view of the city from the west with Mount Nuqum rising behind it on the right.



2 Şan'ā'. A general view from a house adjoining Qubbat Ṭalḥah looking to the north east. Showing the *mafrajs* on many of the rooftops.



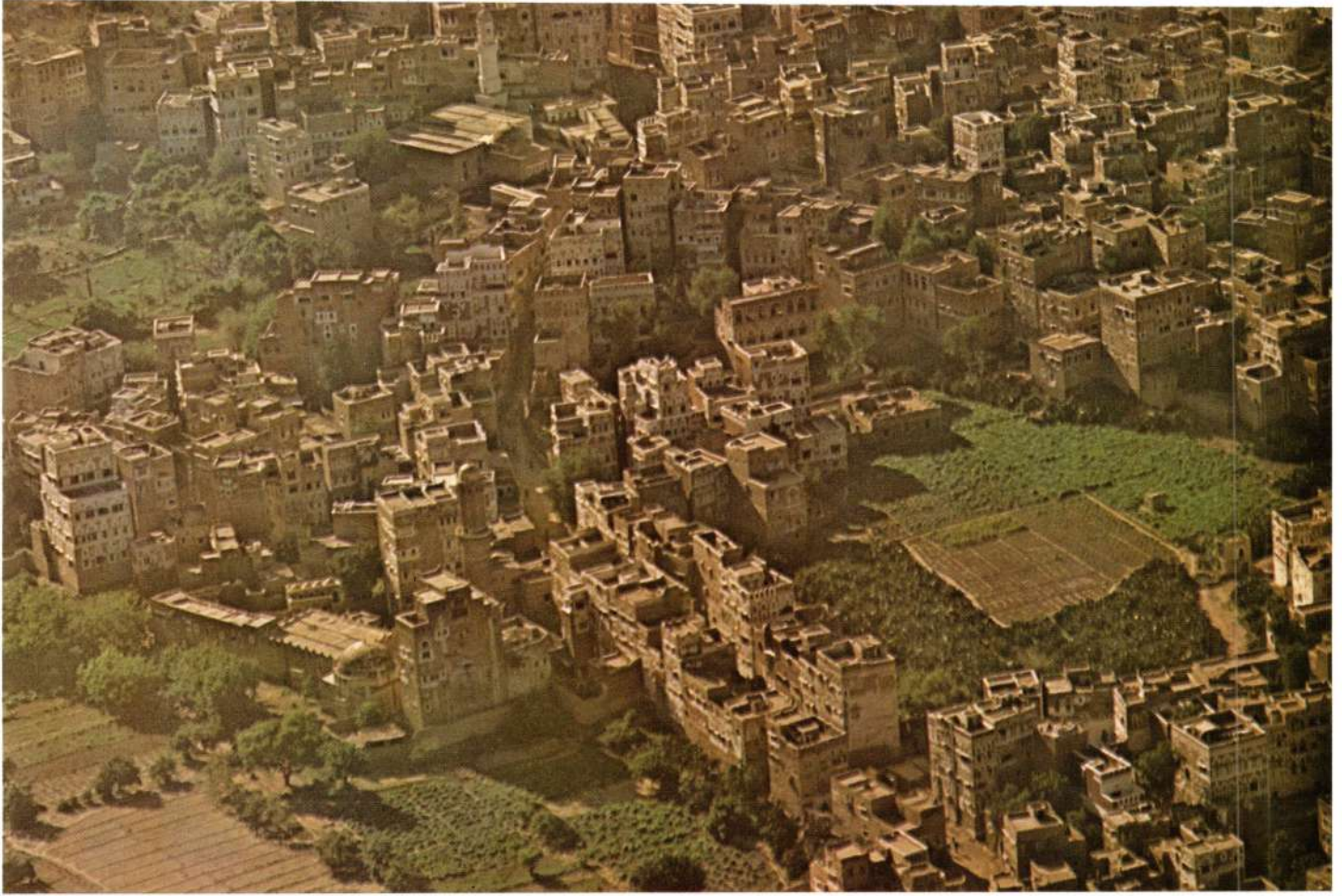
3 Şan'a'. A street scene with houses decorated in gypsum plaster. The vertical pipe on the right was introduced recently over the traditional plaster drain.



4 Şan'a'. A view over the rooftops with the minarets of Masjid Şalāh al-Dīn and Masjid al-Madrasah in the background.

5 Panoramic view of the old city across the Sā'ilah with the city wall in the foreground. The southern Khanādiq walls on arches across the flood-course level.





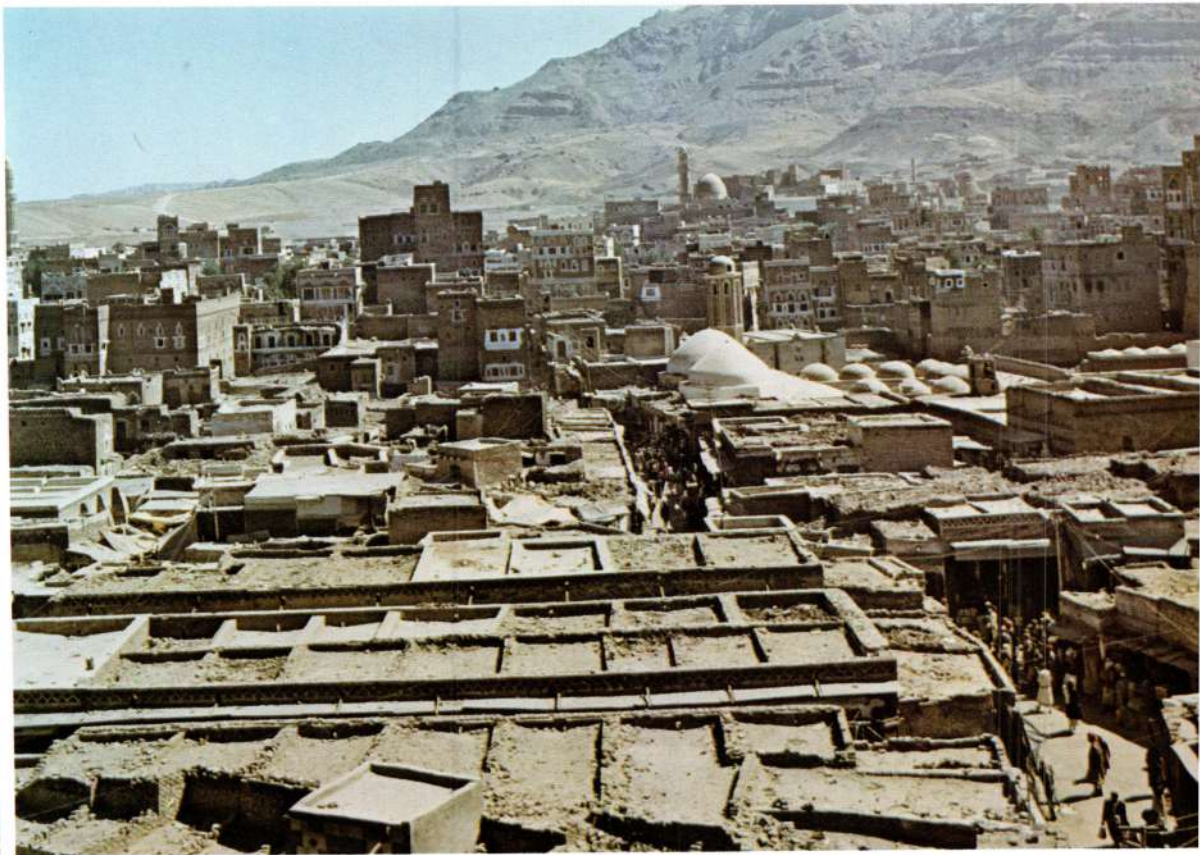
6 The western part of the old city, from the air, showing the typical pattern of city growth. The houses line narrow streets with behind them large open areas for market gardens. Each garden relates to a mosque of which it forms part of the *waqf* property.

7 The Sūq. A panoramic view from one of the highest *samsaraks* on the western side looking north and east with the foothills of Nuqum on the right. The small cabins projecting above the single storeyed shops contain small rooms for the watch that guards the Sūq at night. The facade of Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan/Aḥsan shows in the centre panel.

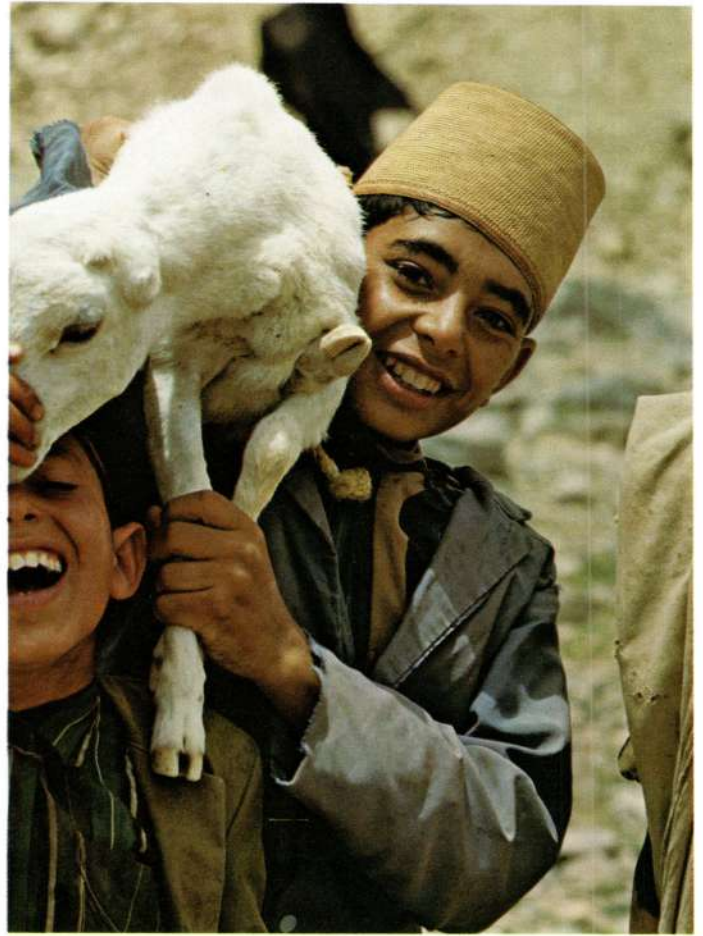




8 *Miqshāmah* of al-Mahdī ‘Abbās mosque, a large market garden with the dome and minaret of the mosque visible in the background.



9 Boys carrying a lamb to market; one is wearing a hat finely woven in the Tihāmah, of bamboo, called *khayzurān*.

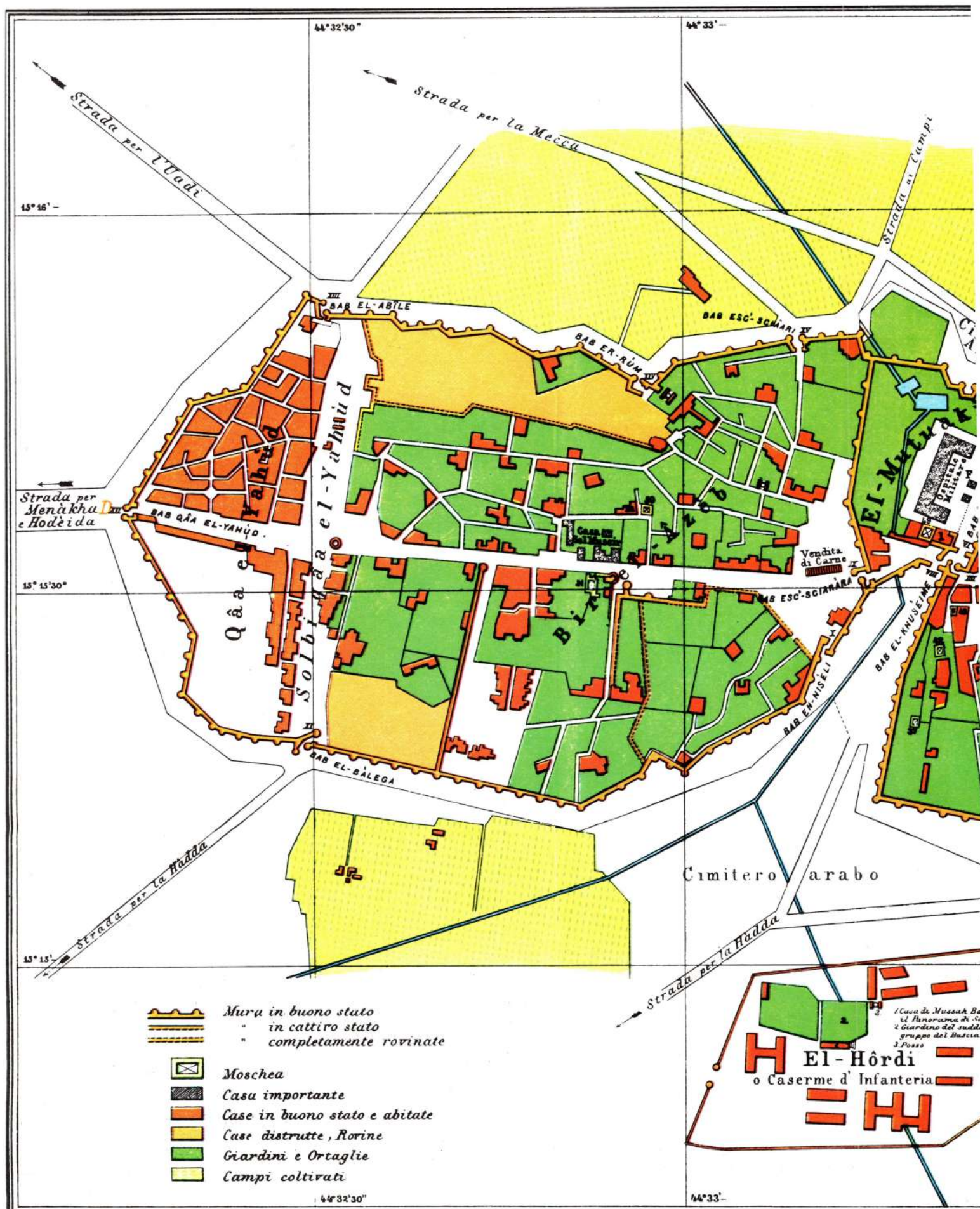


10 Qaṣr al-Silāḥ. A view of Ṣan‘ā’ with the Qaṣr in the left foreground, clearly elevated high above the town.





11 Şan'a'. A tribesman attending the 'Īd prayer, wearing a turban dyed with indigo.



12 Map of San'a' about 1870 by Manzoni. This map is inaccurate in some of its details. The existence of a large open *maydan* running east to west from the Sūq towards Bāb al-Sabāḥ is confirmed, at least in part, by contemporary photographs.

R. Stab. Ca.

44° 33' 30"

44° 34' -

44° 34' 30"

Pianta della Città di **SANĀĀ**

Sanāa: Gennajo, febbrajo, 1879.

RENZO MANZONI

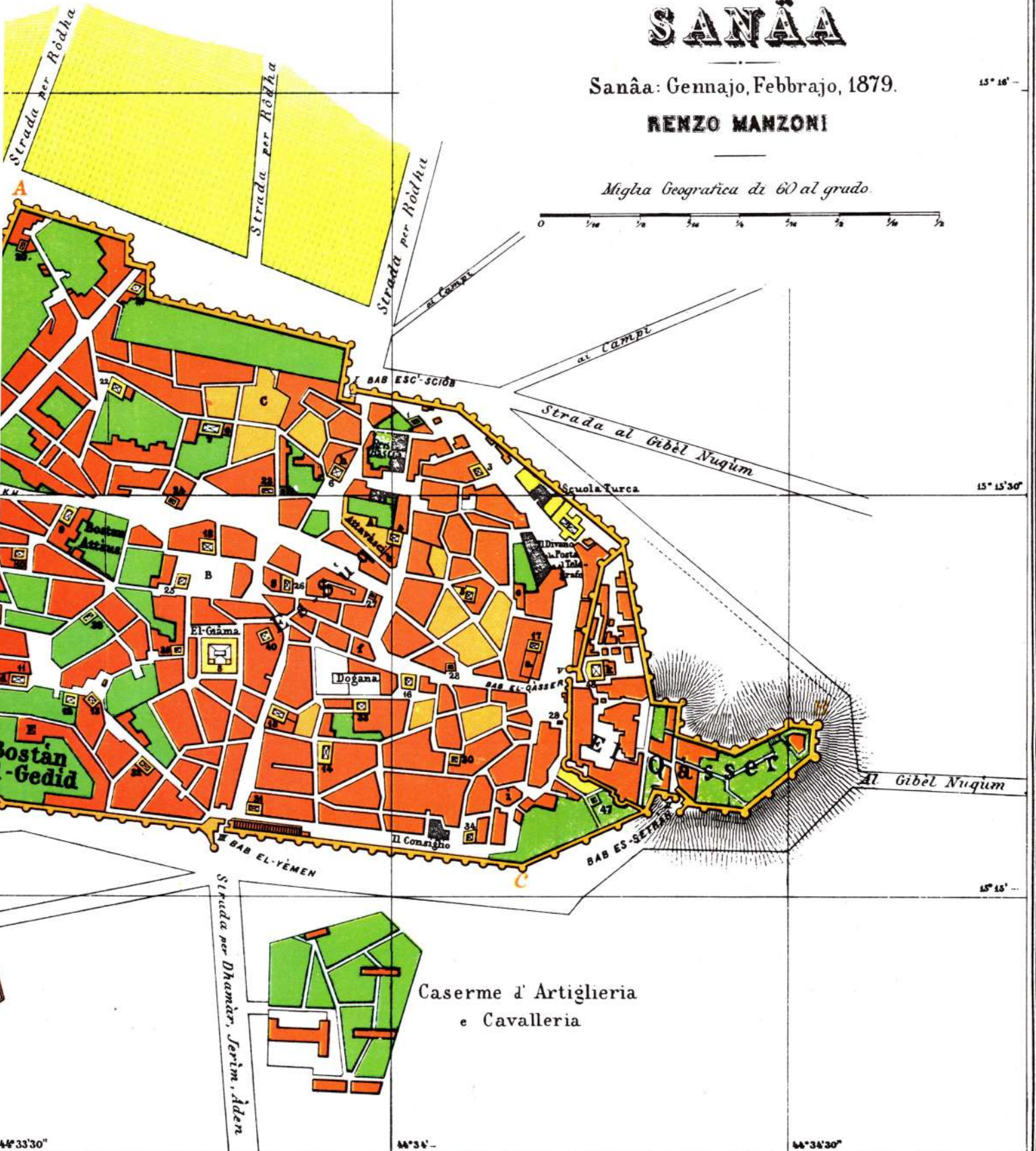
Miglia Geografica di 60 al grado.



15° 16' -

15° 15' 30"

15° 15' -



13 Panorama of the city in 1974 from the extreme western edge of Bir al-'Azab, Jabal Nuqum in the background.







14 Şan'a'. The Sūq. A characteristic scene between the rows of stalls.



15 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The restaurant and its serving counter inside the south entrance.



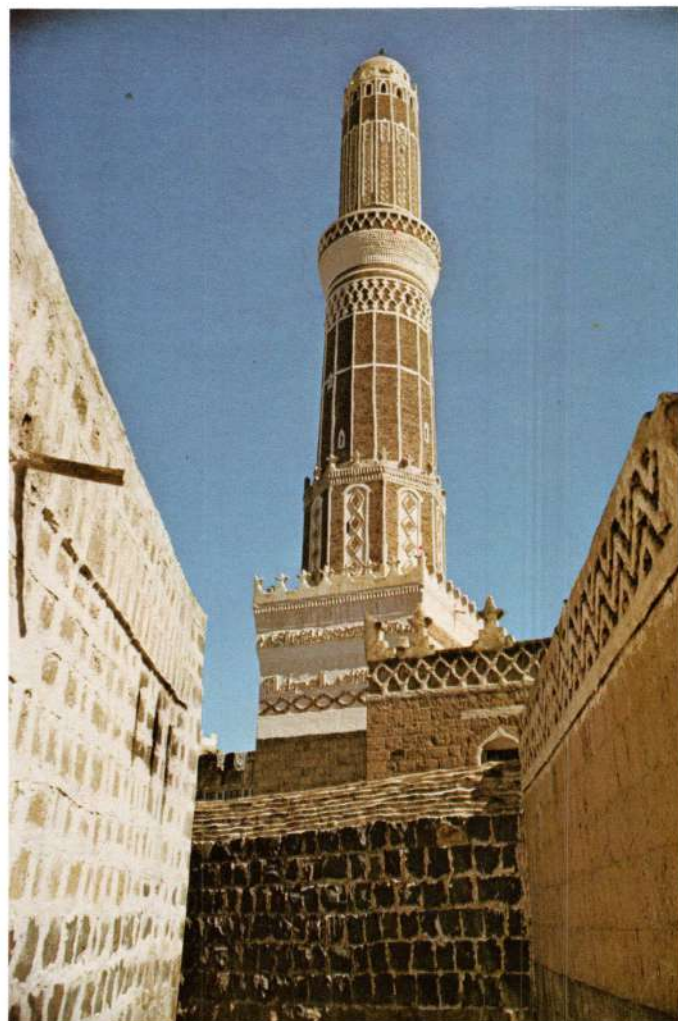
16 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The western side of the restaurant court, with the access to the stairs and the galleries leading to rooms for accommodation above.



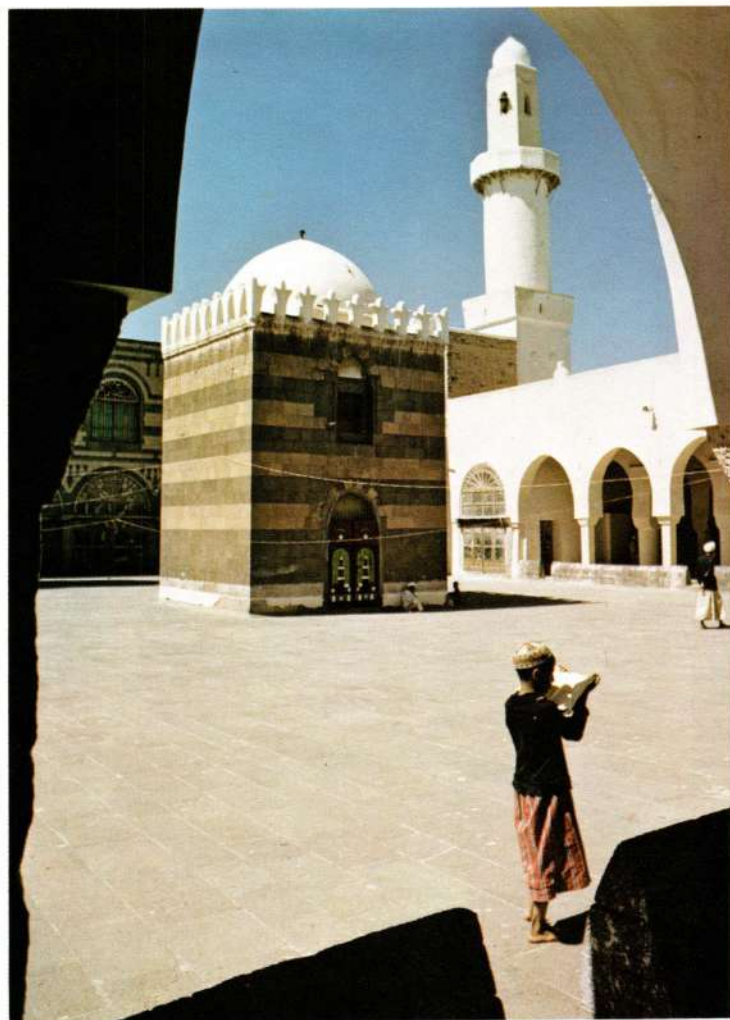
17 A corner of the Sūq al-Milh, with the domes of the Janāh mosque in the background.



18 Filling a water carrier from a *sabil*.



19 Mosque of Mūsā. Minaret.



21 The Great Mosque. Section of early ceiling from one of the high western bays.

20 The Great Mosque. View into the courtyard, with the square Chancellery of the Ottoman Governor Sinān Pasha, known as the Qubbah

22 The Great Mosque. Coffered ceiling of the northern prayer hall, with beams decorated with patterns and inscriptions dating from many periods.

23 The Great Mosque. Another section of the coffered and painted ceiling of the northern prayer hall.

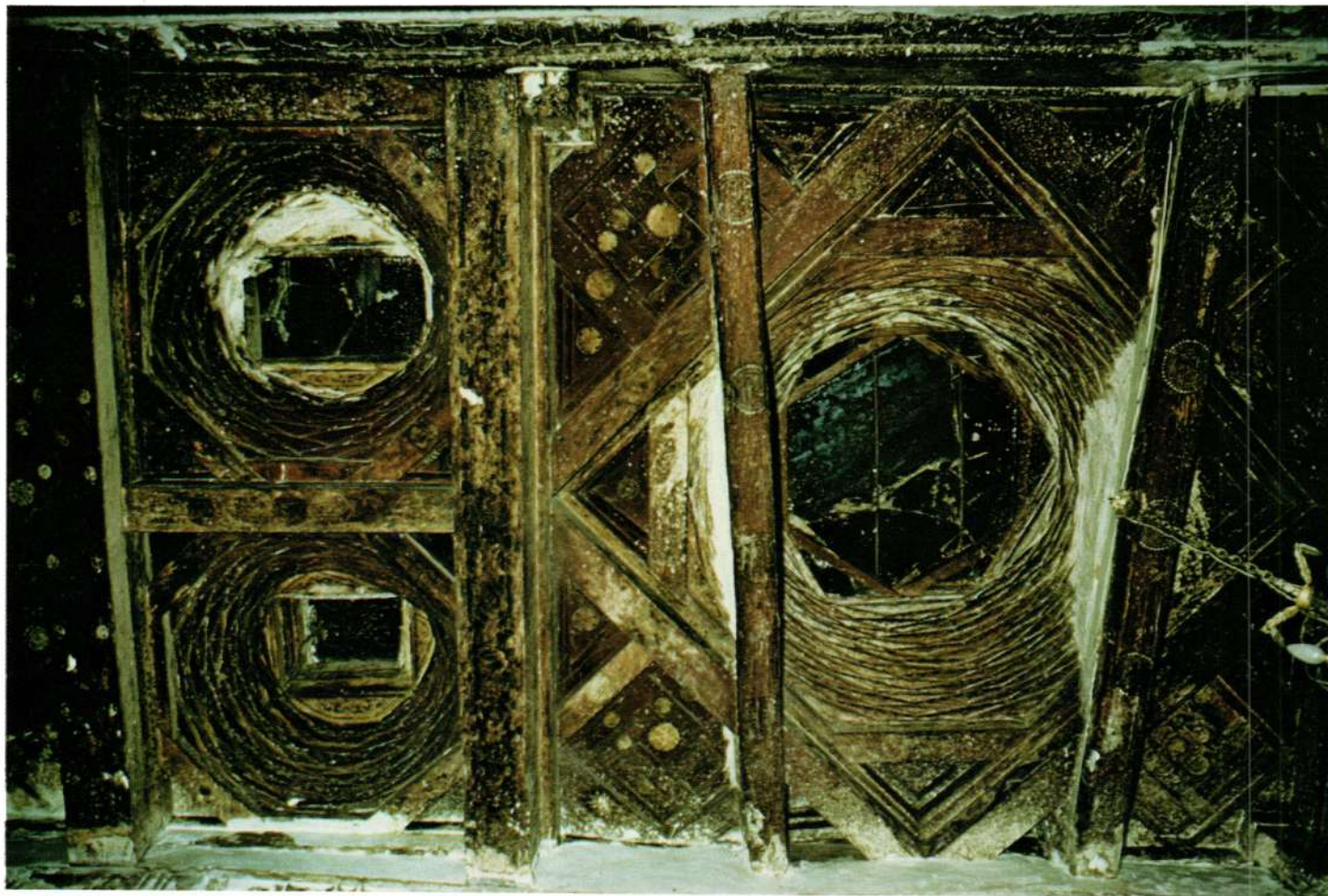
24 The Great Mosque. Part of the symmetrical group of five alabaster skylights in the first bay of the northern prayer hall, in front of the *qiblah*. The alabaster is now black from centuries of exposure to soot and dust.



22

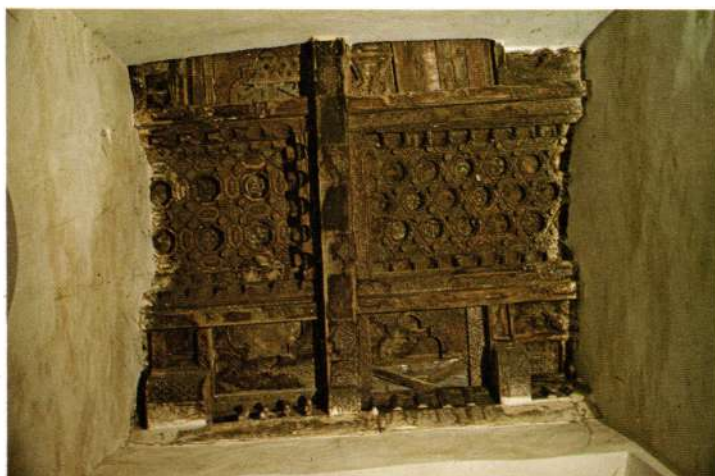


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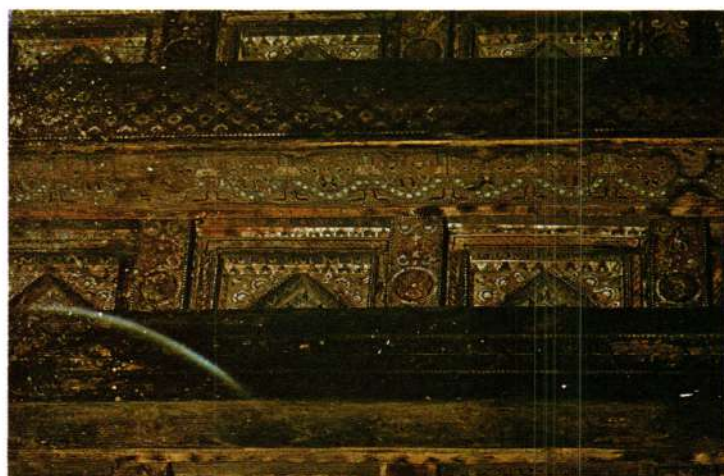


24

25 The Great Mosque. High western bay of ceiling, containing fragments of ancient decorated woodwork.



26 The Great Mosque. Part of the coffered and painted ceiling in the northern prayer hall.

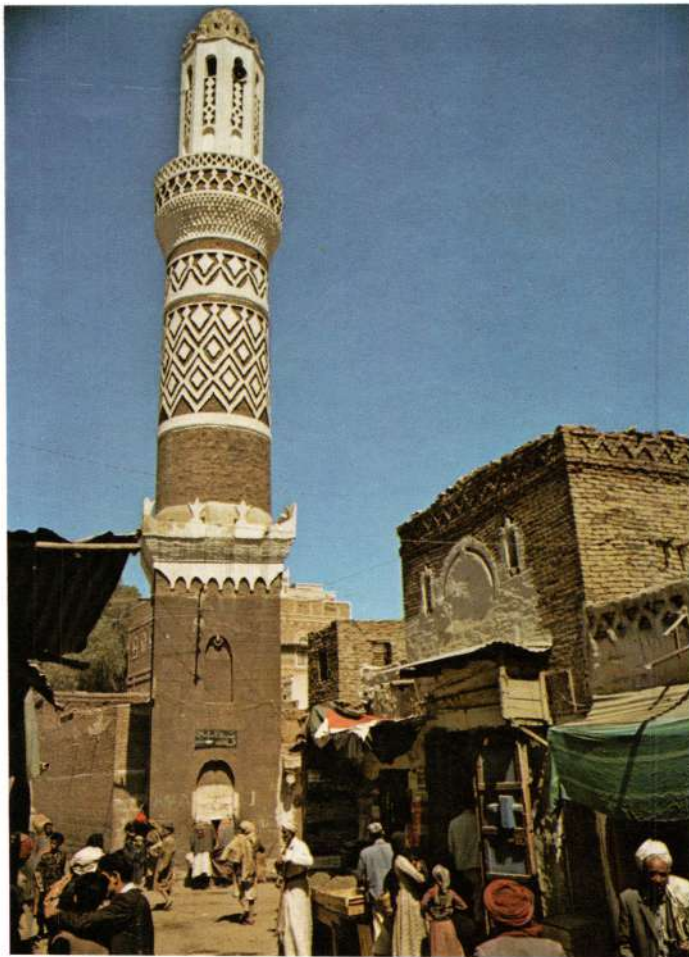


27 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber, *qiblah* wall and *mihrāb*.

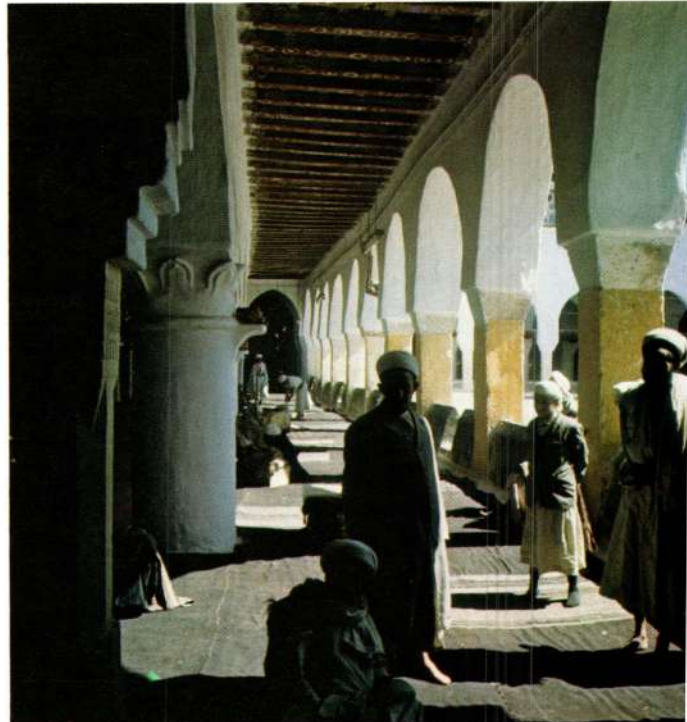


Mosque of al-Washali. Exterior of the prayer halls.
Al-Jabbānah. The communal prayer at dawn to mark the end of Ramaḍān, and 'Īd al-Fiṭr. With guards in red berets mounted on the walls.





30 Mosque of 'Aqil. Minaret on a street corner, seen from the sūq.



31 The Great Mosque. The northern prayer hall before its restoration in 1969 (R. B. Serjeant).







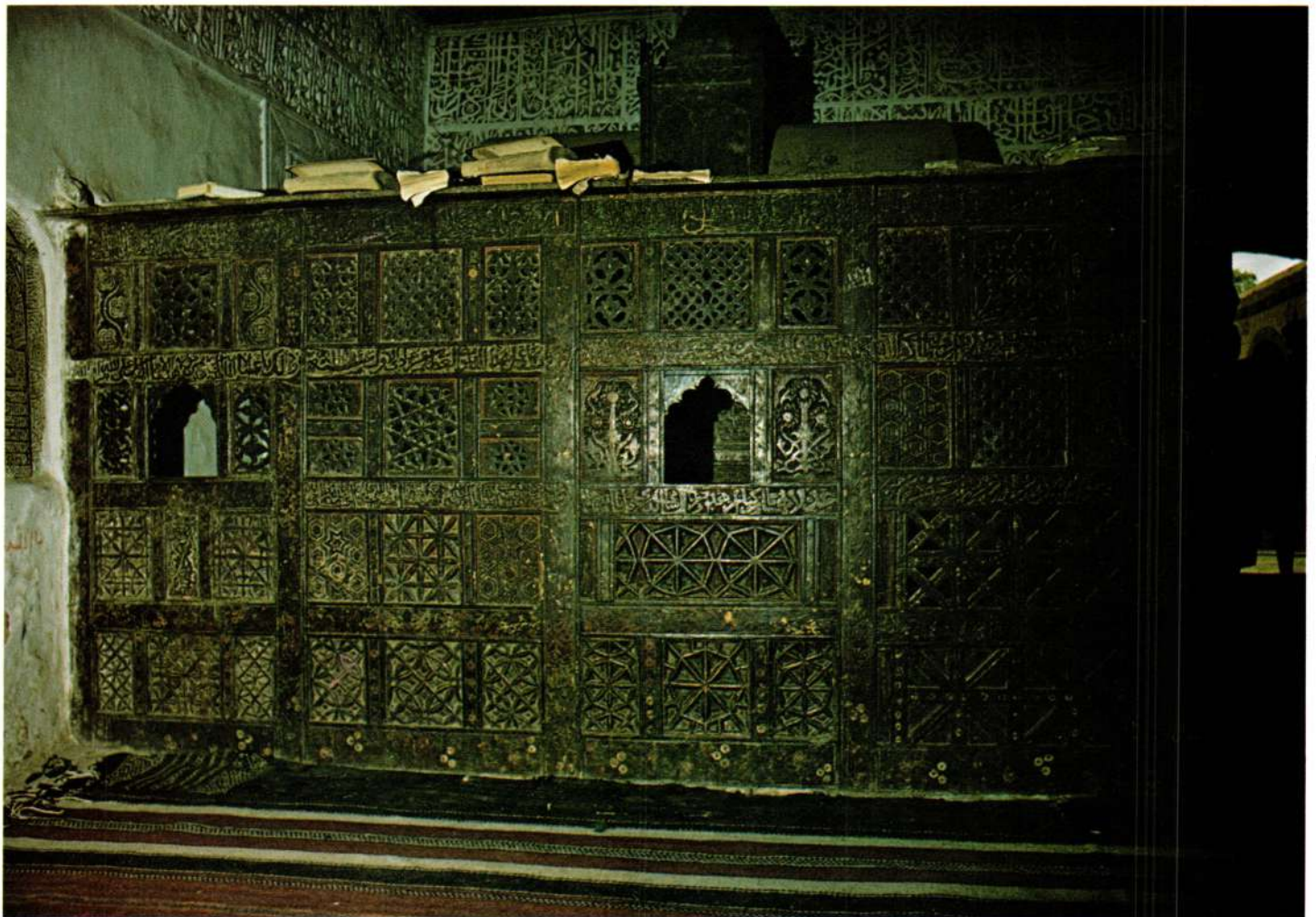
32 Qubbat Ṭalḥah (*left*). Viewed from above with the ablution block at bottom left.

33 Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās (*above*), highly decorated door.



35 Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. Side of the tomb.

34 Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās. Doors to the prayer hall, viewed from the inside.

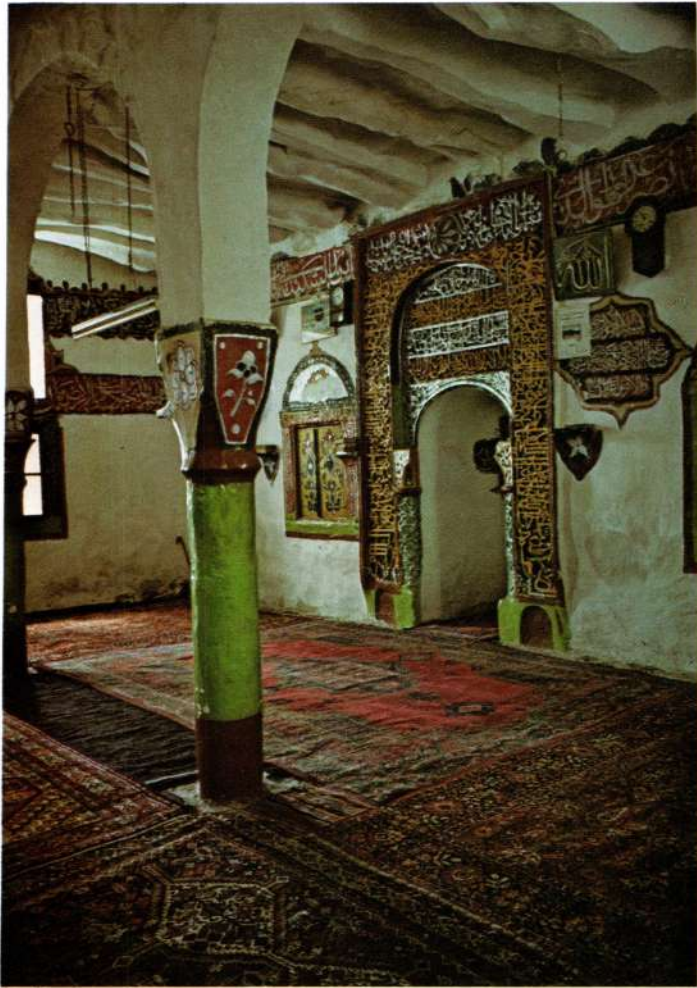




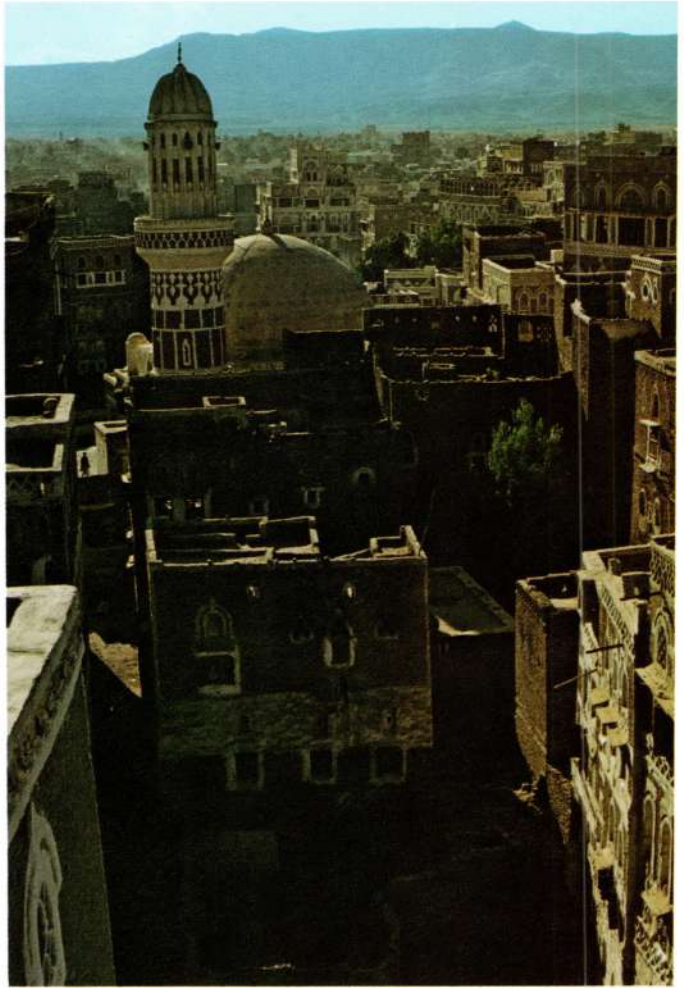
36 Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās. The tomb of al-Mahdī 'Abbās. End view.



37 Qubbat al-Mahdi 'Abbās. The tomb of al-Mahdi 'Abbās.



38 Mosque of Ibn al-Husayn. Interior of prayer hall.



39 Houses in the Talhah Quarter, seen from the *mafrāj* window of a house.



40 Houses in the Talhah Quarter, seen from a high *mafrāj*, with another on an adjoining house immediately in front.



41 Houses on the bank of the Sā'ilah.

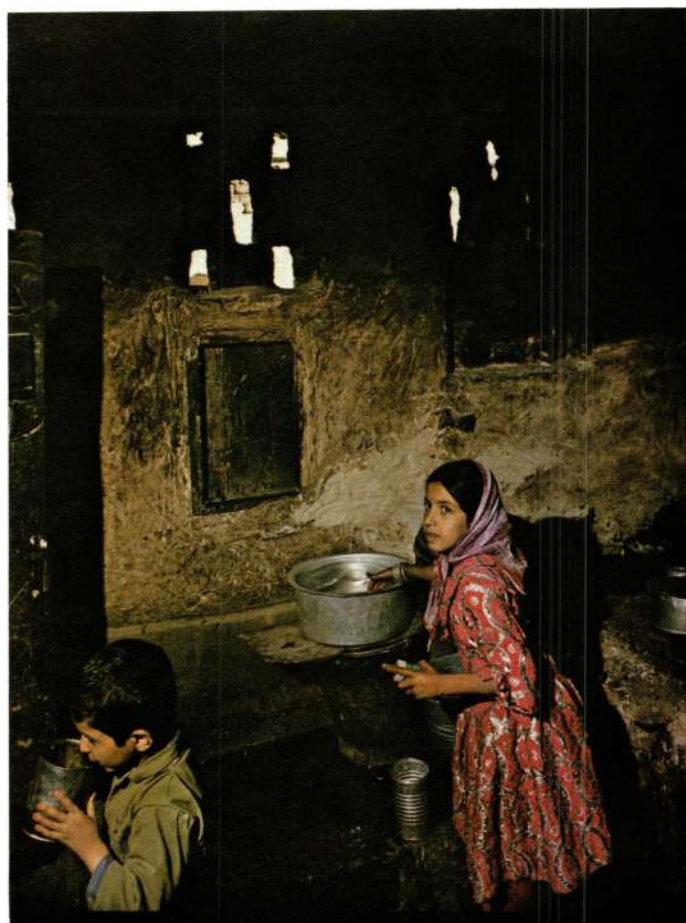


42 Detail of house.



43 High houses near Şalâh al-Dîn mosque.

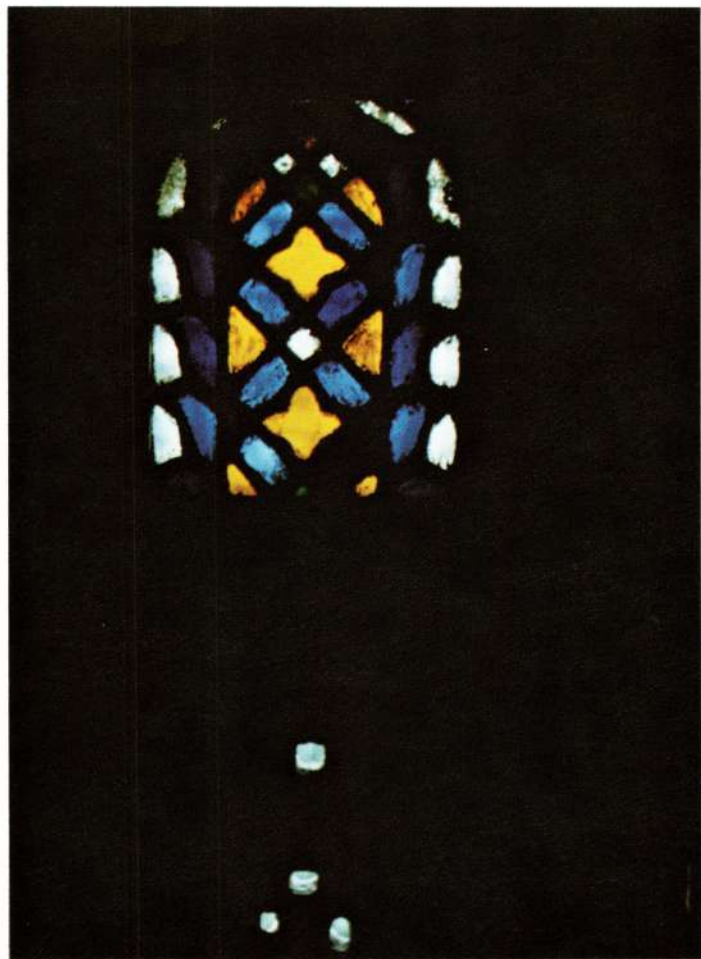
44 House W. Bathroom. The lavatory on the left; set in the right foreground two flat stones for one washing to stand upon while scooping water from a large vessel that would rest on the circular stone on right.



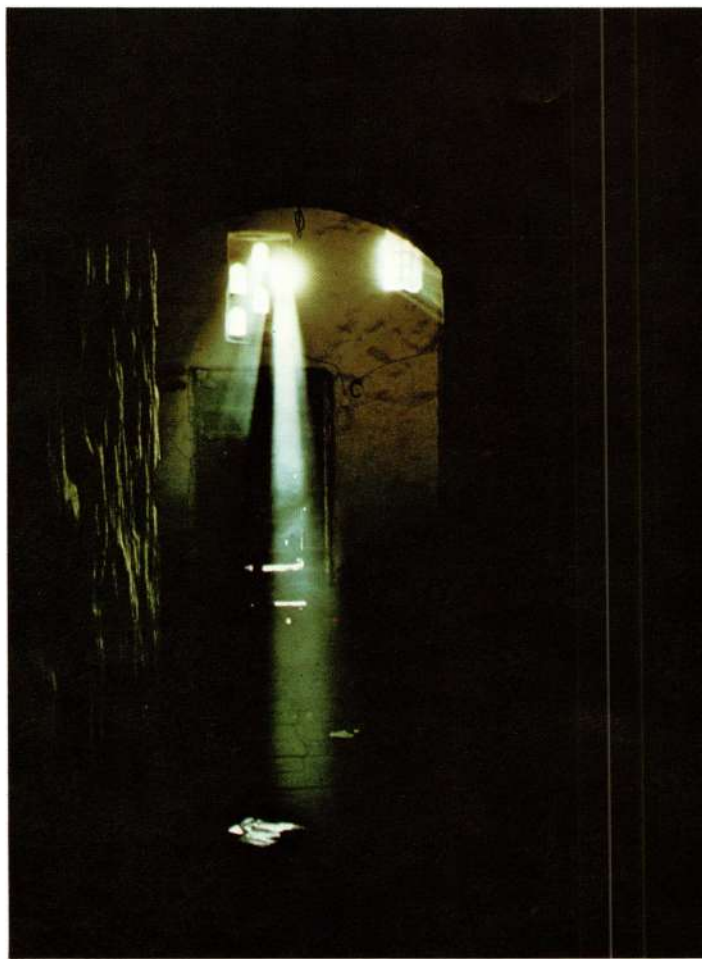
45 House W. Interior of kitchen.



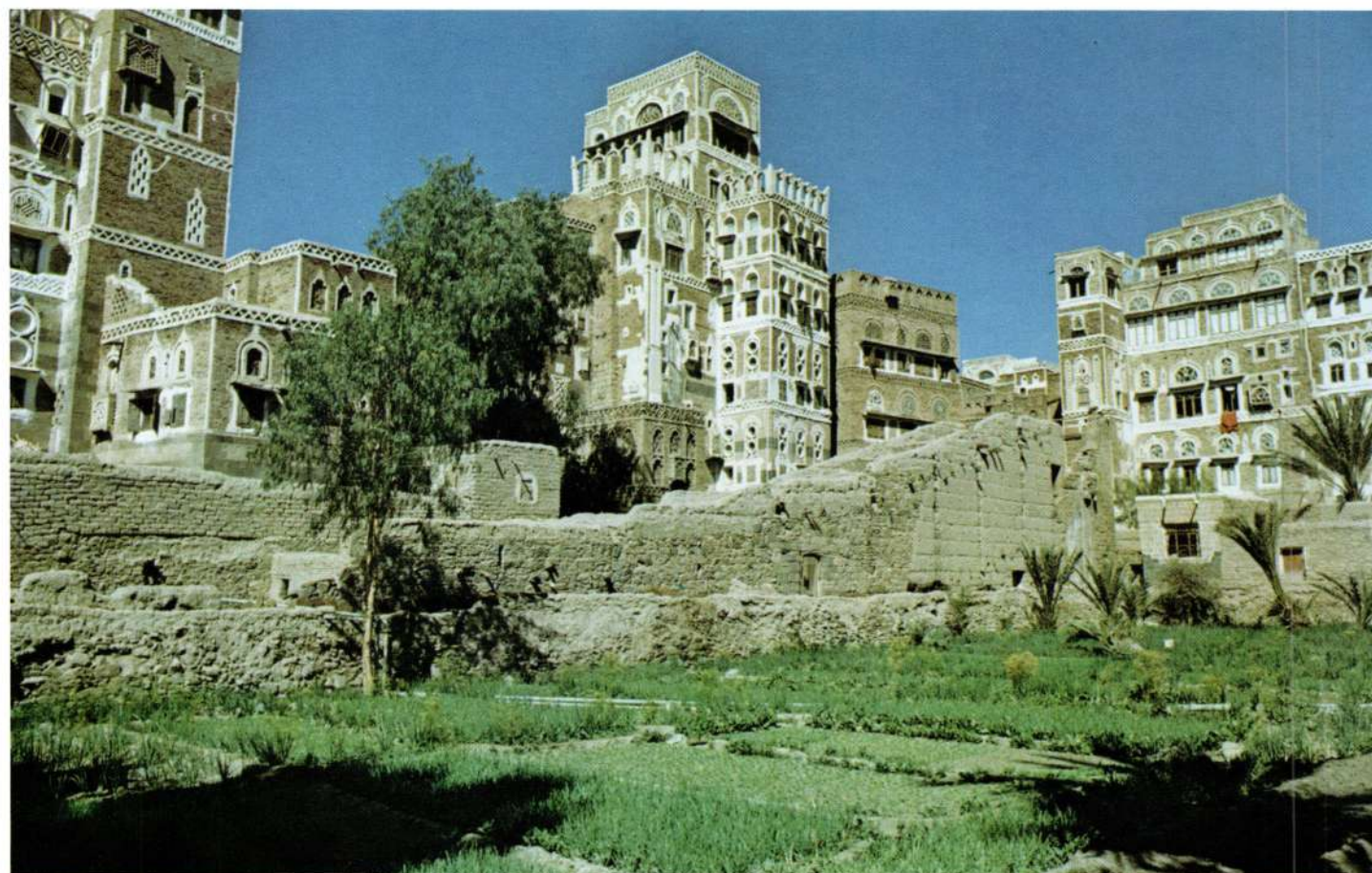
46 Men at an afternoon gathering in the *manzar* of a small house.



47 A typical coloured glass window from one of the upper rooms in a Ṣan'a' house.



48 House JY. The entrance hall as it appears on first entering it from outside.



49 House JY (centre). The back of the house seen from the *bustān* at its rear (centre). In front of it is the structure of a well ramp (*mirna*).



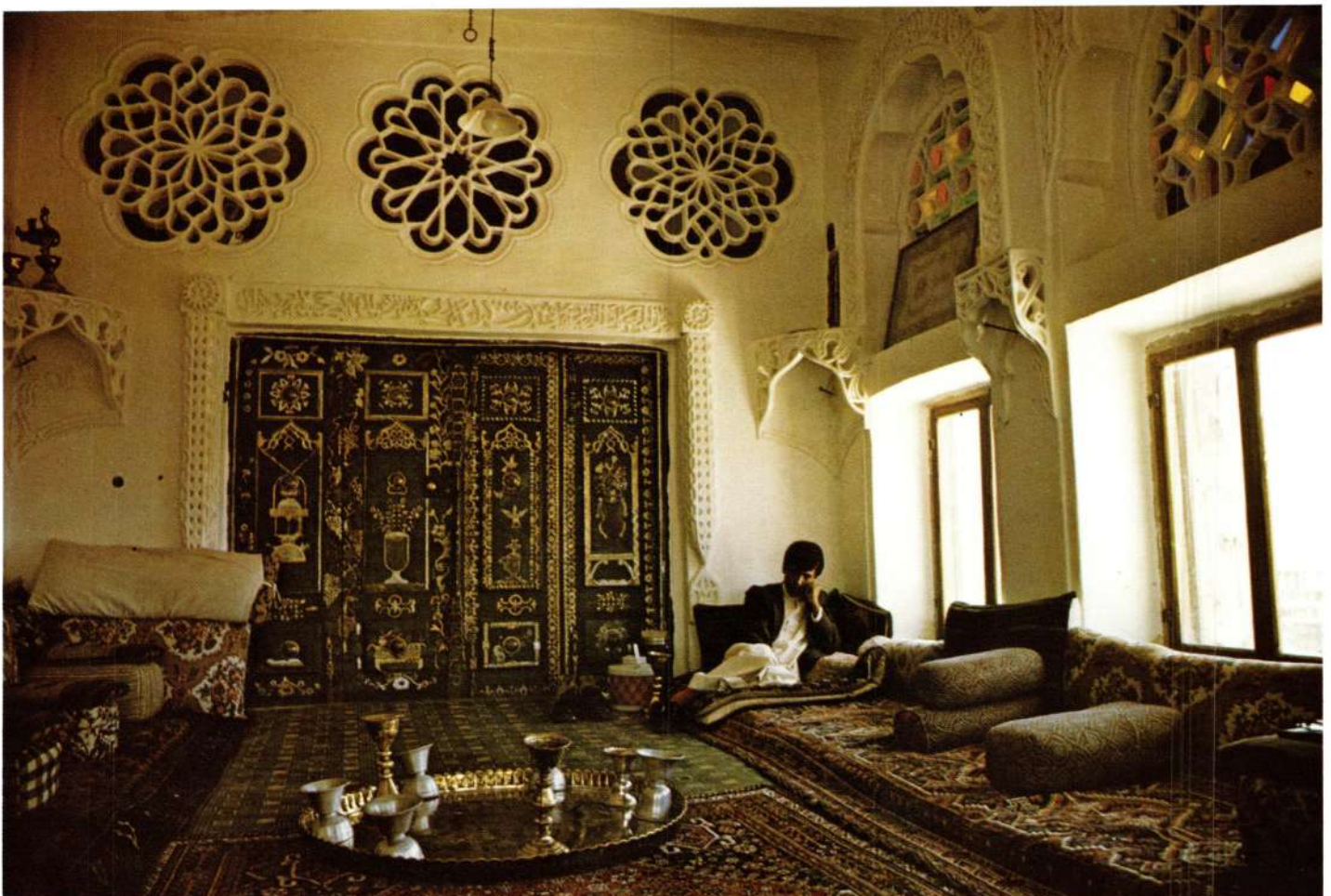
50 A typical *ḍiḥwān* in a Şan'ā' house (House N).



51 House JY. A coloured glass window, with six-pointed star in the tracery.



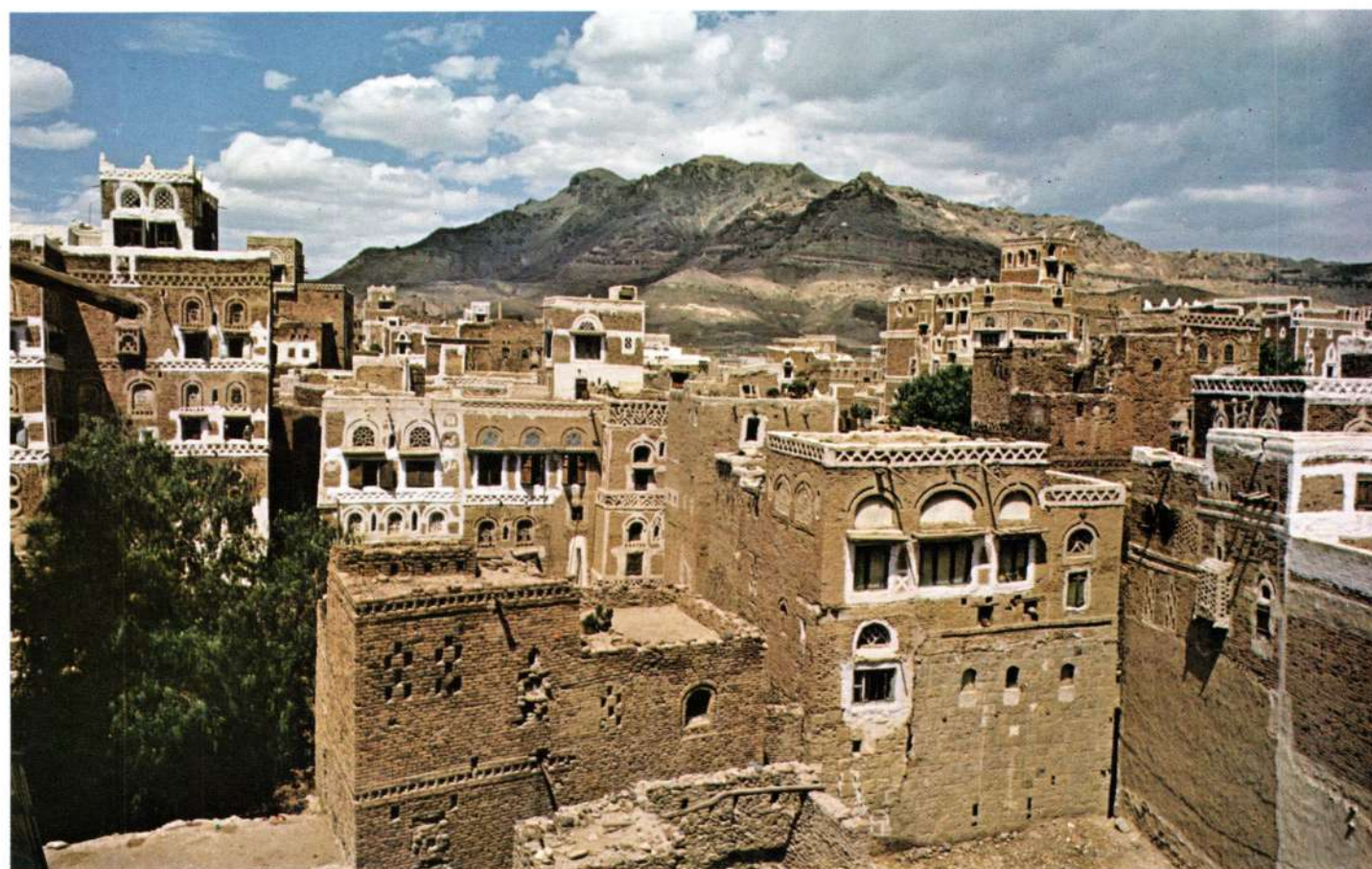
52 House AA. The mirror in the centre of the long wall of the *mafrāj*.



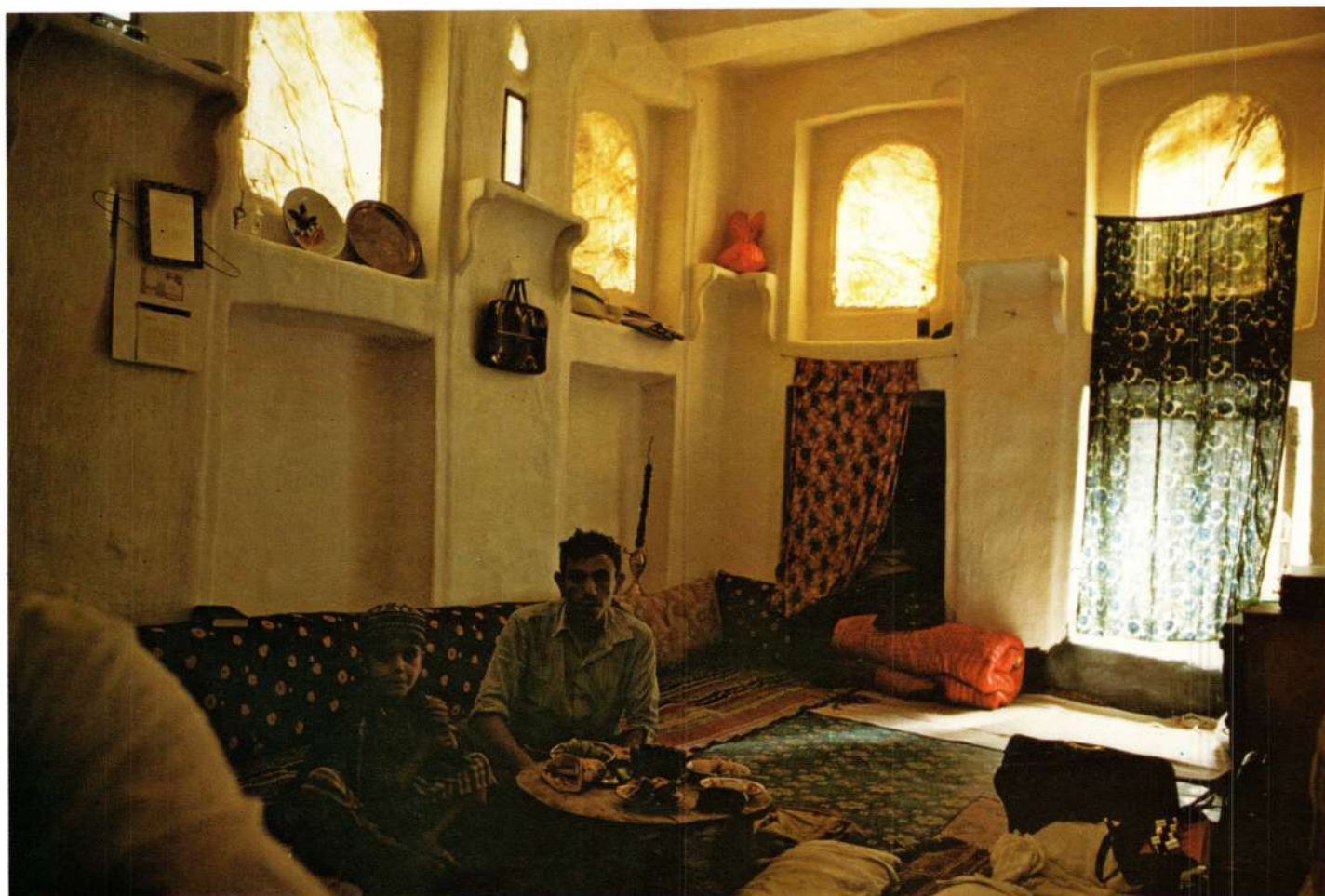
53 House AA. The *mafrāj*.



54 House W. View from the window of the central *manṣar*, looking south west.



55 House W. View from the window of the central *manṣar*, looking south east.



56 A modest room in an old house with its original alabaster upper windows.



57 *Diwān* of a small house, with a brass tray prepared for entertaining, with waterpipes, sweetmeat bowls, incense burners and spittoons.



58 Typical *manzar* of a small house.



59 A *manzar* in use for an afternoon musical session.



60 House S. *Diwān*, the outer wall. The reinforcing arch carried the cross wall of the floors above.



61 House B. The *mafrāj*.



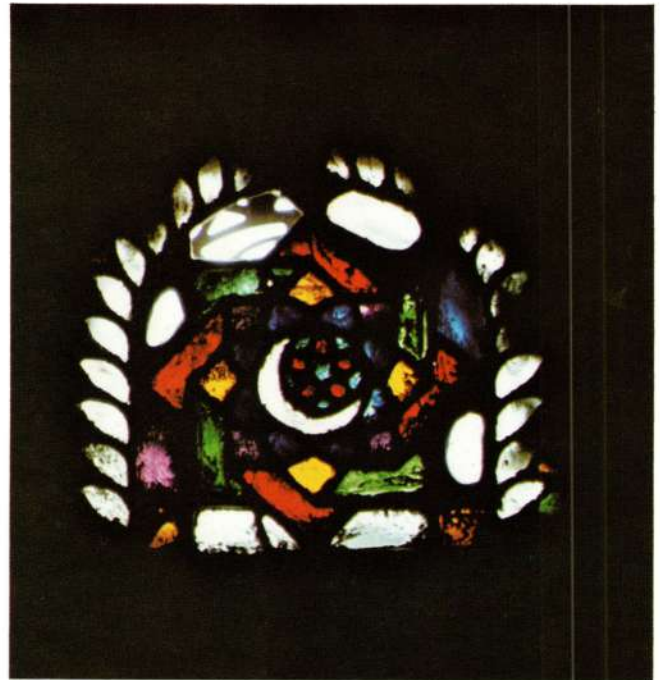
62 House B. The *mafraj*. Looking at the distant view through the west-facing windows in the outer lobby.



63 House B. The lobby to the *manzar*.



64 House B. The *mafraj* seen from outside. The small room above it is sometimes called *zahrah*, a flower.



65 House B. A coloured glass window with crescent in the *manzar* lobby.

28. Bakers (*Khabbāzīn*) and the Like 295

On social occasions (*mawājib*)²⁴² bakers receive eight *buqshahs* on the Ṣan'ānī *qadaḥ*—measure and for a sheep²⁴³ eight *buqshahs* also.

(Supplementary)

a. Bread-oven men²⁴⁴ and flour millers (*al-farrānīn*²⁴⁵ *wa-l-madāqiqah*)²⁴⁶—honesty and lack of deception and surveillance²⁴⁷ upon them by the Shaykh of the Town to inspect the flour as a precaution against the adulteration of wheat (*ḥinṭah*) with millet or barley, are stipulatory upon them.

b. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch they customarily do plus the collection charge for that, a *qirsh* less (*ya'jaz*) half an eighth (i.e. 1/16th) as the customary collection charge on that.

c. Coffee-inns (*al-maqāhī*)²⁴⁸—honesty and lack of deception are stipulatory upon them. Every coffee-inn proprietor (*muqahwī*)²⁴⁹ shall give his shaykh a guarantee that he will look after people's property and bedding.²⁵⁰

d. It is the duty of the person responsible²⁵¹ to pay attention to the water-vessel and coffee-pot (*jamīn*)²⁵² by supervising them each day. Any person he discovers not attending to the cleaning and covering²⁵³ over of his water-vessel he will imprison and reprimand.

e. Coffee-inn proprietors are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch they customarily do to the tune of a *qirsh* and a quarter plus collection charge of an eighth of a *qirsh* on that.

f. It is the duty of the person responsible to pay attention to the bakers (*al-khabbāzīn*) and inspect their utensils and imprison anyone who does not keep himself up to the mark.²⁵⁴

g. If he (the shaykh) does not inspect (*yata'ahhad*) these persons he is not entitled to the customary stipend (*jirāyah*)²⁵⁵ paid him by the markets.

(Supplementary)

a. Warehouse-keepers (*al-samāsirah*)—honesty and lack of deception and care of the property of the merchants (*tujjār*) are stipulatory upon them.

b. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch they customarily do to the tune of nine *qirsh* plus collection charge of half a *qirsh* for that.

29. The Blacksmiths' Market (*al-Miḥdādah*)²⁵⁶

The regulation (*qā'idah*) for the wage (for working) each *raṭl* (of iron) is the same as what it (the *raṭl* of iron) costs.

(Supplementary)

a. In all businesses (*ashghāl*) (matters will be conducted) in conformity with the (established) regulation (*al-qā'idah*), and the responsibility for seeing²⁵⁷ to that lies with their Shaykh, a responsible man of integrity (*al-'adl al-mu'ahhad*).

b. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch they customarily do to the tune of two and a half *qirsh* plus collection charge of an eighth of a *qirsh* on that.

c. Horse-shoes (*na'l al-khayl*)—weighing of the complete set (of shoes ? *taṭbiqah*)²⁵⁸ is the responsibility of the man who sells the iron. It (the set) will come to two *raṭls* and might come to two and a half *raṭls* or to two and a quarter *raṭls*—anything above this amount is rare. The price of the *raṭl* will be as time and place dictate.²⁵⁹

30. Farriery (*al-Bayṭarah*) 296

The farrier's (*al-bayṭār*) charge for work on a complete set (of shoes ?) is a quarter *qirsh*; for shoeing the fore-legs (? *na'l al-ṣadr*)²⁶⁰ it is an eighth of a *qirsh*, and for a single leg (? *al-fardah*)²⁶¹ five²⁶² *buqshahs*. The wage of the *rijlah* (?),²⁶³ i.e., the man who holds the horse's leg, is four *buqshahs* for a (complete) shoeing (*taṭbiqah*), two *buqshahs* for the forelegs (? *al-ṣadr*), and a *buqshah* for the one leg (*al-fardah*).

(Supplementary)

a. It is stipulatory on the farrier that he have a knowledge of the ailments (*'ilal*) of riding animals. The fee for (treating) *ṣafar*²⁶⁴ in horses is a quarter *qirsh*, and in donkeys (*bahāyim*) an eighth of a *qirsh*. The (horse)-holder (is paid) as previously mentioned.

b. Medicines (for treating) such (ailments) as large sores (*tiḥs/diḥs*)²⁶⁵ (on the back or chest)—the farrier receives the cost of the medicine and the fee.

c. If the treatment be given in the tethering-place (*marbaṭ*) he receives for each supplying of medicine (*ṭarḥah*)²⁶⁶ at the tethering-place a quarter *qirsh*, and for going round to inspect (the animal) the eighth of a *qirsh*.

d. Other ailments (are charged up) in the same way and in proportion to (the severity) of the ailment.

242 *Mawājib*, sing., *mūjib*, according to al-Sayāghī, marriage feasts (*walā'im*), but Qaḍī Ismā'il calls them *da'awāt*, invitations to birth, marriage, or death ceremonies.

243 Reading *al-rās al-ghanam* for the text's *al-rys al-qym*.

244 The *khabbāz* makes bread on a *mikhbāzah* (see p. 544a) and cooks the bread in a *tannūr* (see f.n. 323) while the *farrān* makes small baps (*kidam*, sing., *kidmah*) which he bakes in a large masonry oven of a type to be seen in Ṣan'ā' or in, for example, a village I visited in the Banī Bahlūl district. This oven is called *furn* and a long oar-shaped pole for removing the bread from the heat is known as a *kurayk*.

245 *Farrānīn* must be read for the text's *qarrānīn*.

246 *Madāqiqah*, sing., *mudāqqiq*. *Yudaqqiqū fi 'l-ṭahīn*. They make the ground flour soft (*na'im*).

247 *Mu'ahhadah* was explained as *taraddud al-shaykh wa-ta'ahhuduhum*, the shaykh's frequent visiting and observing of them.

248 *Maqāhī*, sing., *miqāh/miqhāyah*, places where travellers and their animals put up for the night, generally only brushwood shelters and charpoy beds. Food can be obtained as well as coffee. Cruttenden, op. cit., 268, found that the Muqawwi (sic) innkeeper, gives curdled milk and coarse cake of dhurah bread, about 1 lb., called 'one man's share', morning and evening.

249 The *muqahwī* is of low social standing. See my comments in C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Commoners, climbers and notables*. . . in the Middle East, 23.

250 I.e. his clothing and sleeping bag (*kis al-nawm*), this being a necessary part of a traveller's equipment in the cold high parts of the Yemen.

251 The phrase employed is *ṣāhib al-'uhdah*. Cf. f.n.s. 104, 346, and translation *passim*.

252 The handle of the coffee pot is *mazqam* (see f.n. 119), its neck *raqabah* and *dhimnābah* is the little part at the top of the handle.

253 In conformity with a Tradition in 'Abd al-Rahmān. . . b. al-Dayba' al-Shaybānī, *Taysir al-wuṣūl*, Cairo, 1346 H., II, 172, as a precaution against plague (*wabā'*), *ghaṭṭu 'l-inā' wa-awku 'l-siqā'*, cover the vessel and tie up the (mouth of) the water skin. 'Abdullāh Ya'qūb Khān, *Dictionary of Aden proverbs*, Cairo, 1933, 38, cites, *Ghiṭā' al-burmah shuqf* (in Yemen, *shuqfah*),

The cover of the pot is a potsherd. This last means that there is a use in everything however trivial. Cf. Goitein, *Jemenica*, III, no. 788.

254 Explained as *yaltazim bi-'l-haqq*.

255 *Jirāyah* is explained as *'ā'id*, a return.

256 *Miḥdādah*, a forge in Ḥaḍramawt, cf. C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramawt*, op. cit., 355, the place where one carries on a handicraft. Here it is the Market. Cf. Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 48, Dār al-Miḥdādah. George Viscount Valentia, op. cit., II, 431, reports that iron ore is found beyond Ṣan'ā' and used for 'rings of hookah snakes'.

257 Arabic *iftiqād*, inspection.

258 The rendering of *taṭbiqah* here is conjectural, but Dozy, *Supplément*, quoting *Maml*, II/1/202, gives it the meaning of *une plaque de fer*. . . *que l'on employait pour ferrer ces animaux (chevaux)*.

259 This section may be original, and not in the *Supplementary* part, but the printed text does not make it clear which it is.

260 Reading as in the original, rejecting al-Sayāghī's emendation. *Ṣadr*, chest, would seem to indicate that the forelegs are meant but this is unconfirmed.

261 The sense given *fardah* is unconfirmed.

262 An eighth of a *qirsh* is ten *buqshahs*.

263 *Rijlah* is read for the text's *dijlah*, but this latter was said by one informant to be an instrument for holding the leg, but this is unconfirmed.

264 Al-Malik al-Mujāhid, op. cit., fol. 81 a, speaks of *'Zafar* and *bayād* (lit. whiteness) in the eye. The sign of *zafar* is that you see the beast (*dābbah*) closing (*tughmiq*) its eye, and it keeps on watering. When it is opened something white like the fingernail of a man is found in it, the cause of it being a draught (*hawā'*) striking it. *Zafar* is found in the eyes of all horses. The author also describes the cure for this condition.

265 *Tiḥs/diḥs*, is a large sore on the back or chest (*jurḥ al-zahr aw al-ṣadr*). Cf. C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramawt*, op. cit., 570, and *Gloss. dat.*, *érorcher, enlever, la peau*.

266 One says, *Jā' tarāḥ li duwā'*, He came and gave me a medicine. It means *isti'māl al-duwā'*, using a medicine. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, *where tarāḥa is given the sense of donner*. It is thought also to mean a visit to examine (*iftiqād*) so as to prescribe.

- e. For mules (*biḡhāl*) and donkeys (he receives) half of what (he receives) for horses.
 f. Branding (*al-kayy*) is a recognised (*mu'tabar*) (treatment) for camels and riding animals (*dawābb*).²⁶⁷ He receives the cost of the charcoal (*al-sawd*) for heating the branding iron (*ālat al-kayy*), i.e. two *buqshahs*, while four *buqshahs* (are paid) the holder and an eighth of a *qirsh* to the brander (*al-kāwī*).

31. The Carpentry Market (*al-Minjārah*) 297

The master (*al-usṭā*) (carpenter) receives a quarter *qirsh* and the master-carpenter next (to him) an eighth of a *qirsh* and five²⁶⁸ *buqshahs*, and the workman (*shāqī*) an eighth of a *qirsh*.

(Supplementary)

- a. Honesty and lack of deception are stipulatory on the Shaykh. It is his duty to set a price for work (*al-a'māl*) and to evaluate the (raw) material (*al-mawnah*)²⁶⁹ for the importer (*jallāb*) also. They (the Shaykh and others ?) shall receive the fee previously mentioned.
 b. They are required to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch they customarily do, namely three and a half *qirsh* plus collection charge of half a *qirsh* on that.

32. Lock and Key Smiths (*Ṣunnā' al-Maghāliq²⁷⁰ wa-'l-Dawāyir²⁷¹*) 297

- i. They are obliged to contract not to make a key (*dāyir*) on the pattern of an impressed²⁷² piece (of wax or clay). Those of the Jews (Dhimmiyyin) who work in brass (*naḥās*), the yellow smelting (*al-ṣabb al-aṣḡar*),²⁷³ are likewise obliged not to cast (*ṣabb*) a key²⁷⁴ for anyone. This is because cast keys (*al-dawāyir al-ṣabb*) have been found.
 ii. All carpenters, persons engaged in lock-making (*ishtighāl al-maghāliq*) and blacksmiths are also obliged not to transgress, through manufacturing a key with no lock (to it), to a situation wherein 'detriment' (*maḍarrah*) to the Muslims lies. Nor may they tacitly avoid taking any transgressor in such direction as this to judgement.²⁷⁵
 iii. The manufacture (of keys) is confined to those exercising this craft (*ḥirfah*); the rest of the carpenters are prohibited from engaging in it, in order that the responsibility may remain with those exercising this craft in the event of any contravening of the regulation (*qā'idah*).
 iv. We²⁷⁶ have assigned responsibility to the Shaykh of the whole (body)²⁷⁷ of the Carpenters, the master Yaḥyā al-Baraṭī,²⁷⁸ and he took the firm oath (*al-'ahd al-mughallaḡ*).²⁷⁹

267 By *dawābb*, male and female donkeys are intended.

268 Reading *khamis* for the *khamṣin* of the text which, as it stands, would make the wage of the *usṭā*'s mate considerably more than that of the *usṭā* himself. They would, if the text is corrected, receive then twenty and fifteen *buqshahs* respectively.

269 *Al-mawnah* is explained as *al-māddah*, the material.

270 *Maghlaḡah*, pl., *maghāliq*, lock. *Masājīd Ṣan'ā'*, 139, states that the famous Bayt Ghuthaym locksmiths manufacture in Ṣan'ā', Ṣa'dah, and Dhamār. Cf. my 'Metal padlocks and Keys from Southern Arabia', *Man*, London, March, 1959, 49, and Brian Doe and R. B. Serjeant, 'A fortified tower house in Wādī Jirdān/Wahidi Sultanate', *Arabian Studies*, I, 5.

271 *Dāyir*, pl., *dawāyir*, a key. Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 262, the *dawā'ir*, keys of Kawkabān fort.

272 *Tābiq*, the imprint of a key on clay, or wax impression of it.

273 Cf. *al-ṣabb al-abyaḡ* of silver, supra, section 3, iii.

274 Keys must be made by forging, and not cast, since, if cast duplicates are made they can be used for nefarious purposes such as opening another person's locks. Al-Anisī, *Tarjī' al-ayār*, 224, 350, speaks of opening a lock without a key (*ṣaḡḡh al-aḡḡāl*) and indicates how this could be done. 'You stuffed a piece of cotton into the head of the lock (*ḡashayta 'l-'uḡbiyyah fī rās al-aḡḡāl*).'

275 Presumably this would take place before a Shaykh such as al-Baraṭī mentioned below.

276 This section is not marked *Supplementary*, so one might conclude that 'We' is Aḥmad al-Khazindār of the earlier document of the 18th century, but should there be, by any chance, an omission and this part of the *Qānūn* in fact be part of the *Supplementary* matter then 'We' can hardly be other than the Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī who, as well as compiling Document B, was the governor of Ṣan'ā'. This is the only place in the *Qānūn* where the first person is used.

277 The loose wording employed here, *li-jamī' shaykh al-naḡjārīn*, stands, apparently, for *li-shaykh jamī'* . . . which latter is translated here.

278 The *nisbah* is to Jabal Baraṭ, five days north east of Ṣan'ā', belonging to the

- v. Keys cast in moulds (*al-dawāyir al-kāḡḡāt*)²⁸⁰ are prohibited.

- vi. This statute (*qānūn*) relating to the manufacture of locks and keys was promulgated following upon the imprisonment of all the carpenters and locksmiths on account of certain incidents (*mutta-fiḡāt*) in the way of (illicit) opening of shops (*ḡawānīt*) which occurred, and this enactment (*marṣūm*)²⁸¹ was assented to.

33. Gun-stock Makers (*al-Majariyyīn?*)²⁸² 297

(Supplementary)

- a. Prices for gunstocks (*al-majāri*) are in accordance with what the circumstance dictates in the way of a good quality or poor gunstock. (Prices) run from half a *qirsh* to five *qirsh*, and the (gunstock) will be evaluated by an experienced man of integrity (*al-'adl al-mukhtabir*) of those who ply this craft.
 b. They are required to provide the customary stipend (*al-jirāyah*) for the watch to the tune of a *qirsh* less a quarter plus collection charge of an eighth on that.

34. The Brass Market (*Sūq al-Naḥās*)²⁸³ 298

(Supplementary)

- a. It is the duty of the Shaykh responsible to pay special attention to the polishing (*jalā*) and to be acquainted with what (wage) the brass-worker (*al-naḥḡās*) is entitled to for an individual piece of brass-ware (*al-shakhṡ²⁸⁴ al-naḥḡās*), and (he is responsible) also for (attention to) dealings (*al-iṣḡāḡ*).
 b. They are required to perform the watch duties they customarily do and to provide the fleece-lined coats for the watch to the tune of a *qirsh* and a half plus an eighth of a *qirsh* collection charge on that.

35. The Sandal and Shoemakers' Market (*Sūq al-Minqālah²⁸⁵ wa-'l-Iskāfiyyah*) 298

(Supplementary)

- a. Honesty (*amānah*) and lack of deception are stipulatory upon the Shaykh and he (must) undertake to regard the stranger and the lad of the Market with an impartial eye only.
 b. The soundest (*ablagh*) workmanship where sandals and boots (*al-ni'ālat wa-'l-bashāmiq²⁸⁶*) are concerned is that which contains no *kabs* (i.e. the insertion in the sole of a layer²⁸⁷ of small pieces of leather between two layers each of a single piece of leather).
 c. Sandals of four layers of *ḡaylam²⁸⁸*-leather and Ṣa'dah²⁸⁹ leather of the best workmanship are priced at half a *qirsh*, as also are boots (*bashāmiq*) without any *kabs* (layer of small pieces of leather), following which (is a poorer quality) priced at a quarter and an eighth (i.e. 3/8ths) of a *qirsh*. The sandal of (strong) *rikā* leather

Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn tribes, a good description of which appears in Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 24.

279 *'Aḡida/uhida al-'ahd al-mughallaḡ*—Qāḍī Ismā'il found the verb difficult in this context and proposed *akhadha* be read, and the translation has assumed the emendation, though its possible that in Ṣan'ā' colloquial this might be a correct usage. The *Taj al-'arūs* defines an *'ahd ḡhalīḡ* as *mu'akkad mughaddad*.

280 *Kāḡāt* is explained as smelted in the crucible (*al-maṣbūbah ṣabb fī 'l-bawṡaqah*), but so far I have not found this word in any other source.

281 *Marṣūm* is explained as *qānūn*. Cf. the description of the document (pp. 180a) as *mithāl marṣūm* and *qānūn marḡūm*, terms apparently synonymous.

282 Manufacturers of the stock (*khashab al-banādiq*)—for the Arabic *majrā*, *tafashki* is also used. It was said to be a Turkish word but does not figure in Redhouse's dictionary. The vocalisation of *majariyyin* is not quite certain.

283 *Naḥās* in the Yemen means brass.

284 *Shakhṡ* (pl. *ashkhāṡ*) is said to mean a vessel (*inā'*) of brass. Cf. in my *Portuguese*, op. cit., 196, *shakhṡ*, a gold coin, and, 152, *maskkhaṡ*.

285 *Minqālah*, (cf. *miḡḡādah*) is the place where the *munaqqil*, pl., *manāqilah*, shoe-maker plies his craft. Cf. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 145. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 39, no. 108, cites *Aḡfā min munaqqil*, More bare-footed than a shoe-maker. A similar proverb is *A'rā min miḡhayyīḡ*, Barer than a tailor.

286 Sing., *bashmaq*, a boot, from Turkish *bashmaq*, shoe, slipper. Cf. E. Brauer, *Ethnologie*, 87, *Halbschuh* worn by the Jews, of which there were Yemeni and Hindi types; Rossi, op. cit., 157. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 298 seq., nos. 866-7, where *bashmaq* is also a woman's shoe, and *bashmaq khisa*, also called *masd* is a special shoe used when the rains fill the street with mud (*khisa*). Qāḍī Ismā'il also reports a verb, *tabashmaq*, to wear, put on, a boot. Cf. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 40, no. 206, *passim*. See Niebuhr, Description, II, 56, for an illustration of shoes worn by Yemenis.

287 Cf. classical Arabic *kabasa*, to stuff, pad. The layers (*ḡibāq*) of leather are called *ḡashū*.

288 *ḡaylam* in Persian is a leathern carpet used for a table-cloth (Steingass).

289 Ṣa'dah leather has been famous from early Islamic times.

(costs) a quarter and half an eighth (i.e. 5/16ths) of a *qirsh*—the best workmanship, after which is (a poorer quality) priced at a quarter *qirsh*, and after that (a still poorer quality) priced at eight *buqshahs*. (Strong hard) 'arāṣ leather (of) the best workmanship costs an eighth of a *qirsh*, after which is (a poorer quality) costing eight *buqshahs*, and after that (a still poorer quality) costing six *buqshahs*. Boots (*bashāmiq*) of medium quality (cost) a quarter and an eighth (i.e. 3/8ths of a *qirsh*), and (a poorer quality) after that a quarter *qirsh*. *Faqālāt*²⁹⁰ (a type of shoe) with a layer of *faylam*-leather and *baḥathāt*²⁹¹ (sandals with thick heels ?) are an eighth of a *qirsh* for the best sandals (*nī'āl*),²⁹² following which (is a poorer quality) for eight *buqshahs*. *Rikā*-leather is six *buqshahs*, following which (is a poorer quality) for five *buqshahs*. In all of these (afore-going), where (the upper and lower) limits of the expensiveness or cheapness of the goods are concerned, (recourse is had to) the evaluation of the experienced man of integrity (*al-'adl al-mukhtabir*).

d. They are required to carry out the watch duties they customarily do when the town needs, and they are required to provide the customary fleece-lined coats for the watch to the tune of six and a half *qirsh* per annum plus collection charge of half a *qirsh* on that.

36. Builders' Wages (*Ujrat al-'Ammār*) 298

i. The master-builder (*al-ustā*²⁹³ *al-kabīr*) in chief (receives) a quarter of a *qirsh* and two and a half *buqshahs*, to which is added the hire of the gear (*kirā al-'iddah*), altogether two and a half *buqshahs*. The master-builder next to him (receives) an eighth of a *qirsh* five *buqshahs*. The wage of the mate who hands (*al-munāwīl*)²⁹⁴ (stones and mud) to the master-builder is an eighth of a *qirsh* two and a half *buqshahs*. The wage of the labourer (*shāqī*) is an eighth of a *qirsh*. The price of water (used) in building is a *buqshah* and a half. The wage of the stone-mason (*al-muwaqqiṣ*)²⁹⁵ is an eighth of a *qirsh* two *buqshahs*.

ii. The workmen (*shuqāh*) in Bīr al-'Azab—the master-builder in chief (receives) an eighth of a *qirsh* two and a half *buqshahs*, and the labourer (*shāqī*) eight *buqshahs*.

iii. The workmen (*shuqāh*) of al-Rawḍah, al-Jirāf and the other harvest-time resorts (*makhārīf*)²⁹⁶—the master-builder (receives)

for building and erecting vine-trellises (*shir'ah*)²⁹⁷ an eighth of a *qirsh*, and the labourer six *buqshahs*.

37. Stone and Wages (*al-Aḥjār wa-'l-Ujūr*) 299

i. The price of a large *ḥabash*²⁹⁸ stone delivered (to the building site) is three *buqshahs*. The price of the corner-stone (*ḍubr*) of *ḥabash* delivered (to the site) is four *buqshahs*.

ii. The price of cemetery stones³⁰⁰ (set round a grave)—the price of a stone an iron cubit in length is a *buqshah* and a half. The price of a large white stone delivered (to the site) is two *buqshahs*. The price of baked brick (*ājūr*) is two *qirsh ḥajar* per thousand³⁰¹ delivered (to the site), (shaped) on the known customary (*ma'rūf*) mould³⁰² for them.

iii. Mud-plasterers (*al-mallājīn*)³⁰³—the wage of the master in chief is a quarter *qirsh* two *buqshahs*, to which is added hire of gear two *buqshahs*, and the cradle (*al-isqālah*)³⁰⁴ two *buqshahs*. The wage of the next (the foreman ?) is an eighth of a *qirsh* five *buqshahs*. The wage of a labourer (*shāqī*) is an eighth of a *qirsh*. The price of water, if it be a single labourer with a water-skin (*qirbah*) is two and a half *buqshahs*. The mix (*al-khulṭ/khalṭ*)³⁰⁵ (of straw, dung etcetera)—the price of an ass-load or a large woollen sack (*ghirārah*) is five *buqshahs*, and the price of an ass-load of earth (*turāb*) one *buqshah*.

iv. The Jewish³⁰⁶ mud-plasterers and workers in gypsum-plaster (*al-mallājīn al-Dhimmiyyin wa-'l-majāṣiṣah*)³⁰⁷—the wage of a master (*ustā*) of them is an eighth of a *qirsh* five *buqshahs*, to which is added hire of gear. The labourer's (*shāqī*) wage is eight *buqshahs*. The price of water is as previously noted.

v. Plasterers (*al-majāṣiṣah*)—the skilled master-(plasterer) (receives) a *qirsh* two and a half *buqshahs*, to which is added hire of gear, two *buqshahs*, and hire of cradle, two *buqshahs*. The labourer (receives) an eighth of a *qirsh*. The price of water for the first working (*'amal al-bid'*)³⁰⁸ (of the plaster) is one *buqshah*, to be paid by the master-(plasterer). The wage of the master for a washing over (a new coating) (*al-ghasīl*)³⁰⁹ of the plaster (*juṣṣ*) is a quarter *qirsh*, the labourer receives an eighth of a *qirsh*, and the price of the water is two *buqshahs*.

vi. 'Concreters' (*al-Maqāḍidāh*)³¹⁰—the wage of the master is a

290 *Faqālāt* is said to be a kind of shoes (*aḥdhiyah*) but I have found no reference to it elsewhere. *Rikā* and 'arāṣ are described as strong leathers and 'arāṣ is said not to be pliable (*nā'im*). Qāḍī Ismā'il said certain kinds of shoe have disappeared such as the *jawkh* (see f.n. 237) with no strap (*shirāk*)—it was covered with leather and had a lining of red *jawkh*.

291 Sing. *baḥthah*, which is described as a little raised (*rafi'ah*) piece under the sole (*akhmas*) of the shoe.

292 Reading *nī'āl* for *yūqāl* of the text.

293 *Ustā* is derived from *ustādh*. Today (1972) the *ustā kabīr* receives fifty *riyāls* per diem and works seven days a week. Qāḍī Ismā'il in his collection of proverbs has, from 'Utmah, the saying, *Kull-an fī mahrat-iḥ sultān*, or *Kull-an 'alā mahrat-i sūfī ḥakīm*. Everyone in his profession is a sultan/wise *ustā*. *Sāḍī* means *ustā*. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 21, no. 106, 99, no. 686, *al-'Iddah thulthayn al-ustā* (*al-ustāwīyyah*), Good craftsmanship is two thirds of the master-craftsman(ship). Cf. *ibid*, 21, no. 106.

294 The *munāwīl* hands him the stones (*hijār*) and puddled clay (*khulab*). See Doe and Serjeant, op. cit., II, plate iii.

295 Explained as *alladhī yushadhdhiq al-hijār*. See p. 468a.

296 *Makhārīf*, sing., *makhraf*, according to Lane, the place of abode of people during the *ḥarīf*, and in *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 73, the grape harvest. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 17, gives a list of some of those around *Ṣan'ā'*, al-Rawḍah (Rawḍat Ḥātim), al-Jirāf, Dhahabān, Thuqbān, Dahr, Qaryat al-Qābil, Dila', 'Asur (variously pronounced), Haddah, Ṣanā', Bayt Sibṭān, Bayt Baws, Ḥamil, Sa'wān, Ṣarīf, al-Malikah, al-Furs (lit. Persians, said to be descendants of the Persian Abnā'), Ghufṛān, al-Sharyah, Rijām, al-Sirr, and others.

297 *Shir'ah* is the making of squares (*tak'ibat al-'inab*) for the vines, and the raising of vines on wooden poles (*a'wād*) (al-Sayāghī), but Qāḍī Ismā'il simply called it *'arish al-'inab*. In the Bani Bahlūl district in 1966 I saw quarries for the stone pillars (*qurḍā'i/qirdā'*, pl., *qarḍā'*) used for the uprights of the vine-trellises. These are long slender stones, white to greenish in colour, this type of stone being called *zarqah* there. The stone seems naturally to break up into these shapes appropriate for the same purpose. The wooden poles in Bahlūlī country were called *ḥablah* (pl., -āt).

298 *Ḥabash* is a well known black stone.

299 *Ḍubr*, *Gloss. dat.*, 2165, *angle, coin*. Today (1972) such a corner stone a little over a *dhirā'* long would cost about four to five *riyāls*. The cost of working *ḥabash* is double (*muḍā'af*) that of working in white stones, because the black stone is so hard.

300 This does not, it seems, mean the two upright stones on graves of men.

301 Today (1972) a thousand bricks would cost about 200 *riyāls*.

302 He means the mould (*qālib*) of standard size. Bricks measured in *Ṣan'ā'* in 1972 were approximately 6" × 6" × 2", but Zabid bricks are much smaller and of a different shape. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 53, speaks of Day'at al-Mahāriq, where they burn *ṭub* and *yājūr* (burnt brick), east of the road from Bāb al-Yaman to Haddah—a manufacture already well established by 1073/1622 since it is mentioned in the *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 48 b. (A *mihrāq* (of which *maḥāriq* would be the plural) is a furnace, as in Rossi, op. cit., 159). The *ḥakīm* of *Ṣan'ā'*, al-Saḥlī was buried next to his brother in the cemetery (*turbah*) which holds them, at Bāb al-Yaman and Day'at al-Mahāriq, next to their mosque. Cf. *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 599, which mentions, in 870/1465, al-Mahāriq near *Ṣan'ā'*, probably this same place. Cf. C. Rathjens & H. von Wissmann, *Landeskundliche Ergebnisse*, III, pl. 108, no. 204.

303 The *mallāj*, explained as *muṭayyīn* by al-Sayāghī, plasters the inside or outside of the house with mud mixed with chopped straw.

304 An *isqālah*, a cradle for workmen engaged on decorating the outside wall of a house, is a non-Arabic word. Cf. Doe and Serjeant, op. cit., II, 290. See also plate 81.

305 In addition to straw (*tibn*) the *khulṭ* contains cattle-dung (*dhibl ḥaqq al-mawāshī*) called *tikhah* in *Ṣan'ā'* and *ṭubnah* in Dhamār.

306 The Jews used to mud-plaster and make the plaster decoration on the houses (*yumallījū wa-yuṭarrizū 'l-buyūt*); they also made the coloured glass windows.

307 Sing., *mujaṣṣiṣ*, worker in *jīṣ/quṣṣ*, plaster. *Quṣṣ* is 'cold' (*bārid*), and *nūrah* is 'hot' (*ḥarr*). They seem to be treated differently and are probably different substances. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 51, says that the site of Masjid al-Kharraz was a *midqāqah*, a place for breaking stones etc., where *juṣṣ* was pounded.

308 The first plastering of the house after it has been built. Al-Sayāghī says *bid'* (with 'ayn) is for *bid'* (with hamzah).

309 *Ghasīl* is a second coating after a year or two with some *quṣṣ*—a wash to renew the plaster when it has become dirty.

310 *Maqāḍidāh*, sing., *muqāḍid*, maker of *qaḍāq*, a sort of concrete composed of small stones mixed with *nūrah* (*al-jir*) and beaten till it becomes hard. Al-Sayāghī thinks it derives from *quḍāq* and *qaḍḍah*, small pebbles. It was used before cement was known, especially for pools/tanks (*barik*) and water-channels (*majāri 'l-mā'*). I think this is what was used on the famous Tanks of Aden. Cf. *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 112 a, *muqāḍḍāḥ*. Al-Sayāghī renders *qaḍāq* as *ṣarīj*—one says *ṣarraj al-ḥawḍ*, he cemented the cistern (with a mixture of *nūrah* and other materials). Cf. *Jemenica*, 121, no. 874, with further technical terms.

qirsh, and the price of the ass-load of stones (*hashāsh*)³¹¹ complete is four *buqshahs*. The price of the load of small sharp stones (*al-mayāzīr*)³¹² is a *buqshah* and a half. The price of the *qadah*³¹³—measure of lime (*nūrah*) is an eighth of a *qirsh*.

38. (Various) 300

- i. The barber (*al-hallāq*)³¹⁴—he receives one *buqshah* per head.
- ii. The cupper (*al-hajjām*)—he receives half a *buqshah* for each blood-letting (*maḥjam*).
- iii. The Bath (*al-Ḥammām*)³¹⁵—the wage of the bathman (*al-ḥammāmī*) is one *buqshah* per person. Cleaning with the bag and massage (*kīs wa-takbīs*)³¹⁶ cost one *buqshah*.
- iv. (Cotton)-Carding (*al-nidāfah*)—the wage of the carders (*al-naddāfīn*)³¹⁷ is one *buqshah* on the pound of cotton (*ʿuṭb*). For sewing (cotton) into quilts (*luḥuf*) and bedding (*furush*) (the worker) receives a wage plus (the cost of) the thread (*ghazl*). For (filling ?) pillows (*wasāʾid*) (he receives) the quarter of it (the wage) that he receives for quilts and bedding per *raṭl*.

39. The Dhimmīyyīn (Jews), the people of 'Aqīl³¹⁸ 300

(Supplementary)

- a. They are subject to what has been previously mentioned.³¹⁹
- b. They are required to provide such of the fleece-lined coats for watch which they customarily do, to the tune of forty-four *qirsh* reckoned out, plus collection charge on that two and a half and a quarter *qirsh*, the total sum required of them being forty-six and a half and a quarter *qirsh*.³²⁰

40. The Hindu Community (Jamāʿat al-Bāniyān) 300

- a. They are subject to what has previously³²¹ been mentioned, (Supplementary) each one of them in the market of his goods.
- b. They are required to provide the fleece-lined such of coats for the watch they customarily do, the amount of which is fifty-six and a half *qirsh* plus collection charge of three and a half *qirsh* on

that, the total sum amounting to sixty *qirsh*.

41. Pottery³²² and Clay Bread-Ovens (*al-Madar wa-l-Tanāwīr*)³²³ Etcetera 301

(Supplementary)

- a. The responsibility lies with the Shaykh for fixing the price of pottery (*madar*) coming to the town. He is obliged to undertake to regard the vendor and the purchaser of the lads of the Market with the eye of impartiality.
- b. They are required to provide the watch that they are accustomed to do when the town needs, and they are required to provide the fleece-lined coats of the watch to the tune of half and an eighth and a quarter (i.e. 7/8ths) of a *qirsh* plus collection charge of an eighth *qirsh* on that, the total amounting to a *qirsh*.

42. Pottery from (Wādī) al-Sirr³²⁴ (*al-Madar al-Sirrī*) 301

- i. This is higher in quality than the manufacture of al-Ḥushaysh-*īyyah*³²⁵ and that of al-Qāʿ.³²⁶
- ii. The price for it in its place (of manufacture) by the Dhimmī (Jewish) makers is six and a half 'lots' (*'addah*)³²⁷ for a *qirsh* coin (*qirsh ḥajar*). The 'lot', according to the regulation (*al-qānūn al-ma'rūf*) customary among the pottery-sellers (*al-maddārīn*)³²⁸ and the Dhimmīs of al-Sirr, is that, when it consists of cooking-pots (*buram*) of the kind that hold the half of an eighth³²⁹ of the *qadah*-measure of grain (*ṭa'ām*),³³⁰ then the 'lot' comprises eight cooking-pots. Whereas (the 'lot'), when it consists of coffee-pots (*al-jamin*), amounts to sixteen coffee-pots (*jamanah*) holding a large *raṭl*³³¹ and a quarter of ghee.
- iii. In Ṣan'ā' the price of this pottery of al-Sirr from the importers who bring it to the retailers (*al-kassārīn*) in Ṣan'ā', is five 'lots' for a *qirsh* coin (*qirsh ḥajar*).
- iv. The change (*ṣarf*) for the *qirsh* in these (present) times is five hundred *ḥarf*. The 'lot' is fixed (*ṣaḥḥat*) at five *buqshahs*³³² (read *ḥarf*) (per piece), and the profit on it to the retailer, the man of the

311 *Hashāsh*, rendered as *ḥasabah*, small stones. Rossi, op. cit., 171, writes *hashāsh*, as does *Jemenica*, 121, no. 870. Al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh*, 97, *qaḍāq*, and f.n. *hashāsh*.

312 *Mayāzīr*, sing., *mīzār*, a new word, small sharp stones placed behind facing stones to keep the latter in position and straight.

313 Al-Sayāghī describes the *qadah* as equivalent to two *ṣafīḥahs* of paraffin (*ghāz*), but see f.n. 141.

314 The *Hallāq*, *hajjām* and *ḥammāmī* are all of the *muzayyin* class and of low social status—though of course not necessarily poor. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 129, mentions Bayt 'Aṣḍah, some of whom are, to this day, merchants, but some are *ḥallāqīn*, an ignoble craft. In 1972-3 the *ḥallāq* was paid two *riyāl*s for a haircut.

315 For the *ḥammāns* see pp. 501-24.

316 This is the soaping with the bag (*al-taṣbīn bi-l-kīs*), a little glove of the same kind of wool as used in making the *'abā*, used for cleaning off the body-dirt. The soap is applied with it—a similar article shown us was a *līfah* palm fibre tuft. Imām Aḥmad had a special man to apply massage (*takbīs*) to him. Massage is done especially before going to sleep at night.

317 The *naddāf* is the man who cleans the cotton used for bedding (*furush*) with an implement called a *mindafah*. These cotton carders used mostly to be Jews—hence perhaps their inclusion with the group of mean occupations. Cf. W. Leslau, 'Texts on Yemenite folklore', *Proc. Amer. Acad. Jew. Res.*, Philadelphia, 1944, XIV, 227, Mori Ḥayyim Naddāf, the last apparently a family name. Nowadays even tribesmen will do this work.

318 I. e. of the Hārat Masīd 'Aqīl (*Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 83), the quarter in old Ṣan'ā' where the Jews used to carry on their business though living in Bīr al-'Azab.

319 Al-Sayāghī considers this is a reference to the regulations for the *mallājīn* in Section 37.

320 Note the way in which 3/4 is expressed, as in the *Mulakkhkhāṣ al-fiṭan* etc.

321 See the account of the Bāniyāns, pp. 432-435, and Section 7.

322 Rossi, op. cit., 153, records certain types of pottery.

323 The *tannūr* is a baked clay barrel open at the top, and with a hole on one side in the bottom. A fire is lit in the bottom which heats the internal sides above it. Flat rounds of bread are slapped onto the internal sides of the *tannūr* where they quickly cook.

324 This wādī belongs to the Bani Ḥushaysh. Pottery is made today (1972), at al-Ṣurāb village of pot-clay from caves and friable stone pounded up with a long club. Eight hundred Jews are said to have lived in this village at one time. Types of pottery manufactured there include the *mubarrad* and *madall*.

325 A village about two miles from Ṣan'ā' (al-Sayāghī).

326 'Addah was explained by Qādī Ismā'īl as a collection (*majmū'*) which is counted with the hand (*yū'add bi-l-yad*). *Bāmiyā* (ladies' fingers) is sold by the 'addah of five in each two hands—eggs and bananas are sold in the same way, and one asks for so many 'addahs of these commodities. Carrots etc. are, however, sold by the *ma'ṣab* or bundle.

328 A *maddār* is a man who sells *fakhhkhār*, not a potter, and the *maddār* of *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 60, who built a *maḥsinah li-l-shurb* in the Sūq al-Madar can but have derived his means to do so not from the humble potter's craft, but by selling pots!

329 The eighth (*thumna*) is a measure (equivalent to 8 *anfar*), so, clumsy as it is to express 1/16 of a *qadah* in this way, I have made a literal translation.

330 *Ṭa'ām* is usually millet.

331 The large *raṭl* is a *raṭl wa-rub'*, but at the time of the Turkish innovations this becomes only the medium *raṭl*. Cf. f.n. 100.

332 In both places in this paragraph *ḥarf* must be read for the text's *buqshah*. The arithmetic is a little complicated, but the correction is important as it resolves a difficulty over the coinage.

At this period we know the *qirsh* consisted of 80 *buqshahs*, and the *buqshah* consisted of 6 *ḥarf*—this makes the *qirsh* equivalent to 480 *ḥarf*. The text here however says that the change for the *qirsh* is 500 *ḥarf*. When fluctuation in the rate of the *ḥarf* to the *qirsh* is allowed for (cf. my *Portuguese*, 152-3), it is reasonable to state that the *qirsh* is equivalent to 500 *ḥarf* in round figures. As the *ḥarf* was worth something like half a farthing at that time the difference between 480 and 500 *ḥarf* was something like a penny half-penny.

This paragraph can only refer to coffee-pots.

A 'lot' purchased whole-sale costs about 12 *buqshahs*.

When each *buqshah* is worth 6 1/2 *ḥarf*, then 12 *buqshahs* are worth 78 *ḥarf*.

A single coffee-pot in a 'lot' of 16 then costs 78/16ths which is just under 5 *ḥarf*.

When each *buqshah* is worth 6 1/4 *ḥarf*, then 12 *buqshahs* are worth 75 *ḥarf*.

A single coffee-pot in a 'lot' of 16 then costs 75/16ths, which is also a little short of 5 *ḥarf*.

Coffee-pots retail at 7 1/2 *ḥarf*, making an apparent profit of about 2 1/2 *ḥarf* per pot.

This arithmetic is confirmed by the price of cooking-pots given in the next paragraph.

The 'lot' of *burmahs* is 8 pieces as opposed to 16 in the case of coffee-pots, and therefore they retail at twice the price at 14 1/2 *ḥarf*.

It is interesting to remark that the rate of dirhams to the *ūqīyyah* in Najrān at the time of the Prophet was forty, and robes sent to him as tribute were worth an *ūqīyyah* of silver (Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866, 64). Until the recent decimalisation of the Yemeni *riyāl* it was worth 40 *buqshahs*—while the *qirsh/riyāl/ūqīyyah* was still a silver coin, i.e. up to 1962, it was, during the Ḥamīd al-Dīn period, worth 40 *buqshahs* = dirhams of the early 7th century A.D.

Pottery Market, is two and a half *buqshahs*³³² (read *ḥarf*).

v. The price of the cooking-pot (*burmah*) which holds half of the eighth³³⁹ of a *qadah*-measure is fourteen and a half *ḥarf*.

vi. The price of the coffee-pot (*jamanah*) holding a *raṭl* and a quarter of ghee, (measured) by the 'large' *raṭl*—equivalent to a small *raṭl*³³³ and a half—stands at seven and a half *ḥarf*, expressible³³⁴ as a *buqshah* and a quarter, (when sold) to the man of Ṣan'ā'.³³⁵

43. Pottery of Qā' al-Yahūd 301

i. The large jar (*jarrah*) which has a capacity of fifteen *raṭls* of ghee (measured) by the 'large' *raṭl* (is sold) to the retailer at three *buqshahs* less a quarter, expressible as seventeen *ḥarf* in this change (*ṣarf*).³³⁶ His profit is two and a half *ḥarf*, expressible as a third of a *buqshah*.

ii. The large jar of this capacity (is sold) to the man of Ṣan'ā' at twenty *ḥarf*, expressible as three and a quarter *buqshahs*.

iii. Anything smaller than this jar of such capacity (as has been mentioned) fetches a lower price proportionate to its lower capacity.

iv. The price of a bowl (*jafnah*) holding half of an eighth of a *qadah*-measure is sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' Market at three and a half *ḥarf*, i.e. half a *buqshah* and a little more.

44. Pottery (*Madar*) of al-Kharibah³³⁷ 302

i. With the potters (*ahl al-madar*) the 'lot' is what comes to two kneading bowls (*ma'ājīn*),³³⁸ in a single one of which the half of an eighth and the quarter of an eighth³³⁹ of a *qadah*-measure of flour (*daqīq*) can be kneaded—or it would hold a measure ('*ibrah*)³⁴⁰ of grain (*ṭa'am*) (consisting of) an eighth and a half of an eighth of a *qadah*-measure—or else *qaṣriyyahs*³⁴¹ of similar capacity.

ii. The 'lot' (is sold) to the man of Ṣan'ā'³⁴² at twenty-five *ḥarf*, expressible as four *buqshahs*, and the retailer (*al-kassār*) gets a profit of a rupee (*rubbiyyah*),³⁴³ two and a half *ḥarf*. The 'lot' is sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' for thirty *ḥarf* less³⁴⁴ a rupee, expressible as four and one third *buqshahs*.³⁴⁵

iii. Small (pieces of pottery) are (priced) proportionately to this, and anything bigger follows this rule (*qānūn*) also.

45. Ḥushayshiyyah Pottery 302

Pitchers (*abāriq*), coffee-pots (*jamīn*) and jars (*ku'ad*)—the price of the *kawrajah*,³⁴⁶ i.e. four jars or four coffee-pots or four pitchers—the price of them (sold) to the retailer by (?) the people³⁴⁷ of the Pottery Market is two *buqshahs*, expressible as twelve *ḥarf*. They are sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' at two and a quarter *buqshahs*, expressible as fourteen *ḥarf*. The price at which each single pot (is sold) to the man of Ṣan'ā' is three and a half *ḥarf*, expressible as half a *buqshah*. The capacity of a single (pot) is two *raṭls* of ghee (measured) by the 'large' *raṭl*. The large jar with a capacity of fifteen 'large' *raṭls* (costs) three and a quarter *buqshahs*, expressible

333 See f.n. 100.

334 Perhaps, in the context, the word rendered 'expressible' is intended to convey the sense of 'approximately'.

335 The man of Ṣan'ā' may either be a retailer buying from a middleman or possibly the ordinary customer, but I am inclined to think it will be the former.

336 A single *buqshah* in this case is equivalent to 6 2/11ths *ḥarf*.

337 Al-Kharibah is a village in Wādī Sa'wān east of Ṣan'ā'.

338 *Ma'ājīn*, sing., *ma'janah*, cf. Rossi, op. cit., 153. *Latt*, *yilitt*, to knead, which gives rise to the proverb quoted to me by Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Ḥall yilitt wa-yi'jin*, He kept on going over the subject.

Cf. *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 203, no. 1006.

339 This is the measure known as *thumn* as in f.n. 100.

340 Explained as *mikyāl*, but cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2261, where it can have the special sense of the measure at the top of a powder-horn.

341 Pl., *qaṣārā*, cf. Rossi, op. cit., 153. It has the shape ☉.

342 See f.n. 335.

343 The rupee is introduced for the first time in the *Qānūn*, in that part of it which belongs to the first half of the 12th/18th century, but it was obviously current considerably earlier in the Yemen since *Ṭabaq al-ḥakwā*, fol. 121 a, informs us that about Rabi' II, 1089/June 1678, 'the Imām commanded the Master of the Mint (*Ṣāhib Dār al-Darb*) to make his coining of red gold to the value of a *dirham* (*fī qadr al-dirham*), and to strike silver to the value of *al-rubbiyyah al-Hindiyyah*.' Both of these must have been quite small coins. There would be 200 rupees to the *qirsh*. See p. 307b.

344 Reading *ya'jaz* for the text's *bi-'ajz*, as in section 28 b.

345 The *buqshah* here would be equivalent to a fraction under 6 4/10ths *ḥarf*.

346 *Kawrajah* though usually meaning a score, can be applied to other numbers, but this would be indicated in such documents as the *Qānūn* where it occurs.

as twenty *ḥarf*. Anything smaller is proportionate to that.

(Supplementary) 302

a. Pottery ovens (*al-tanānīr*)—the pottery oven³⁴⁸ (suitable) for the half of an eighth of a *qadah*-measure (costs) a *buqshah* and a quarter, expressible as seven and a half *ḥarf*, i.e. three rupees, (when sold) to the man of Ṣan'ā'. The pottery oven (suitable) for an eighth of a *qadah*-measure (costs) fifteen *ḥarf*, expressible as two and a third *buqshahs*. The baker's (*al-khabbāzī*) pottery oven for the quarter of a *qadah*-measure costs twenty *ḥarf*, expressible as three and a quarter *buqshahs*. The large pottery oven of the top standard in size costs thirty *ḥarf*, expressible as four and a half and a quarter *buqshahs*.

b. When prices of pottery and ovens reach a sum which causes 'detriment'³⁴⁹ to the Muslims they will be obliged to adhere to this rule (to sell) at these prices. Anyone who exceeds these, be he potter or retailer, will be restrained³⁵⁰ and liable to reprimand.

46. Pipe-Bowls (*al-Bawārī*)³⁵¹ 302

(Supplementary)

a. Al-Sayyānī³⁵² workmanship, which is the best workmanship in earthen stone-ware³⁵³—the largest pipe-bowl with this appellation³⁵⁴ (al-Sayyānī) sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' is priced per unit at ten *ḥarf*, expressible as two *buqshahs* less a third, and costs the buyer³⁵⁵ (*al-mufawid*) (actually) nine and a half *ḥarf*. The middling size of pipe-bowl of al-Sayyānī workmanship is sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' for five *ḥarf*, and to the man who gains his livelihood³⁵⁶ (by selling pipes) (*al-mu'tāsh*) for four and a half *ḥarf*. The cheapest (*adnā 'ayyanah*) of al-Sayyānī workmanship (in) earthen stone-ware (*ghaḍār*) is sold at two and a half *ḥarf* to the man of Ṣan'ā'. The man who gains his livelihood (through selling pipes) receives ten *ḥarf*³⁵⁷ on the score (*kawrajah*) of al-Sayyānī (pipe-bowls) as has been previously mentioned in respect of the large (pipe-bowls).

b. Sa'id Maṣṣūr al-Dhimmi (the Jew) manufactures rounded conical (*al-muka'abāt al-makrūtāt*)³⁵⁸ (pipe bowls). (These) ornamented (*manqūshāt*) (pipes) of the largest make are sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' for five *ḥarf* each, expressible as a *buqshah* less a quarter, per unit, the middling (size), at two and a half *ḥarf*, and the cheapest kind at two for a rupee, expressible as two and a half *ḥarf*—the work of Ishāq al-Dhimmi al-Sayyānī.

c. Red pipe-bowls—the largest make of pipe-bowl costs two and a half *ḥarf*, the middling kinds cost five *ḥarf*, and the cheapest a pair for a rupee, (i.e.) two and a half *ḥarf*.

(Supplementary) 303

a. The pipe-bowls of al-Marrānī³⁵⁹ of the tribes—the largest make, the manufacture of which involves labour and the grinding up of pot-stone (*ghaḍār*) and a lathe (? *makhraṭ*),³⁶⁰ is sold at two

347 These and the 'man of Ṣan'ā'' would appear to be the retailers.

348 *Tannūr* is treated here as if feminine in gender, but it is not really regarded as feminine, and colloquial Arabic is said not to make a very rigid distinction as to genders in such cases.

349 Cf. *maḍarrah* in Section 32, ii. This is a concept commonly found in legal works.

350 'Suspended' may be intended by the word rendered as 'restrained' but the term used in the *Supplement* here is not that usually found in other parts of the *Qānūn*.

351 Sing., *būrī*. See p. 176a.

352 Sayyānī would be the *nisbah* for Sayyān of Sanḥān near Hizyaz, south-east of Ṣan'ā', but there is a Sayyān of the Ibb district which al-Sayyāghī mentions. He says that al-Sayyānī was a Jew.

353 The rendering 'earthen stone-ware' is to suit al-Sayyāghī's description of *ghaḍār* as 'a well known soft stone ground up' of which certain white pottery vessels are made. Qāḍī Ismā'il described it as stone ground and made into *madar* (clay pottery)—it is both beautiful and strong. Ordinarily *ghaḍār* seems to mean pottery.

354 Lit., *al-mu'tānā bihi*, meant intended.

355 See f.n. 172.

356 *Mu'tāsh*, a man who sells for profit, a retailer (*kassār*).

357 Reading '*asharah*' for the text's '*asharūt*'.

358 Qāḍī Ismā'il suggest these are the pipe-bowls with lines and patterns incised on them.

359 Bayt Marrān is in Arḥab—I passed by it in 1966, the older pronunciation is said to be Mirrān. Al-Sayyāghī takes al-Marrānī to be a person.

360 *Makhraṭ* is given the sense of lathe by Dozy, *Supplément*, but I have no information as to what it means in the Yemen. It might mean a potter's wheel.

buqshahs, expressible as five rupees per single pipe-bowl, the middling size at ten *ḥarf*, and the small size at three rupees, expressible as seven and a half *ḥarf*.

This is the price of al-Marrānī.

b. The manufacture of al-Qā' (Qā' al-Yahūd)—the large size sells at a rupee, (i.e.) two and a half *ḥarf*, the middling sizes at two for a rupee, and the small ones from one (*ḥarf*).

(Supplementary) 303

47. The Pottery of al-Qābil³⁶¹ (*Madar al-Qaryah*) 303

a. Jugs of pot-stone (*kizān al-ghaḍār*), coffee pots of the manufacture of al-Laywī (Levi ?) at al-Qaryah, covered bowls (*khawāfiq*)³⁶² and lamps (*qanādīl*), are sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' at two *buqshahs* a piece, expressible as five rupees. The price of jugs without covers (*aghṭā*),³⁶³ the manufacture of al-Laywī is ten *ḥarf* (for) the best make. The score (*kawrajah*) of middling quality costs three rupees, and the poorest (*aḍ'af*) workmanship costs five *ḥarf*, expressible as a *buqshah* less a sixth. The large or small size of the big(ger) water-coolers (*mubarradāt*)³⁶⁴ costs the same. The price of coffee-pots of pot-stone of the best make—the coffee-pot of half a *raṭl* capacity is a *buqshah* less a sixth, expressible as five *ḥarf*; the small ones are two for five *ḥarf*. So it goes on in the same fashion and following the same rule (*qānūn*).

b. The Dhimmīyīn were obliged to hold to this price (range) when they made demands for an extensive increase—in which they were quite unjustified since there existed no reason for a rise in price (*ghalā'*).

(Supplementary)

48. Certain Commodities³⁶⁵ 304

a. Dye-bowls (*makhāḍib*)³⁶⁶—(these) are sold to the Dhimmīyāt (Jewish women), a couple for three rupees, expressible as seven and a half *ḥarf*. The Dhimmīyah woman sells them to the man of Ṣan'ā' at five *ḥarf* apiece, and in accordance with the expensiveness or cheapness of galls (*afṣ*).³⁶⁷

361 Qaryat al-Qābil is the well known village of the lower Wādī Ḍahr. There is an interesting but not very accessible fort above the village. No pottery is made there nowadays. The Lewi family at Ṣan'ā' is known to E. Brauer, *Jemenitische Juden*, 243. Cf. pp. 400b, 425a.

At Shibām Kawkabān pottery is made by hand, as at al-Rawah, with a wheel. First the clay (*al-majbā*) is taken in a round pat and draped over a pot shape called *al-manja*—the latter was set in the ground, and there are various sizes and shapes of them. The clay was kneaded over the pot-shape and formed with wooden bats of various sizes called *al-mashafah*. The pot was then left to dry and shaped with a round stone. The *manja* itself is made of stone. If a coffee-pot is wanted then a long neck is shaped separately with a *riqāb haqq al-jimān*, i.e. round poles or sticks around which the clay is rolled and fashioned to make a tube. These are decorated with red paint from a bowl, called *mishk* which is said to come from Khawīān. This *mishk* is also used to decorate houses of adobe in the Barāt region (Cf. Doe and Serjeant, 'A fortified tower-house in Wādī Jirdān', 1). It seems to be from earth or decaying rock. I did not ascertain whether the painting took place before or after firing. This is done in a kiln with dung pats (*kibi*). The potters also showed us an animal skin (*sufrah*) which is placed on the thigh above the knee, with the smooth side inwards, and the clay is kneaded on this. A woman was painting a jar and it seems that the making of clay vessels is regarded, to some extent, as women's work. The paint was applied with a rag. The various types of pot were lying out in the sun to dry, and three *jamanahs* cost 2 1/2 *riyāls* (1972).

It is probable that the pottery made at Qaryat al-Qābil was of this sort.

362 *Khāfaḥiyyah*, pl., *khawāfiq*, a large or small broad flattish bowl. It is discussed by Anastase-Marie (al-Kirmilī) in his edition of *Bulūgh al-marām*, 425. It is a term known to the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fiṭān* in the 14th-15th century A.D. and to Dozy, *Supplément*.

363 *Aghṭā*, seemingly a Yemeni colloquial plural of *ghīṭā'*.

364 So amended from the text's *al-barradāt*, but it might be amended to *barrādāt* as in Rossi, 153, *barrādah*.

365 This heading is not in al-Sayāghī's text but has been inserted for greater clarity.

366 Sing., *makhḍabah*, pottery (*fakhkhār*) bowls. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 115, no. 317, has a proverb, *Idhā qad al-Yahūdī miḥannā idhrā*. . . When the Jew has dyed his hands and feet (*mukhaḍḍab al-aṭrāf*), then sow . . . That is: that at the feast when the Jews henna themselves then hurry up and sow, an agricultural saw. Cf. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 22, no. 113, with full account of the henna-ing process, and 118, no. 855. Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 318, notes that Faṭimah, daughter of al-Mahdī Aḥmad al-Murtaḍā (end of 8th/14th century), when asked by her father about *al-khiḍāb bi-l-'usfur aw al-'afṣ*, dyeing, tinting with saffron or galls, gave him an admirable and informative reply (*jawāb muḥīd 'ajīb*)! This would be from the legal angle. The question of dyeing (the hair) is treated also in *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 399.

b. Brooms (*makānis*)—the largest and broadest³⁶⁸ make of palm broom (is sold) at one a rupee, (i.e.) two and a half *ḥarf*. The largest palm brush (*hawbah*)³⁶⁹ costs five *ḥarf*.

c. Radā' matches (*al-kibriṭ*)³⁷⁰ *al-Radā'*—the thick³⁷¹ sort, the top quality (*anhā shay'*), is two bundles for a rupee, expressible as two and a half *ḥarf*. The middling (qualities) are four bundles (*'uṣar*)³⁷² for two and a half *ḥarf*, and the small ones are five bundles each for a rupee, two and half *ḥarf*, equivalent to two bundles for a *ḥarf*.

d. Baskets (*khībāsh*)³⁷³—the price of baskets of reed (*hindid*)—the largest of these is the kind, a score of which³⁷⁴ sells at a French *qirsh* (*qirsh Franṣī*)³⁷⁵ and a quarter, and is used for (carrying) meat (*jazr*)³⁷⁶ *al-baqarī*. The price of one of them to the man of Ṣan'ā' comes to five *buqshahs*, expressible as thirty *ḥarf* and a rupee. (There is another kind) the price of a score of which is a *qirsh* coin (*qirsh ḥajar*), a single one being sold at four and a third *buqshahs*, expressible as twenty-seven and a half *ḥarf*. (There is a further kind) the price of a score of which is a *qirsh* less a quarter, a single one being sold at four *buqshahs* less a third, expressible as twenty-two *ḥarf*. (There is yet another kind) the price of a score of which is a *qirsh* coin (*qirsh ḥajar*), one of these selling at two and a quarter *buqshahs*. Anything smaller follows this rule (*qānūn*).

e. Basket trays (*aṭbāq*)—where basket trays are concerned, since a rule (*qānūn*) for them is impossible, it is the responsibility of the honest (*al-amīn*) Shaykh of the Market to pick out the price of a score (coming) from the importer, and to assign to the retailer five *buqshahs* on what is priced at a French *qirsh*.

f. Sieves (*manākhiḥ*)—the flour (*al-naḥīyy*)³⁷⁷ sieve—the best sieve is sold at five *buqshahs* to the man of Ṣan'ā'; the sieve for unrefined³⁷⁸ flour (*ḥathith*) is sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' for four *buqshahs*; the barley sieve is sold to the man of Ṣan'ā' for three *buqshahs*. This is the best makes—anything inferior (is priced) according to its quality.

Little girls' hands are *mukhaḍḍabah* with patterns at the feast of 'Arafah.

367 For oak-galls cf. Yūsuf b. 'Umār . . . b. Rasūl al-Ghassānī, *al-Mu'tamad fi l-adwiyat al-mufradah*, Cairo, 1951, 333; Rossi, op. cit., 167.

368 *Aftwaq*, elative of *fayiq*, explained as *awsa*.

369 *Hawbah*, a large brush made of the bigger branch of the palm. I heard *muknis* for a broom at Manākhah, and in Ṣan'ā' *man'amah*.

370 *Kibriṭ*, sulphur, comes from Jabal al-Lisī, north of Dhamār. Ibn al-Mujāwir, op. cit., 191, mentions this mountain (but the text must be corrected from L sh ī); he avers that the ground of Dhamār is sulphurous (190) though in fact it seems that al-Lisī alone produces sulphur. There is a Turkish fort on the top of the mountain which has a star shape when viewed from the air, steam or water issuing from a hole in the middle of the fortified area. This fort was constructed in 1025/1616 by Bāshā Muḥammad and garrisoned by him with men to stop the Imām and other Yemenis who had now taken to guns (*banādiq*), most of which they had taken as booty from those who had come out to attack them such as the Mamlūk Jarākisah, from obtaining the sulphur they needed to make gunpowder. When this happened the price of gunpowder became dear till a *raṭl* was sold for a *qirsh ḥajar*. So says the author of *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 806, who simply calls this mountain Jabal al-Kibriṭ.

During World War II the Jews used to make matches from the sulphur of this mountain, as did also some Muslims, but before that a type of red match used to be imported to the Yemen known as *Abū Rubbiyyah*. They are made of the *hindid* reeds one sometimes sees growing in running water (*al-a'wād al-mawjūdah 'ala 'l-sawāqī wa-'ind manābi' al-ghuyūl*); these are dipped in sulphur mixed with a little gunpowder. It was said they had to be put in the fire to light them! These local matches were rubbed on stone or anything rough, and some tribes used to strike them against their feet—which are of incredible hardness! An unpublished proverb of the Qāḍī's is, '*Al-kibriṭ al-aḥmar silāḥ al-layl*, Red matches are weapons for the night!'

371 *Jāsir* means *ghaliṭ*, coarse.

372 *'uṣrah*, pl., *'uṣar*, syn., *ribṭah*, is a bundle—here, of *hindid* sticks.

373 *Khībāsh*, sing., *khābshah*, large reed baskets, syn. *silāl*, sing., *sallah*, cf. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 221, no. 625. Palm leaf (*khūṣ*) baskets with high sides are called *tawrah*.

374 Reading *qimatu-hu* for the texts *qimah*.

375 I.e. the Maria Theresa dollar.

376 *Jazr* simply means butcher-meat.

377 *Naḥīyy* is described as *ṭāḥin lubb al-burr*, flour of the heart of the wheat, but it is also husked wheat. Ibn Rustah, *al-'Aṭāq al-naḥīyah*, 11, says of Ṣan'ānis *ṭa'amu-hum al-burr al-naḥīyy wa-'l-'alas*, their grain is wheat and *'alas* wheat, i.e. about 903 A.D.

378 *Ḥathith*, flour (*daqīq*), whole (*kāmīl*) with the husk (*qishr*). My notes for November 7th record that *burr* is exposed in the sun about this time to help remove the husk. Cf. classical *ḥuthth*, bread without condiment.

49. Additional to the Afore-going are the Responsibilities³⁷⁹ (*al-ḍamānāt al-lāzimah*) Obligatory to its (*Ṣan'ā'*) Citizens

- i. The Shaykh of the Police (*Shaykh al-Shurṭah*) is responsible (*ḍāmin*) for anything stolen at night by breaking and entering (*al-kasr*³⁸⁰ *wa-l-fals*) and the clearly evident traces of climbing over a wall. This is in accordance with Imāmī regulations (*qawā'id*) and the principles of Islamic Law (*aḥkām al-sharī'ah*).
- ii. The Bath proprietor (*al-ḥammāmī*)³⁸¹ is responsible for what goes missing in the dressing-room (*makhla'*) of the Bath when it is proved to have gone missing there. Whatever goes missing within the Bath, such as Bath bowls³⁸² and women's jewellery taken by them to the Bath, the only responsibility the woman Bath attendant (*al-ḥammāmiyyah*)³⁸³ has, on being informed of this, is to search³⁸⁴ the women at the Bath and examine (*iftiqād*) their effects. If she does not examine the women's effects or does so perfunctorily then she is responsible (*ḍāminah*) (for the missing article).
- iii. If women are permitted by the woman Bath attendant to uncover³⁸⁵ their private parts—as mentioned previously the woman Bath attendant and the Bath proprietor are liable to reprimand, punishment (*adab*) and imprisonment.
- iv. The coffee-inn proprietor (*al-muqaḥwī*) is responsible for what is proven to have gone missing in the coffee-inn (*miḥḥayyah*) in the way of riding-animals (*dābbah*) or other effects belonging to the travellers.
- v. The tire-woman (*al-shāri'ah*)³⁸⁶ (i.e.) the woman who attends to the maquilage of brides (*al-muzayyinah li-l-'arāyis*)³⁸⁷ is responsible for whatsoever she has hired on behalf of the brides, and she will recover from the person on whose behalf she has made the hiring. Nobody is accepted for this profession (*ḥirfah*)

379 The responsibilities, or it may be translated, liabilities, of the professions that follow have not included those of certain artisan groups, doubtless because these are already well known. For example the first Zaydī Imām in the Yemen, al-Hādī, was asked, according to *K. al-Muntakhab*, 416, 'The weaver (*ḥā'ik*), silversmith (*sā'igh*), washerman (*ghassāl*), and craftsmen—have they liability/responsibility for what they damage or what goes missing from them? "Yes," he said, "they are liable (*ḍāmin*)."

380 *Kasr* is entry by breaking a lock, door, etc., while *fals* is entry by making a hole in a wall etc.

381 The *ḥammāmī* is more fully dealt with on p.522b. He belongs to the *muzayyin* class as stated in n.314. Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 142. the 'hot bath' can fairly certainly be stated to have been in existence in the Yemen as early as the end of the 3rd/9th century since the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī ila 'l-Haqq is credited with the following pronouncement, 'I asked him (al-Hādī) about the bathman (*ṣāhib al-ḥammām*), "Is he responsible (*ḍāmin*) for any clothes that go missing in his bath?" He answered, "Yes,"' (A. K. Kazi, *Critical edition of the K. al-Muntakhab fi 'l-fiqh*, S O A S thesis, 415). The *ḥammām* itself is milk *al-awqāf*, waqf property, or milk *al-dawlah*, state property, and the bathman rents the bath from one or the other for a known sum (*bi-shay' ma'lūm*).

382 *Tasāt al-ḥammām* are brass bowls used as a scoop (*maghrāf*). Some women bring their own bowls with them.

383 The *ḥammāmiyyah* would naturally also be a *muzayyinah*. Rossi, loc. cit., says that she takes part at marriages, dressing the bride, and serves at funerary ceremonies.

384 *Fittāsh*, syn. *taftish*, is searching of the personal effects, not the body.

385 Uṭrūsh, the celebrated Ṭabaristān Imām of the end of the 3rd/9th century says that women are not to enter the bath at all, except for an indisposition (*illā min 'illah*), and that the *ḥammāmī* must enforce decency—cf. my 'Zaidī manual of *ḥisbah*...', 27. Al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, 352, says a man must not enter the *ḥammām* without an *izār* waistwrapper, and his spouse (*ḥafilah*) should not enter it at all. Cf. *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, IV, 375, on 'awrah, nakedness.

386 For the *shāri'ah* see Goitein, *Jemenica*, 17, no. 83, *Brautputzerin*, and the verb *shawra'a* meaning *labbas*. She is like the tire-woman (*māshīḥah*), called in Ḥaḍramawt *al-kawbarah*. The *shāri'ah* hires clothes, silver and gold ornaments, etc., going from house to house. In the older days no fee was given the owner for the loan of silver ornaments to deck out the bride at weddings, but now quite an amount is paid for hire of them. Some people keep such ornaments especially so as to hire them out on these occasions. I have seen in Shāfi'ī law books cases in which an opinion is sought as to the responsibility of two parties when some silver ornament loaned for an occasion has been lost. This is an ancient practice in Arabia, and the Jews of Khaybar had a camel skin of ornaments which were borrowed for a month at a time for a wedding as is recounted by al-Wāqidi, *K. al-Maghāzī*, edit. Marsden Jones, London, 1966, II, 271, the contents of which are given in detail (273). Al-Sayāghī calls the *shāri'ah* the woman who decks out (*tazyin*) and dresses the bride with the ornaments this woman hires—she accompanies

except (a woman) known for her honesty, lack of deception, and reliability (*al-makanah*).³⁸⁸ Nor is she accepted unless she be (a person) drawn from those who follow this profession. She is obliged to undertake not to hire on behalf of a woman (whose circumstances), or the matter of her status³⁸⁹ and ability to pay the cost (*gharāmah*) of anything she has to meet through its going missing, are not known to her, since that is neglect (*tafrīt*)³⁹⁰ (on her part).

vi. Building labourers (*shuqāt al-'imārah*) are responsible for the gear ('iddah) of the master-builder which they use in working, as, for example, (the labourer) sieving (*al-nukhūl*) (gravel out of earth) is responsible for the adze (*mafras*) and sieve. The water-skin carrier is responsible for the water-skin (*qirbah*) and if he has to puddle the (building)-clay (*khulab*) he is responsible for the shovel (*maḥḥif*).³⁹¹ The builder's mate (*munāwīl*)³⁹² is responsible for the pick (*fās*), the plumb-line (*mizān*),³⁹³ the cord (*khayṭ*) (for aligning walls), and all things the master-builder requires in building.

vii. The rest of the labourers in other crafts such as plasterers (*maḥḥishah*) and 'concreters' (*maḥḥāḍiqah*), are similarly (responsible). viii. Loads of goods (*ḥamāyī*)³⁹⁴ *al-biḍā'ah*—when once a load arriving at (Sūq) al-Ḥalaqah has been recorded (*thabuta*) in the register (*bayān*) of the Clerk of al-Ḥalaqah, the Headman of the Porters ('Āqil al-Ḥammālīn) to whom a covering note (*taṣḍūr*)³⁹⁵ has been delivered is responsible for it. The Clerk must write this down (in his register) in his presence. (The responsibility of the Headman of the Porters continues) until such time as it is checked³⁹⁶ by the store-keeper (*al-samsārī*) and the responsibility is transferred to him.

ix. The animal-hire broker (*al-muqaḍdam*)³⁹⁷ is responsible for (providing) whatever he has received an advance fee (*quḍāmah*)³⁹⁸ for (obtaining), or getting camels hired out for transport.

the bride to the groom's ('aris) house. She was also described as *al-waṣīfah*. A Dhamār saying in the Qāḍī's unpublished proverbs, runs, *Lā qad ta'ashshat al-shāri'ah ismirayn yā nīsā*, If the *shāri'ah* has supped, then, women, make merry! I.e., the *shāri'ah*, being the life and soul of parties ('amūd al-hafalāt), must be seen to first, before the festivities can begin. Cf. Goitein, loc. cit.

387 'Arāyis, sing., 'arūs.

388 She is able to return them (*mutamakkinah min al-radd*).

389 *Najābah*—it has been suggested that *najāyah* in the sense of *salāmah*, soundness, be read here.

390 *Tafrīt*, explained as *taḍyī'*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément, negligier*, 'en faisant trop peu.'

391 *Maḥḥif*, Rossi, 154, *maḥḥaf*, zappa, a spade, syn., *mīrafah*.

392 See f.n. 294.

393 *Mizān*, the plumb-line weighted by a piece of iron.

394 *Ḥamūlah*, pl., *ḥamāyil*, a load.

395 A *taṣḍūr* in the Yemen is a *risālah*, message, with a list of items despatched to you, carried by the bearer of them to you. Dr. A. A. Maktari has provided me with the following note on Yemenis, temporary immigrants to Aden during the days of the British Protectorate. R. B. Serjeant, 'Notes on some aspects of Arab business practices in Aden', *al-Bahit: Festschrift Joseph Henniger*, St. Augustin bei Bonn, 1976, 307-15. In the olden days communication between the family of the immigrant back in the villages of the Yemen and the shopkeeper in Aden, called *al-ṭabāl* who acted as a sort of post-box, was through the *gammāl*. The latter was a camel-owner who always travelled at least once a month between Aden and a certain district in the Yemen. Now they no longer travel on camels but they are still known as *gammāls*. They come to Aden and collect all the *taṣḍūr* (sing., *taṣḍūr* = *taṣḍūr* of Ṣan'ā'), and they bring back with them on their return to Aden all the *ta'arīf* (sing., *ta'arīf*), i.e. acknowledgements of delivery of what has been sent. Hence one often hears Adenis, to poke fun at the Yemenis, using such phrases as 'Ṣadar lak ṣadar maḡramah wa-maṣar, To you we sent a supply of one shawl and a scarf.' Al-Jarmūzī quotes a message, 'Fa-'l-ṣādir ilā ḥaḍratikum. . . min al-khayṭ al-kirām, And the noble horses despatched to you.' The usage is old. S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden, 1957, cites 'Wa-ṣadara fi 'l-Kārim'.

396 Explained as *yūqarrar wuṣūlu-hā ilā samsarat al-tijārah*, the arrival of which at the warehouse has been confirmed.

397 The *muqaḍdam* also called *maḡdamī*, is the intermediary between the hirer and the man hired (*al-wāṣiḥah bayn al-musta'jir wa-l-'ajir*), but he does not own the animals hired. I was told of a *maḡdamī qurāsh* of the Bayt al-Khaṭṭāf family today, and this family also deals in the hire of vehicles. *Masājīd Ṣan'ā'*, 31, speaks of a *maḡdamī al-jimāl* called al-Zubaydī, who built a *maḥsinah li-l-shurb* east of the Ṣan'ā' Jāmi' Mosque, i.e. a *sabil* for drinking water. From this it is evident that hiring can be a profitable business! Cf. al-Kirmilī, edit., *Bulūgh al-marām*, 438. For interesting laws on the hiring of animals see *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, IV, 39, seq.

The litter (*shuḡḍuf*) has to be specified and what coverings are to be used, *maḥāmīl* or *kanābīsh*, etc.

398 *Quḍāmah* the fee for providing, horses, donkeys, or camels for the traveller.

50. The Obligations of the Shaykhs of the Markets and the Chief Shaykh (Mashāyikh al-Aswāq wa-Shaykh al-Mashāyikh) 306

- i. The Shaykhs and Clerks of the Markets must submit (*raf'*) the price of every article of merchandise (sold) by the importer and by the retailer, to the Governor (al-ʿĀmil) so that he can consider how to meet his obligations.
- ii. The Chief Shaykh must pass along to each market to inspect the measurer (*kayyāl*) (of grain etc.) at his measuring (*kayl*). If there be no unfairness (*ḥayf*)³⁹⁹—then all is well.⁴⁰⁰ If (on the other hand) he sees evidence of something into which deceit (is entering), suspicion most frequently falling on this happening in measuring our raisins,—then this may happen.⁴⁰¹
- iii. The measure (*kayl*) may be two kinds,⁴⁰² one for the market man the retailer, and one for the citizen of the town. He must inspect the measure the retailer uses for the customer and if it is equivalent to the measurer's (*kayyāl*) measure—then all is well. Otherwise it is imperative that he raise the matter of the person of whose deception (*khiyānah*) he has evidence to the Governor for him to suspend and reprimand him.
- iv. Similarly the Chief Shaykh must keep a close check on the weighmen (*al-wazzāzīn*)⁴⁰³ of ghee and oil. The Virtuous Ancestors (*al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ*) have established a goodly practice (*sunnah ḥasanah*)—namely that the retailer of oil, after measuring out the oil (left in) the funnel (*maṣabb*)⁴⁰⁴ into the customer's container, will add a little to make up for what sticks to the funnel.

Indeed, if he finds the seller scrupulous (*mutaḥarri*)⁴⁰⁵ in such matters—(good and well)! Otherwise he will raise his case to the Governor for him to make (both) of him and the Shaykh of his Market an example which the others will take as a rebuke.

v. It is his duty to keep an eye on⁴⁰⁶ the people of the Plaster Market (Sūq al-Juṣṣ) so as to inspect them measuring,⁴⁰⁷ as also on the rest of the markets, and any person of whom the slightest evidence of deception comes to his notice he will summon him along with his Shaykh before the Governor.

vi. It is the duty of the Deputy⁴⁰⁸ of the Meat Market (Nāyib al-Majzarah), at a time when the price of sheep-and-goats drops or falls, to carry out a test, by taking certain of the sheep-and-goats the butchers have already purchased for themselves at a price they have agreed—without their (the butchers') knowing. (An animal) will be slaughtered and weighed (*yūqra'*)⁴⁰⁹ on the Scales, and if he discovers that the price of this beast slaughtered has dropped, so that the butcher's wage has risen proportionately above the amount earlier prescribed, the case will be submitted to the Governor to look into fixing the price justly. The reverse case will be similarly treated.

vii. In these matters lies a public benefit (*maṣlaḥah ʿammah*).

viii. If the Shaykhs of the Market do not fulfil the duties prescribed for them, and the Chief Shaykh likewise (does not perform his duty) of frequent visitation to them (the Shaykhs of the Markets) it is the Governor's bounden duty to relieve them of office because they have not been refraining from the reprehensible things they did.

399 *Ḥayf* is explained as *inḥirāf aw mayl*, inclination, partiality to buyer or seller. Cf. Muh. Hamidullāh, *al-Wathā'iq al-siyāsiyyah*, 3rd ed., Beirut, 1969, 346, for this word in 'Umar's letter of instruction to the *qāḍī*. The customary law on hiring animals might be fairly extensive. The *Fatāwā* of Bā Makhramah, fol., 180 a-b, a Ḥaḍramī author, affords a glimpse of the type of case that might present itself. The question is posed that if a hired camel carrying grain is struck by another camel and dies, who is responsible for compensation?

400 *Fa-dhāka*—an uncompleted condition, common enough style in south Arabian documents. Qāḍī Ismā'il explained it would be understood to be completed by such as—*al-maḥlūb*, i.e., that is what is desired.

401 Another uncompleted condition.

402 The mere existence of two different measures such as described is in itself a sort of fraud.

403 Cf. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 125, for a certain al-Ḥājj 'Alī al-Wazzān of the 14th century H., also a constructor of a *maḥsinah/sabil*. Such functions are probably hereditary—*Nashr al-ʿarf*, I, 568, speaks of a family in Shibām Kawkabān whose work was *jibāyah* and *wizānah*, collecting tax and weighing.

404 The *maṣabb*, funnel, also called *al-multaqā*, described as *qum'*, pl., *qimā'*, for decanting liquid into another vessel. The *baṭṭah*, made of *ilyat al-ḍa'n*, sheep's tail, is usually used to hold mustard-oil (*ṣalīḥ al-tartar (al-khardal)*); Qāḍī Ismā'il refers to Nashwān b. Sa'īd who calls it a *wi'ā' min julūd yuttakhadh fi-hi 'l-duhn*, a leather container for holding oil.

A *masabb* is a *jirāb* or leather bag, also called *qur'ah*.

405 *Mutaḥarri*, explained as scrupulous in his dealings (*daqīq fī mu'āmalāti-hi*), i.e. in pouring out a little extra. Cf. *Qur'an*, LXXII, 14, 'Those who have aimed (*taharraw*) at a right course.'

406 *Yata'āhad*, to visit frequently, pay attention to.

407 Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished collection contains the dictum, *Al-ibrah 'ind al-makīl*, explained as the testing (*i'tibār*) to see if the quantity has been properly reckoned. This seems to mean that a thing must be done at the proper time or the opportunity is lost. Perhaps here inspection of the measure itself is meant.

408 Presumably the Deputy of the Shaykh of the Meat Market is meant.

409 *Yuqra'* means *yūzan* (al-Sayāghī), lit. to strike.

Chapter 13(2)

The Statute of Şan‘ā’

Documents Additional to the Statute (Qānūn) of Şan‘ā’

1. Ordinance to Regulate the Sale of qāt

Al-Sayāghī in his typescript summary¹ of *Qānūn Şan‘ā’* has inserted two interesting additional pieces, one of which has to do with trading in *qāt* and is dated in the latter half of the 18th century. It is taken from an ordinance (*marṣūm*)² of the Shaykh al-Islām of his day, the very learned Qāḍī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣaḥlī,³ and runs as follows.

When the ‘detriment’ (*taḍurrur*)⁴ to the generality of Muslims much increased, and the cause of the (said) ‘detriment’ was determined by the devout persons of those elected,⁵ and many of the respected ulema and governors⁶ got to know about it—namely, about the business of the *qāt* tree imported (*majlūb*) from ‘Āfish’ to the Protected City (al-Madīnat al-maḥmiyyah)⁸—as, too, powerful persons have monopolised⁹ the best imported picked (*maqṭūf*) (*qāt*), so it became impossible for the weak (*ahl al-ḍu‘f*) to obtain any of it—I mean the good quality—and the importers (*jallābūn*), comprising some of the owners (*mālikūn*),¹⁰ agents¹¹ (*wukalā’*), and those who gain a livelihood (through selling) it (*mutasabbibūn*), persisted in adulterating inferior with good quality (*khalṭ al-ḍa‘īf bi-l-laṭīf*), thinking fit to sell (it at a high price) and to divert¹² imported wares (*jalā‘ib*)¹³ from the Market—which is the Table¹⁴ of God, Perfect is He.¹⁵ Diversion of imported wares (*majlūbāt*) from markets is one of the things most highly ‘detrimental’ to Muslims, and al-Muṣṭafā al-Amin (the Prophet) and his Caliphs forbade it—as is clearly demonstrated in history (*al-athar*).

Laxness has also occurred in the townsman selling on behalf of the countryman (*bay‘ al-ḥāḍir li-l-bādī*),¹⁶ (the vendor) seeing fit to withhold good quality *qāt* and to (demand high) prices.¹⁷ To such an extent (has this become so) that he (i.e. the *jallāb*, importer) has fixed (*taqarrar*) that *qāt* picked for import to Şan‘ā’ is recorded¹⁸ at ‘Āfish in the handwriting of the Imām al-Miḥrāb¹⁹ of the Jāmi‘ Mosque of ‘Āfish after (the Imām) has received an assurance²⁰ from him (the *jallāb*, importer), and he makes containers with stamped papers (*ḥawāfiṣ maṭbū‘ah*) (with a note of) the amount imported each day and night (successively),²¹ all arriving at the Market; this he displays (in Şan‘ā’) to the honest man of integrity (*al-‘adl al-amīn*) in charge of the recording (*raṣad*) (there).

Let none of it be directed to the Market (until the *amīn* has seen it), and when it does arrive, let each piece of it be priced at the price it customarily bears in respect of the time, the quality of the goods, or the scarcity of them.

If anyone of the owners or agents bringing it in wants to attend to the selling and importing of his *qāt* himself in person, let him do so. Whatever the Market people, the *qāt*-retailers (*maqāwītah*), buy to retail for a livelihood, let the customary profit, and no more, on a given piece²² be ascertained²³ at the recording (*raṣad*) with relation to the price at which they purchased it, just as the price is ascertained in the case of other goods. Let the prices for the top, middling and inferior qualities each be in accordance with its grade. Let

that they hold back good quality *qāt* from the market.

13 Sing., *jalūbah*.

14 An allusion to the saying, ‘*Al-aswāq mawā‘id Allāh fa-man atā-hā aṣāba min-hā*’, Markets are God’s tables and he who comes to them receives from them.

15 This sentence seems to have no conclusion to the introductory ‘When’—perhaps it should be rendered as ‘Whereas’.

16 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl said that *al-bādī* was the person who *yibda bi-l-shirā*. See p.164a.

17 Interpreted as leaving the good quality to the end and selling the inferior first.

18 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 155, no. 421, *raṣada*, *yarṣidu* means *sajjal*, to record, and an account-book is *raṣad*. The sorts (*ṣinf*) and prices of *qāt* will be so recorded. Cf. the *Qānūn*, f.n. 185. Perhaps the practice of registering *qāt* at ‘Āfish and not at the Şan‘ā’ market is disliked.

19 I.e., the leader of the prayer, a respected person.

20 *Ba’d al-akdh ‘alay-hi*.

21 A constant supply of fresh *qāt* to the market is maintained.

22 I.e. the bundle of known size, weight, quality, and value.

23 *Yu’raf*, which might mean rather ‘be made known’ than ‘ascertained’.

1 See p.179a. A number of typing errors has been encountered in the summary, most of them fairly obvious, but one cannot therefore be absolutely certain of the text.

2 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl paraphrased *marṣūm* here as a *balāgh*, communication.

3 This personage does not appear in the printed biographies consulted.

4 Cf. pp.72b, 125b, 164a, 174a, *passim*.

5 Probably the shaykhs and ‘*aqils*’ of the Market or the Sūq al-Qāt. Perhaps *ikhṭibār* might be read for *ikhṭiyār*, ‘men of experience’ rather than ‘elected’.

6 *Al-‘ulamā’ wa-l-ḥukkām al-mu‘tabarīn*.

7 ‘Āfish of Bilād al-Rūs district is known to have been the only place where the *qāt*-tree was planted at this period (al-Sayāghī).

8 Şan‘ā’, see p.40a.

9 Reading *istabadda* for *istabdala*. By powerful persons is meant persons of position who are offered the good quality *qāt* for sale.

10 Owners of *qāt* plantations.

11 By agents intermediaries (*wasā‘iṭ*) for exporting or selling to the towns, are meant.

12 Arabic, *al-‘udūl bi-*, explained as *al-taḥarruk bi-*. Al-Ṣaḥlī seems to mean

what has been registered (*suṭṭira*)²⁴ as being in the hands of every retailer of the *qāt*-sellers each day be ascertained, and let him be made to display it to the purchaser without concealment from them, each one in turn (*li-l-awwal fi l-awwal*) of those who come to buy, not admixing (bundles of) good quality with poor quality (*hashw*).²⁵

The standard weight of the bundle (*mizān al-marbaʿ*)²⁶ is fixed at ten *waqiyyahs* clear of fraud, anything of lesser weight fetching a lesser price proportionate to the amount by which it is short (of that), so that the (standard) weight is secure against deficiency (*khalal*).

Whosoever withholds back any imported *qāt* from the Market will be punished, and anyone selling poor quality at the price of good quality (*qāt*) will be fined (*uddiba*).

Notwithstanding (the afore-going regulations) the owners (of *qāt* trees) are under no compulsion (*ijbār*) to pick before they consent to do so of their own accord.²⁷ No new practice (*bid'ah*)²⁸ or introduction of a levy (*iḥdāth gharāmah*) shall be imposed on them, neither shall a price be arbitrarily imposed upon them or by them—only the customary approved price (will be adopted). Concluded and date year 1189/1775-6.

2. Butchers and the Ṣan'ā' Meat Market

Yemeni historians say little more about butchers than they do about other trades, yet the occasional notices scattered over those Yemeni authors we have read, do add a little to the *Qānūn*.

Al-Rāzī,²⁹ writing in the first half of the 5th/11th century indicates the extent of Ṣan'ā' from east to west in the words, 'from the dam (*sadd/sidd*) of Mount Nuqum, i.e. Ṭalḥat al-Haddād (the smith's *ṭalḥ*-tree), to the Butchers (al-Jazzārūn).' This may be interpreted to show that the butchers had their market west of the city, probably in open ground there. It is tempting also to see in Maṣra' al-Jazzārīn,³⁰ i.e. the Slaughter-Place of the Butchers, where today (al-Rāzī's day) oil is sold, a sort of abattoir. The early Arab authors however, while attributing it to the pre-Islamic Sām b. Nūḥ, this of course clearly legend, see in the name a site where pre-Islamic or Islamic martyrs met their death. The editor³¹ of al-Rāzī's history suggests that this place was located about the area of the later Masjid al-Shahīdayn, north west of the present-day Ṣan'ā' Sūq.

'In 1063/1653 or the year after it the abattoir (*majzarah*) in the town of Ṣan'ā' was transferred to Bāb al-Yaman, and a record (*siyill*) was made for that and to rectify it (*istiṣlāḥ*) over which the *faqīh* Muḥammad Effendi exerted himself, and the notables of the Ṣan'ā' people were written in it. Its location had been the Firewood Market (Sūq al-Ḥaṭab).'³²

It is likely that, as Ṣan'ā' developed, the abattoir(s) were moved on more than one occasion, but the abattoir today is still outside Bāb al-Yaman, though animals are said to be slaughtered in several places, as well of course as at private houses, especially at the 'Īd al-Naḥr. Al-Hamdānī³³ has pointed out that the climate of Ṣan'ā' is so temperate that meat may remain with the butcher two, three and four days without going bad.

At al-Shahārāh, the Imām al-Qāsim in 1029/1619-20, 'went out on a certain day to the market and saw the butchers spreading out meat to dry in the sun (*musharriqin*) upon wooden boards (*ṣurūf*).'³⁴ This he ordered to be seized. He was spoken to about that—to which he replied that meat if it be left in the sun and then eaten induces leprosy (*judhām*).³⁵ Like al-Hādī at Ṣa'dah in the early 10th century A.D. this Zaydī Imām, with his power confined within small compass and his attention not directed to more momentous affairs of state, evidently did not leave matters so trivial as this out of his notice.

Though a direct command of an Imām might thus set up a regulation, a ruling in south Arabia would more commonly emerge as the result of a dispute between two parties, and al-Sayāghī has brought to light the record (*raqm*)³⁶ of a decision by Qādī Yahyā b. Šālīḥ al-Saḥūlī,³⁷ the Shaykh al-Islām of his day, dated 1055/1645-6, on what took place between the tanners (*dabbāgh*) and butchers (*jazzār*). This, he affirmed, was to guard the general interest (*al-maṣlaḥat al-ʿammah*) and in order to avoid inflation (*mughālāh*) in prices.

'He ruled that any butcher (*min ahl al-jizārah*) who purchases what he (later) slaughters in the Market shall receive only the skin and head, plus two *kabirs*³⁸ on the basic price (*aṣl al-thaman*) at which he purchased the animal for slaughter, and no more—this being by way³⁹ of fee. He is in an identical position to (a butcher) ordered to negotiate the purchase of it, take it into (his) possession, slaughter it, skin it and divide it among people. The man to whom the skin and head are assigned disposes of them as he wishes, and is not obliged to hand them over to those of the tanning craft,⁴⁰ unless it be by mutual agreement and at the customary price. Any tanner who wants to purchase (an animal) such as that and have it slaughtered in the Market (by the butcher) is in no way prohibited from doing so, but he is entitled to and liable the same (as has been set out) above. The two groups (*fariq*), butchers and tanners, take this document (*rasm*) as a basis and act in accordance with what is written in this record (*raqm*).'

Butchers, as already noted,⁴¹ always receive the skin, and sometimes evidently the head also, for slaughtering, but the tanners who could use the skin must have wanted to have it handed over to them with the carcase as a part of it. The butchers on the other hand would naturally not consent to the loss of their traditional perquisite. This document confirms moreover that the practice of sharing (*mushārakah*) the purchase of a beast for slaughter was current in Ṣan'ā' at that time.

This custom which still exists in the country tribal districts is known also as *shirkah*, and it was described to me as follows. When several persons wanting meat take shares in buying a young sheep-or-goat (*ṭaliyy*) the butcher, being expert in the division of meat, divides it up equitably between those sharing in the cost. The butcher receives his perquisite of head and skin (*min ṣālīḥ al-jazzār al-rās wa-l-jild*) in addition to his fee—which would be more or less proportionate to the size of the beast. He might for instance, ask for five *riyāls*, and the conversation would then run, The owner(s) of the lamb, 'No, my brother, not five *riyāls*! Let's make it four.'⁴²

24 Properly *suṭṭira* with *ṣād*. This information would be sent to the head of the *qāt*-retailers (*ra'īs al-maqāwīṭah*).

25 *Hashw* is explained as *yuhshā bi-l-l-ṭayyib min al-ḍa'if*, some inferior being mixed with the good quality.

26 *Marbaʿ*, syn. *uṣbah*.

27 It looks as if this provision is intended to allow the owners to sell to the other groups the poor or medium qualities first if they so wish.

28 *Bid'ah* is *ghayr ma'rūf*, not fixed by custom.

29 *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, 180, 574, *passim*.

30 *Ibid*, 27.

31 *Ibid*, 574. Ibn Rustah, *K. al-A'lāq al-nafisah*, edit., M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* VII, Leiden, 1892, 111, 'There is a great arched building (? *ṭāq*), the arch made of stone, near 'The Butchers' (al-Jazzārūn) of which its (Ṣan'ā') inhabitants say that in this place, in the first time (early times) were slaughtered sixteen Prophets,' Ibn Rustah wrote about 290/903.

32 *Ṭabaq al-ḥakwā*, 27b. I am not very sure of the translation. Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 959, for selling meat at Bāb al-Yaman.

33 *Ikhlāl VIII*, edit., al-Kirmilī, 10-11.

34 Cf. the *Qānūn*, section 20, *Sup.*, a. Qādī Ismā'il cites a proverb, 'A turban on a piece of wood upon which meat is cut ('*imāmah jawq jazfah/jasfah*).'

35 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 814.

36 Explained as, *mā yurqam fih min muḥākamah aw ittifaq*, etc. This is the second piece added to the *Qānūn* in al-Sayāghī's typescript.

37 Cf. p. 86b *passim*.

38 I.e. the *dirham kabir*.

39 Reading *bi-ma'ābati* for the text's *bi-mā' itī*.

40 Reading *mihnah* for the text's *mihnati-hi*.

41 See *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 20, ii.

42 *Yiqūl ṣāhib al-ṭaliyy 'Lā, yā akhi mush khamsah riya! Khallī-hā arba'ah riya! Yiqūl al-jazzār, 'Khallī-hā qabyalah.' Indā-mā yiqūl al-jazzār, 'Qabyalah, yidfa' lah niṣf riya! 'alā mā qāl al-jazzār min awwal. Al-jazzār, 'Lā turājil-nish—kamā tihibb idfa' dafa't.' Qbyalah, properly meaning something like chivalry, tribal honour, seems to be used here in the sense of—as you wish—I leave it to you.*

When the butcher says '*qabyalah*', he (the purchaser) gives him half a *riyāl* over what the butcher said in the first place. The butcher then says, 'Don't bargain with me. Pay what you wish.'

The lamb (*kharūf*), said Qāḍī Ismā'il, would be divided up into halves, quarters and eighths, and each person partaking in the purchase of the animal would take what he needs. This gives rise to the proverb,⁴³ '*Ishrak min al-tays wa-ridd al-qirsh*, Take your share of (i.e. buy) the goat and hand over the money for it.' This is said to a person who wants to get something for nothing!

In present-day Ṣan'ā' the custom seems to have disappeared and a *shārikī* now merely means a customer, as in the proverb, '*Al-jazzār yi'rif wajh al-shārikī*, The butcher knows his customer's face.' That is to say the butcher gives each customer meat according to the way in which he has sized him up—to the sharp intelligent man the best portions, to the poor man the most inferior quality he has. Another of the Qāḍī's proverbs runs, '*Al-rajjāl yibān min shirkat-ih*, A man's manliness⁴⁴ appears from the meat (he brings home).' A man, that is, who brings back good meat from the butcher and is given the proper weight of the amount for which he asked—but if the butcher cheats him, giving him short measure and poor quality, then he is a weak personality (*ḍa'if al-shakhṣiyyah*) and unmanly. In al-Mashriq they say, 'He who doesn't know butcher meat (*shirkah*) is pleased with the tail-bone (*bu'sūs*).'⁴⁵

Goitein's notes⁴⁶ made prior to 1934, throw interesting light on conditions in Ṣan'ā' at that time. 'When they buy (*bishārikū*) a *raḥl* of beef (*baqārī*) for six *buqshahs* (somewhere about 3d. in sterling then) the *raḥl* of mutton (*ghanamī*) costs a quarter (*riyāl* (10 *buqshahs*)), and goat-meat (*ma'z*) costs four—less than beef—with the proviso that when three or four cows are slaughtered they are not all one price—each has its own price. The (official) price-fixer (*musa'ir*) inspects them standing, during the day, and (next) morning they slaughter them and he comes round to inspect the meat and prices (*yusa'ir*) each one at what it is worth.' The man who fixes the price would, one imagines, be a Muslim from the leading men of the butchers as laid down in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*,⁴⁷ but a rather laconic note of Goitein's states that in Ṣan'ā' it is the Chief Rabbi—he must intend this to be for the Jewish community only.

From *Jemenica*⁴⁸ several sayings may be quoted to show the Yemeni's distaste for beef as opposed to mutton, presumably shared by the Jews with the Muslims. But for onions and garlic (*thūm*) beef (*al-baqārī*) would bring leprosy (*jadham*). The best beef neither harms nor helps (*afkhar baqārī lā yidurr wa-lā yinfa*). The *qashshāms* (sit) by the door of the butchery (*al-majzarah*)—one does not buy meat (*yishrak*) without onions to take back along with the meat (*shirk*) to the house.

For love of meat, an Arab proverb runs, I would eat the leather bag (in which it is brought back from the market), '*alā maḥabbat al-shirkah shā-kul al-masabb*'⁴⁹ The Yemenis speak of a '*shirkat faqīh*'—a *faqīh*'s portion of meat—because the *faqīh* is intent and eager to get the full amount of meat he wants, with no shortage in weight, and the butcher's dog⁵⁰ (*kalb al-majzarah*) is, in Ṣan'ā' as in other countries, a fortunate animal!⁵¹

For reasons unknown, butchers have generally names like Mus'id, Sa'id, Sa'd, all to do with 'happiness', but they would not have names like Qāsim etc.

Today the district known as Baḥr Rajraj in the eastern part of Ṣan'ā' is the place where the butchers and those plying other menial tasks reside. It has not a very good reputation for people say, '*Sharibt min Baḥr Rajraj*, You've drunk from Baḥr Rajraj.' That is to say, '*Ta'allamt al-wiqāḥah*, You've learned to be insolent.' You have been brought up in the Baḥr Rajraj Quarter⁵² and learned its language and ways.



13(2).1 Preparing meat on the outskirts of the city.

3. Silversmiths

i. The Mint and Jews

That the Jews were silversmiths in south west Arabia is well known, and it is averred that even the silversmiths in Ḥaḍramawt are the descendants of Jewish converts to Islam. This is quite possible as the families working silver there in 1948 had names which could indicate either a Jewish or Arabic origin. Brauer⁵³ alludes to a Jewish poet in the latter half of the 16th century who worked as a silversmith, but it can safely be assumed that they were established in this craft in the Yemen centuries before that. Yet it would be an error to suppose that they had a monopoly of the

43 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 170, nos. 468-9. He explains the imperative *ishrak* as, to buy meat.

See also the interesting piece entitled *al-Jazzār* in C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramawt*, 378, seq., 620. *Jemenica*, 157, no. 1204, gives *nawb* as 'a share of meat' in the tribal areas.

44 Arabic, *rujūlah*. This and the other proverbs quoted here are from the unpublished part of Qāḍī Ismā'il's collection.

45 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 216, no. 609. *Bu'sūs* is '*aẓm al-warik*. A variant runs, *Adhī mā mī'ih tharbah*, He who has no belly-fat . . . Cf. *Jemenica*, 27, no. 135.

46 *Jemenica*, 5, no. 18.

These prices may be compared with Amin Rihani, *Arabian peak and desert*, London, 1930, 87—mutton 1½d per lb., beef 2½d, eggs 2½d a dozen, butter 3d per lb., wheat two piasres a *qaddah*, potatoes 20 piasres a *qadah*. The Maria Theresa dollar is 20 piasres, about 2s 1d. A *qadah* of wheat is 155 lbs and is sold for 60 piasres or six shillings. The *qadah* is 40 *uqiyyahs*.

47 Section 20, iii.

48 Ibid, 140, no. 1044, but Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq al-nafisah*, 112, says they prefer beef (*laḥm al-baqar*) to that of the plump ewe (*ḍa'n*) though all is bought at the one price. Both sorts of meat can only be fully cooked over hot coals (*jamr*) since (ordinary) fuel only heats but does not cook them.

49 The *masabb*, here a meat-bag, is made of a ewe's (*ḍa'n*) skin.

50 Lit., the abattoir dog.

51 Other proverbs are, '*Shirkah bayn sab'ah mā tibil*, A piece of meat between seven doesn't cook (Ibb).' An alternative version says that a piece of meat of companions of the road (*khubarah*) doesn't cook—cf. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 62, no. 2. *Jemenica*, 39, no. 201. *Shirkah* means enough meat to do for a single day (*al-laḥm ḥaqq al-yawm*), so, '*Al-Shirkah kaldat yawm, wa-l-ḍahīyyah kaldat sanah, wa-l-marāḥ kaldat 'umr*, A (day's) meat (over which one has been cheated) is a single day's annoyance, the animal slaughtered at the Feast is a year's annoyance, and a wife is a life-time's annoyance.' (*kaldah* = *al-shay'* *alladhī yukaddir al-insān*).

'*Al-rajjāl al-mu'jab yiddi al-shirkah qabl al-ḥabb*, The silly man comes (to his house) with the meat before the corn is ground.' The corn logically should come first since it has to be ground, kneaded and baked—hard work taking much more time than cooking meat. On the other hand (*Jemenica*, 140, no. 1047), had women not got men they would eat beef raw—because men bring firewood to the house.

52 A satirical verse of the type called *ghanāwī* is quoted by Ahmad al-Shāmī, *Qisṣat al-adab fi 'l-Yaman*, Beirut, 1965, 212, attacking Ṣan'ā' women who ululated at the arrival of an unwelcome guest, ululation being customarily given to celebrate the arrival of an Imām of Ḥājj pilgrim.

You ululate (*bitihjirayn*), but he is not an Imām or (returned) pilgrim.

He is, you *qihāb*, one of those of Baḥr Rajraj.

53 Brauer, op. cit., 240.

craft for Dr Paolo Costa purchased a silver gilt knife handle bearing the inscription on the back, 'Amal al-Sayyid Yahyā al-Nūnū.⁵⁴ The Nūnū Sayyid who made this handle may have flourished in the 18th century to judge from the style of the pattern of the handle, but since no attempt has yet been made or can yet be seriously made at dating styles, this remains speculative. Costa adds that he has heard that some of Bayt al-Akwa', e.g., Qāḍī Muḥammad, librarian of the Great Mosque, used to make *jambiyyahs*, meaning probably the silver chasing of the scabbards.

Sayyids, even well known ulema, engaged in many crafts of the city, not in all probability in demeaning occupations—a Sayyid would be a tailor but not a weaver.

When in prison in the Dār al-Adab (House of Correction) of the Naqīb Almās in 1166/1752-3 al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī⁵⁵ composed verses expressing his relief from the perpetual hammering at the Mint in the Qaṣr near his prison when the Dhimmīs had gone home to Bīr al-'Azab for the Sabbath (al-Sabt):

An unwilling neighbour to the Mint (Dār al-Ḍarb) am I,
what an evil (plight) that is.
To be neighbour to the Jews with no one steadfast in
the (Islamic) path.
Their hammers (*maṣāriq*)⁵⁶ it is that come to one by night⁵⁷
Next to them there is no luck for the eye's time of
repose⁵⁸
A most odd thing it is that I should be a Muslim, a
Ḥanīf, but among my best days is the Sabbath!

Jakob Sappir⁵⁹ records that the Jews worked in the Mint during the reign of the Imām 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī, and in the town of Thilā under the anti-Imām of that time were Jewish silversmiths from Ṣan'ā' under the well-known family of Mōrī Yihyā ha-Lewī al-Shaykh. By 1942 al-Ḥajārī⁶⁰ records that the Sabīl al-Qirsh (Fountain of the Riyāl) under the supervision of the Ṣan'ā' family of Bayt 'Aslān is located in the Sikkat Dār al-Ḍarb or 'Mint Street'.

Hayyim Ḥabshūsh,⁶¹ writing during the Second Turkish Occupation, provides an account of the Ṣan'ā' Mint, the obscurities of which have been removed by Rabbi Qāfiḥ and communicated to me through the medium of Mrs Aviva Klein-Franke. Under the previous dynasties (*duwal*) of the people of the Yemen, says Ḥabshūsh,

the Jews had the means of gaining a livelihood through the striking of the currency of the rulers (*ḍarībah*⁶² *sikkat al-duwal*), and many people used to gain a living (*yatasabbab*) thereby, apart from the money-changers (*ṣayārīfah*), so that some of them acquired property (*amwāl*) and jewellery (*ḥaly*). Here is a description of how it worked:

54 Cf. Muḥ. Zabārah, *al-Anbā'* . . . , Cairo, 1376 H., in the essay Nayl al-Husnayn, 198, says the Nūnū family is a branch of the Ḥamazāt Sayyids, to which also belong the Ashrāf of the Jawf. There are Nūnū Sayyids in Ṣan'ā' today.

55 His biography is in *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 505 seq. For the verses see his *Diwān*, edit. 'Alī al-Sayyid Ṣabāḥ al-Madani, Cairo, 1964, 75. Other verses are in *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 544, etc.

56 Sing., *maṣraqah*. Brauer, op. cit., 241-2, lists as the silversmith's tools, *safilah*, small anvil; *mijmarah* (Gloss. *dat.*, *majmarah*, foyér de charbon), furnace; *ziqq*, bellows; *ribal*, round iron for making rings; *maṣraqah*, hammer; for filigree silver wire (*faṭīl*), are used a *majarrah*, punch (?); *jāz*, tweezers; *kalbatayn*, pincers; *manfikh*, bellows.

57 Arabic *ḥawāriq*, parallel to *maṣāriq*.

58 I have omitted a verse here.

59 Cited by Brauer, op. cit., 242 seq.

60 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 86.

61 Edit. S. D. Goitein, Arabic-Hebrew text, 38 seq.

62 Brauer, loc. cit., calls these Jews *ahl al-ḍarībah*, Munzpräger. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato* . . . , 152, calls *ḍarībah*, money in general.

63 *Ta'dūl*, the alloy of silver with copper in the proportions agreed. 'Addal means to prepare the mixture and smelt it. Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 3, i.

64 Sing., *jaridah*, long thin tongue-shaped strip that comes out of the moulding (Qāfiḥ).

65 Gloss. *dat.*, *faraṣ*, fendre. Cf. the list of tools, p.263. Qāfiḥ states that *faraṣa*, *yifraṣu* means to cut the metal strip into pieces. It is a denominal verb from *firaṣ*, i.e. a round chisel (*izmil*) with which we cut the strips into small thick pieces, each called a *ful*, meaning a grain (*habbah*) which is a

A number of about ten men used to smelt the mixture (*ta'dūl*)⁶³ of silver with copper and pour it into sand fashioned for that purpose—they would take it out of the sand in fine strips (*jarāyid*⁶⁴ *daqīq*), a single one of which would amount to twenty dirhams. These the official in charge (Ma'mūr) would receive and deliver to the people who cut them up (*yafrūṣū-hin*)⁶⁵ the latter numbering fifty persons, and the place/room they used to call al-Mufrāṣah. They would return them to the Ma'mūr, calling them *ful* (broad beans), and he would turn them over to other people, they numbered a hundred persons, to beat (*dakam*) them, and they call them *dakmah* (lit. a blow⁶⁶ with a hammer). They would beat them and call (them) *ḍurūb*⁶⁷ and flatten (*yurwaṭṭū*)⁶⁸ them and call (them/it) *waṭā*—they used to call this place/room (*makān*) *miḍrābah*. Then they would deliver (*yasūqū*) the *waṭā* to the Ma'mūr. Their cutting was regular, not one piece being more (*taftatiḥ 'alā*)⁶⁹ than another. The Ma'mūr would give them to another place/room to polish them—which they would call al-Majlā.⁷⁰

The Ma'mūr would now send them to the Mint (al-Sikkah),⁷¹ it being a place over which there were more guards than over anywhere else, where a *qāḍī* representing the Khalīfah⁷² would be sitting. Those who work in it would be about forty persons, and no-one would enter or leave where they are, like the rest of their fellow (workers) who work in that building. Those have an instrument made of iron (with two dies) upon which the Khalīfah's name and the town are written, which they call 'obverse' and 'reverse' (*rās wa-sifāl*),⁷³ and (of) each pair (of workmen) one grips the 'obverse' and inserts (*yilaqqim*)⁷⁴ (the flat piece of silver between the two dies) and the second strikes with the hammer until he completes the work of striking (*shughl al-ḍarībah*). The Ma'mūr takes them out—then he seeks the *qāḍī*'s assent (to passing) them, they having called them *shughlah*,⁷⁵ he gives them to the money-changers (*ṣayārīfah*) who issue them (*yaṣrifū-hā*)⁷⁶ among the people, and they call them *ṣarf*.

Now at one time, the Ma'mūr over the minting (*ḍarībah*) of the aforesaid Khalīfah was a Jew called Yūsuf al-Shaykh Lewī,⁷⁷ who was adventurous (*mutajāṣir*) in his affairs and wanted to extend his wealth (by taking) from the silver of the alloy of the minting (*fiḍḍat ta'dūl al-ḍarībah*), but his fraud became apparent to the aforesaid governor ('āmil) Muḥāfiẓ⁷⁸ and to the aforesaid Khalīfah Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (1844-49), so they cast him into prison, put him in irons, and admonished him harshly. In his fear for himself he threw the blame (*alqa 'l-muṣībah*) on other people than himself, alleging that he was innocent of this accusation (*da'wā*) and that he was alloying

small round piece like the *ful* bean.

66 The root *dakama* is in Gloss. *dat.*, but not *dakmah*, knocking with a hammer. Sayed Hamood Hason, *Arabic simplified*, 2nd edit., Aden, 1941, *dakmah*, a blow.

67 Not known to the lexicons consulted.

68 Verbal noun *tawṭīyah*, beating with a hammer to make it flat and evenly rounded. Vocalisation of *waṭā* uncertain.

69 Explained as—because there is no piece wider than the other but all are of one size. *Ḥabbah*, piece is synonymous with *ful*.

70 Better *Mijlā* like *miṣbānah* and *miḍrābah* supra.

71 Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, l'hôtel de la monnaie se nomme Dār al-Sikkah.

72 I.e. the Imām.

73 *Rās wa-sifāl*, defined by Qāfiḥ as—two moulds or dies between which they stamp the coin, the *rās* being the upper and *sifāl* the lower. They strike with a hammer and this is how the coin is stamped/struck. It is an instrument with two iron plates.

74 *Laqqam*, faire avaler, class. Ar., Gloss. *dat.* Here it refers to the action of inserting the flat round piece of silver between the two dies in order to stamp it.

75 *Shughlah*—the last action of stamping (*ṭab'*) the coin.

76 This might be read *yusrifu* to distribute, change.

77 For this family see Brauer, op. cit., 243, quoting Saphir.

78 Al-Wāsi'i, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, 1st ed., 72, mentions the *wazīr* of Ṣan'ā', the Shaykh Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī as *kathīr al-jawr wa-'l-zulm*, very tyrannical and unjust, but he does not mention Muḥāfiẓ; Ḥabshūsh speaks of both persons.

the coinage (*ḍaribah*)⁷⁹ with silver according to the way of the stipulations (*al-mashārīf*),⁸⁰ but that the Jews who were making the silver alloy (*yaṣīghah*⁸¹ 'l-*fiḍḍah*) had adulterated (*khānū*) it. With us there is no pure metal silver (*fiḍḍah ma'dan ṭayyibah*) but alloyed silver (*fiḍḍah muṣāghah*). At that time, and what preceded it, the silver of the Yemen workers (*shughghāl*)⁸² was alloyed (in the proportion of) seven dirhams minus a third, of pure silver (*fiḍḍah khālīṣah*), to three and a third dirhams of copper (*naḥās*).⁸³ This is the (standard) alloy (*ta'dūl*) of the Jews, the silversmiths (*ṣuyyāgh*) of the people of the Yemen. Yūsuf al-Shaykh, the Ma'mūr in charge of the work (of preparing the alloy (*shughl*)) for the coinage (*ḍaribah*) pleaded that the silver had already been alloyed with copper (*nuḥḥīsat*) and they added more copper to it.

The 'Āmil and the Khalīfah were delighted by the adducing of this plea because they would receive their cut (*riṣq*) from both sides—from the Ma'mūr and from the Jews! So they collected together those Jews, silversmiths, whom they found (*liqyū*) to the prison and admonished them harshly on the grounds (*bi-da'wā*) that they had defrauded the Muslims and that even their (the Muslims') women were unlawful (*ḥarām*) and their sons were not (begotten) in accordance with the law (*sunnah*) of the Prophet since they had married (*amlakū*)⁸⁴ their women-folk with the adulterated silver, and, since detriment/injury (*ḍarūrah*) requires what will set their condition to rights, they made a judgement against the silversmiths of 2,200 *riyāls* by way of expiation/compensation (*kuffārah*,⁸⁵ *sic*).

At that time the *riyāl* with them was a difficult pass, because of acute poverty, especially with ordinary folk. So when their friends (*ma'ārīf*)⁸⁶ apportioned out (*faraqū*) that compensation and those persons whose intent was injustice (*ẓulm*) had trebled it, their cry for succour (*ṣurākh*) rose up to the very heavens (*kabid al-samā'*) because of the lack of the wherewithal in their hands (to pay it), and who would hear their cry except after their paying that? Some of them fled, abandoning their houses, but they took it (the payment) from their houses so flight availed them nothing. Some sold their houses, some pledged their house-deeds (*baṣā'ir*) and paid, some sold their tools, some spent a long time in prison until they paid. One of them was this Jew whose brother I found in Qaryat Milḥ at that time, he being Sulaymān al-Maswarī. When he saw the admonishing and torture (*adhāb*) with which they tortured his companions in the prison, and realising that he had nothing with him to pledge or sell, and none from whom to borrow, he turned his case over in his mind to escape from their torture. He undertook and assented to the money due by him, asking that they take him out of the prison to his house to hand over what he owed. So they brought him out with two policemen (*shawash*)⁸⁷ to receive it from

him in full, it being forty-two *riyāls*. When he reached his house he took his wife's razor for shaving⁸⁸ and slaughtered himself with it (i.e. cut his throat), the police accompanying him and the household being taken unawares. As soon as they turned to him they found him covered in blood, and his death-rattle was like that of a slaughtered bull. His wife when she saw this shouted at the top of her voice, 'My husband is slaughtered, my husband is slain.'

In comment on the above it has to be pointed out that the Ma'mūr can have hardly operated without accomplices among the employees of the Mint, or at least with their cognizance. Furthermore the tripling of the fine where a person's honour is impugned would be in line with tribal customary law practice.

Ḥabshūsh goes on to say,

After the silver (*ṣiyagh*)⁸⁹ has been handed over nothing further has to be done but test the worked pieces by the furnace (*abrat al-ashghāl bi-'l-rūbās*)⁹⁰ to make clear how much silver and copper they contain lest (? *lilā*) there should come about bad faith (*ghadr*) of the sort that happened before. No pieces of worked silver are sold in the markets without being tested (*ma'būrah*) in the fire by the *rūbās*, stamped with the name of the Khalīfah and inscribed with the name of the silversmith. Before this they used to manage with the touchstone (*miḥakk*)—i.e., testing the silver with a whetstone (*masann*) of black stone, for the *rūbās* was not well known. Furthermore, at that time and both before and after it worked silver pieces were extremely few, and only the sultans/governors (*duwal*)⁹¹ and lords of the Yemen, none else, used to enquire about them and ask for them. The tribes and commonfolk used to manage with iron, brass (*naḥās*) or lead ornaments and glass beads (*kharaz*)—this on account of the lack of money income (*madkhūl al-fulūs*)⁹² coming into people's hands. However, in this time of ours now, thanks to God and thanks to God again, what is made into worked silver (*ashghāl al-fiḍḍah*) is more than the brass and iron of former days. This is under the gracious Ottoman Government (*sa'adah*⁹³ *al-Dawlat al-'Aliyyah*), may its sublimity/majesty endure, and a time will surely come when they will ask for gold.

The prophecy of Ḥabshūsh has come true, for in Ṣan'ā' today it is gold that is in demand for women's jewellery, not the old-fashioned silver jewellery which appeals so much to the foreigner.

At a later date, the *qāḍī* of the Mint being Ḥusayn Jaghmān and the secretary (*kātib*) Qāḍī Aḥmad Suhayl, 'when befell the disorder (*rabsh*) on the part of the Dhimmī, the Shaykh of the Mint, and the adulteration of the coinage (*ḍaribah*) the discussion (of the case) was referred (*rufi'a 'l-khawḍ*) to Sharīf al-Maqām (the Imām) and the order came back to kill him and cut off his head. This was put into execution on Monday 3rd Jumādā II, 1280/15th November, 1863, at the Gate of Sayf al-Khilāfah at

79 Cf. note 62, supra.

80 *Mashārīf* (sing. probably *mashrūf*), probably the conditions laid down in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, loc. cit.

81 Qāḍī states that *ṣīghah* is the name for the silver alloy with a certain percentage of silver to copper, according to local custom ('*adat al-makān*). With this mixture the silversmiths used legally to manufacture all silver jewellery. At one time for example they used to alloy eight parts of silver with two parts of copper, and this used to be called *ṣīghah*. There was however a time when they alloyed 3 1/3rd parts of copper to 6 2/3rds of silver. This throws light on *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 3, i. There the copper part of the metal is not mentioned, but Rabbi Qāḍī's note demonstrates that the document has in mind the *ūqiyyah* composed of ten *qaflahs*. These two parts, copper and silver add up to an *ūqiyyah*.

82 *Fiḍḍah shughghāl* means the legal alloy for the silversmiths (*ṣuyyāgh*).

83 As stated elsewhere, *naḥās* in the Yemen usually means brass.

84 When a man marries (*yumlik*) his wife the payment of the dowry of silver articles, it would be assumed, contains the percentage of actual silver decreed by law in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* and by custom. (Cf. *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, 147, *passim*, for Ibn Ḥajar's discussion of base money.) If, however, the man later discovers that the silver was adulterated with a larger amount of copper than what is laid down, he is then in the position

according to Islamic law of having deceived his wife, and she is not legally married. Consequently she is not his wife nor are the children legally his children, but those of a woman not his wife! Qāḍī calls *ḥarām*, illegal.

85 *Kuffārah* would be in atonement for the damage they had caused.

86 *Ma'ārīf*—evidently those in charge of the silversmiths, but it is unclear whether they are Muslims or Jews, but probably the latter.

87 *Shawash* (cf. Rossi, op. cit., 148).

88 Razor for shaving the brow. Yemeni Jewish married women shave some of their hair to make themselves unattractive to outsiders.

89 Sing. *ṣīghah* as in f.n. 81 supra.

90 *Rūbās/rubās*, according to A. Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch der Stoffe*, Berlin, 1950, 97, Schmiedeherd, Treibherd, 'ähnlich einem Puddelherd zu denken . . . Schreibung mit *sin* . . . ist seltener. Bisweilen wird auch das Produkt, das raffinierte Silber, damit bezeichnet.' It is then a forge, cupelling furnace, refining hearth.

91 *Dawlah* means an independent sultan, but Niebuhr gives it as the title of a governor. It does not however seem to be so used in Zaydī histories.

92 This may mean that coin was not very abundant, as indeed was the case before 1962 in some country districts. Up to recent times silver dollars were given to the silversmith to smelt and fashion into ornaments in the south Arabian sultanates. *Fulūs* basically is copper coinage.

93 *Sa'adah*, happiness, good fortune, I have rendered here as an honorific.

Ṣarḥat Yāsir, and both the Muslims and Dhimmīs were pleased by this, and it had a great effect. His two brothers remained in prison they being detained on the basis that they should undertake to deliver 1,600 *qirsh* by way of fine (*adab*) to ('*alā yad*) the Shaykh Muḥsin Mu'īd. Then came about their complaining of injustice and (the money) was reduced from them to 1,000 *qirsh*.'

It is virtually certain that the Jewish silversmiths who drew up the agreement in the document that follows after this event and the condign punishment which ensued, severe as it may have been, were all too well aware of the consequences of fraud by individuals on the whole craft. This at least would be a logical explanation for their fear of loss in Muslim property if members of the craft work for less than standard rates—in that, working at a cut rate below the customary, they might resort to adulterating the alloy with more base metal than the law decreed.

ii. A Jewish Silversmithery Agreement

The document to follow (taken by A. Shvitiel from a Hebrew source), like so many south Arabian Muslim documents, is an agreement following on a dispute—in this case between the Jewish silversmiths of Sūq 'Aqīl in old Ṣan'ā'. These at one time numbered no less than three hundred craftsmen but, says Brauer,⁹⁴ they had dropped to only thirty by 1934. Both the form and language⁹⁵ of the agreement, Hebrew phrases apart, and the actual craft organisation, are identical with parallel Muslim agreements. Its relationship to *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* compiled, over forty years earlier, in 1819, is obvious, but the remuneration for silversmith work may be slightly higher than that of the *Qānūn*, section 3. The agreement was concluded during the unsettled times when the shaykh Muḥsin b. 'Alī Mu'īd had been made governor of Ṣan'ā', not by the Imām, but by the townsfolk themselves.

The purpose of the agreement is to stop individual Jewish silversmiths from undercutting the established prices paid for worked silver. A feature of the document is the clear intention to avoid any clash with the Muslim authorities, and the reason alleged for wishing to maintain the level of prices is to avoid harm to the Muslim community. An interesting item is that a wage is to be paid the Shaykh while in prison—perhaps when the Jewish community is to be squeezed, or more likely, on account of the misdemeanour of an individual Jewish silversmith, to judge by the parallel situation in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 50, iv, where the Governor not only punishes the fraudulent retailer, but his Shaykh also.

Since the payment made to the Shaykh while in prison for a thirty day month (and Jews of course do not work on the Sabbath) would come to 3 2/3 *qirsh* only, it can hardly have been intended to compensate him for his loss of earnings from his craft. This sum would be the same as the wage of a builder's labourer as laid

down at the earlier period by *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 36, i, etc. The 'charges of the prison' are most likely the fees (*rasāmah*) paid to the soldier gaoler by Muslims and Jews alike.

Document

When all the silversmiths who gain their livelihood (*al-ṣayyāghin al-mu'tāshin*)⁹⁶ at Sūq 'Aqīl in the Preserved City (*al-Madīnat al-Maḥmiyyah*) presented themselves at . . .⁹⁷ and complained that some of the people (exercising) the craft (*mihrah*), execute work at less than the customary price (*bi-nāqīṣ 'alā 'l-mu'tād*), and that they (the plaintiffs) have no way out of that. They (the silversmiths) fear insolvency⁹⁸ in the property of the Muslims, and because of that they are afraid some will be arrested on account of others, although they (the plaintiffs) have no culpability in the matter.

They now press the shaykh in charge (*al-shaykh al-mustanab*)⁹⁹ at present Sulaymān b. Abrahām 'Amr,¹⁰⁰ to take a surety (*ḍamān*)¹⁰¹ from the offenders (*ghuramā'*) who work for less, against any (possible) loss at their hands in the property of the Muslims etcetera.

The afore-mentioned shaykh took it upon himself to deal (*al-ḍabt*)¹⁰² with the aforesaid matter, it being basic customary practice (*'ādah aṣliyyah*) that the shaykh in charge takes a surety (*ḍamān*) for that which has been mentioned from anyone of whom this is feared.

Those present have undertaken to proceed according to a single price—two quarters (? *rub'ay*)¹⁰³ of a *qirsh* to a quarter and a half of a *qirsh*, to an eighth. As for the man who makes a living (*al-muta'ayyish*)¹⁰⁴ they allow him¹⁰⁵ (to charge ?) the quarter of an eighth (1/32nd) in the *waqīyyah*; there is no reduction by mutual consent. The above applies to ordinary workmanship (*al-shughl al-jāzi*)¹⁰⁶ but in the case of ornaments (*zīnah*) or purses (*maḥāfiḡ*)¹⁰⁷ of fine workmanship (*al-shughl al-diqq*), the (wage for) the work will be paid by mutual consent in the matter of a wage in excess of the afore-mentioned Statute (*ziyādat al-ujrah 'alā 'l-qānūn al-madhkur*).¹⁰⁸

They undertook as obligatory upon themselves (that) anyone executing work (*shughl*) without a stamp (*ṭabī'*)¹⁰⁹ and against whom there is evidence¹¹⁰ of that, will be fined two French *qirsh* (*adabu-h qirshayn Farānṣī*) to (be paid to) the Holder of the Preserved Governorship (*Dhu 'l-wilāyah al-maḥmiyyah*).¹¹¹ It is left to the shaykh (*mafsūh*)¹¹² *li'l-shaykh* to imprison, arrest (*ḍabt*) and fine (*ta'dīb*).

Those who make appliqué (*dharūr*)¹¹³ are prohibited from using the solder (*liḥām*) called *a f m*,¹¹⁴ and the shaykh will take active measure to prevent this, the responsibility (*darak*) lying with their headman ('*aqīl*'), Mūsā al-Jarashī.¹¹⁵ Anyone against whom there is evidence of this will be arrested (and taken to) the assayer

⁹⁴ *Jemenitische Juden*, 241

⁹⁵ The document is in colloquial Arabic in Hebrew characters. Difficulties occur when a Hebrew character can represent either of two Arabic letters or when Arabic long vowels are omitted.

⁹⁶ For *mu'tāsh* cf. *Qānūn*, section 46, a, one who gains his livelihood, perhaps the same as *muta'ayyish* infra.

⁹⁷ This is normal style in Arabic documents. It is a pity that the place at which they presented themselves is unclear in the original. One would expect them to go to their '*aqīl*' or to the '*Aqīl*' of the Qā' al-Yahūd, possibly to the Shaykh al-Maḥāyikh or possibly even the Wālī.

⁹⁸ *Ar. taḥfīs*. This is difficult to interpret. Perhaps it means that silver *riyāls* are deposited by Muslims with Jewish smiths to turn into ornaments, and if the smith does not charge enough to cover his expenses and living costs he might use the *riyāls* to buy what he needs. Alternatively the argument may have been adduced to persuade the Muslim authorities to exert pressure on those smiths undercutting their fellows.

⁹⁹ *Mustanab* seems synonymous with *mu'ahhad* of *Qānūn*, section 18, a. *Istanab*, lit., means to stand.

¹⁰⁰ The Hebrew form of the name is used.

¹⁰¹ The text's *ḡ m n*.

¹⁰² For *ḍabt* cf. *Qānūn*, section 13, a, to oblige to do.

¹⁰³ *Rub'ay*, possibly *rub'ay*—the word is dubious. If it is correct to read two quarters—and the word 'half' would normally be expected here—the drafter of the document might be thinking in terms of the quarter *qirsh* basically, and then in fractions and multiples thereof. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 3, iii, has a wage range commencing from 1/8th, then hammered silver at 1/8th plus 4

buqshahs (at 80 to the *qirsh*), to ornaments at a 1/4 *qirsh*.

In Ḥaḍramawt, in 1948, one took four Maria Theresa dollars or *qirsh* to the silversmith and received in return three dollars weight of worked silver. If this was the procedure followed in Ṣan'ā' at that time some of the work would be very expensive indeed. On the other hand the wages mentioned may be over and above the actual silver in the manufactured article.

¹⁰⁴ He may be a retailer or a *dallāl* perhaps.

¹⁰⁵ *Fallat*, Rossi, *lasciare* (*Gloss. dat.*, 2430).

¹⁰⁶ *Gloss. dat.*, 282, *jāzi*, qui a cours.

¹⁰⁷ A *maḥfāḡah li'l-buqash* is a silver box with appliqué work, to fit on the belt and hold money. E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic vocabulary*, 127, *maḥfāḡah*, a bullet pouch, also, but though the latter is often decorated with silver, it is obviously not meant here.

¹⁰⁸ By *qānūn*, the drafter means the immediately preceding part of the paragraph.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *Qānūn*, section 3, vii.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Qānūn*, section 2, ii, *passim*, for this phrase.

¹¹¹ The identical title as in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*; *maḥmiyyah* is the usual qualification of Ṣan'ā' itself.

¹¹² *Gloss. dat.*, *fasah*, *lācher*; here it almost means 'is authorised'. Is the shaykh in question the Shaykh Sūq al-Ṣiyāḡah?

¹¹³ Described as light decoration (*naqashāt khaḥifāh*) mounted on or applied to a flat silver surface.

¹¹⁴ It has proved impossible to trace this word.

¹¹⁵ For this family see W. Leslau, 'Texts on Yemenite folklore', 222; E. Brauer, *Jemenitische Juden*, 307, alludes to the *knis bet el-Gāraṣi*.

(*muḥakkik*) because there is the regulation¹¹⁶ of the ancestors (R.I.P.) where it is feared that thereby forgeries (*ziyyūfīm*)¹¹⁷ and resemblance to money may occur. Similarly the deduction (*muqṣān*) in the ounce (*waqiyyah*) of silver where it still needs cleaning from solder (*taṭyūb al-liḥām*)¹¹⁸ is a *qafīlah*.¹¹⁹

They have taken all of this upon themselves of their own free will and assent in accordance with the custom from the time of the ancestors.¹²⁰

If a levy (*farqah*)¹²¹ should come down on them (and God forbid) each shall pay according to his capacity (*bi-qadr-ih*), craftsman and travelling worker (? *ṣāhib mihrāh wa-darrāj*),¹²² and when they want someone to make an estimate (*yurāqil*)¹²³ between them they shall agree together upon one of them(selves), once they have taken it upon themselves to agree (*yitwakhaw*), as one heart and one person in this matter . . .¹²⁴

If one of them is arrested in Sūq 'Aqīl,¹²⁵ be he shaykh, 'Aqīl or some other, and imprisoned (which God forbid), they will pay him the wage, an eighth of a *qirsh* per day, plus the charges¹²⁶ (*gharā'im*) of the prison. If they do not obey this the shaykh will distribute¹²⁷ (the cost of) the wage among them in turn.

The date is given according to the Hebrew calendar and comes to about the month of March in the year 1862.

iii. Silver Jewellery (see illustrations p. 541)

The list of mainly silver ornaments below has been compiled largely from Hebrew sources—these would no doubt be typical of Jewish manufacture over the Yemen. Nazīh al-Mu'ayyad¹²⁸ confirms that the Jews in his day were manufacturing the forged coins and 'Himyarite' antiquities still on sale in Ṣan'ā' today. The study of silver in western Arabia requires much more attention than can be lent to it here. Some beads of the pre-Islamic¹²⁹ period, it may be remarked in passing, resemble Islamic Yemeni specimens. Nazīh¹³⁰ notes that the semi-precious stones for which the Yemen is so well known used to be polished in a small market beside Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās. In the Jewish Silversmiths' Sūq, Nazīh, when purchasing their wares was asked if he required 'the modern Turkish *duqqah* or the old *duqqah* special to the tribes'.¹³¹

Aqrāt birr, (sing., *qurṭ*), chaplets for the hat. Very small dangles shaped like wheat (*birr*).

Aqrāt miṭarraḥāt, flat chaplets. Bigger dangles.

Aqrāt sha'riyyāt, chaplets. Beads so called because they resemble barley (*sha'ir*).

Azrār shabak (sing., *zirr*), buttons made up of small balls called *rasamāt*.

Azrār tishjūr, larger ball-shaped buttons.

Azrār waṣawīṣ, hollow buttons strung on a thread, children's jewellery.

Band (plur., *bunūd*), children's ornament (*Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 137). A *band* may be the piece on the end of a necklace or a hanging piece which may take two shapes.

Bilayziq (Rossi, 156, *bilziqī* or *blayziqī*), bracelet for young girls.

Faqsh (plur., *fuqūsh*), small half-ball soldered to a ring attached to the hat.

Ḥadūd (ah) (plur., *ḥadāwid*), thin silver bracelet (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 196).¹³²

116 The Hebrew word used here, *taqannat* is equivalent to the Arabic *qānūn*.

117 *Ziyyūfīm*, cf. Arabic *muṣayyaf*.

118 A *qafīlah* is 1/10th of a *waqiyyah*. If our rendering is correct the allowance of a tenth of the weight for cleaning appears a lot.

119 *Taṭyūb*, a colloquial form for *taṭyib*.

120 This sentence though in Hebrew corresponds exactly to the Arabic phraseology that would be used in such a context.

121 Cf. p. 154 *passim*.

122 *Gloss. dat.*, *daraja*, faire des tours, aller par ci et par là. *Darrāj*, qui va et vient partout, de porte à porte. This would seem to be a smith who goes round villages, not one working in a booth of his own. At Shahrārah in 1964 I heard that Jewish silversmiths from one of the communities in the district come round from time to time there to execute silver-work for the local people.

123 Qāḍī Ismā'il proposes *yurāqil*, meaning *mufaṣṣalah*, *musāwamah* for *yurāqil*; it takes a direct accusative.

124 After *yitwakhaw* follow phrases in Hebrew to confirm and render the agreement binding.

125 We read *bi-Sūq* for the printed text's *bi-sabab*.

126 The prisoner's family would provide his food, and the gaolers would have to be bribed as described by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmi in *Arabian Studies*, 1975, 11, 51.

When a prisoner was freed he paid a fee called *rasamah* to his gaolers, not a very precise sum, variously stated to be about 2 *buqshahs* a week before 1962, and/or according to the time imprisoned, perhaps ten *riyāls* for ten months of prison. Persons who have been imprisoned in Ḥajjah state that a book published by Qasim b. Ghālib on the horrors of Ḥajjah and other prisons

Haykal (plur., *hayākil*), small hollow cylinders hung on a girl's *qarqūsh* cap (cf. p. 534b, n. 41) for amulets.

Hilqah (plur., *hilaq*), a ring with a precious stone (cf. Hunter, 61, Rossi, 156).

Ḥinayshiyah (cf. Hunter, 61, *ḥanishāt*), a chain worn by men on the *jambiyah* (cf. below *ḥunayshī*). It is also the name of a chain worn on a woman's forehead with dangles called *namānim*. It is to be supposed that the name is derived from *ḥanash*, a snake.

Khirṣ/khurṣ (plur., *akhrās*), ear-rings (cf. Rossi, 157).¹³³

Kitāb (plur., *kutub*), long hollow cylinder in middle of necklace, presumably to hold an amulet (cf. p. 240b).

Labbah (*āt*), a fine interworked filigree necklace covering the chest, or, if tribal, thick solid silverwork. (Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, sect. 3, vi; *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 196; Hunter, 59).

Lāzim, monili d'argento cadenti sul petto (Rossi, 157; cf. Hunter, 60). Part of necklace with strings often of coral or silver beads and several large coins, etc.

Madwar (plur., *madāwir*), ring without stones (Cf. Hunter, 60; Rossi, 156, *Gloss. dat.*). Nazīh (149) explains *madāwir* as *khawātim*.

Ma'naqah, large heavy necklace worn as a choker.

Marshaq, square silver plate with a thin chain, for a child's hand.

Qublah (plur., *qubal*), plates of various shapes attached to the *qarqūsh*. They may, for example, be round and possibly as large as 75 mm in diameter.

Sals (plur., *sulūs*), a small single chain of gold or silver (*Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 80; Rossi, 198).

Salsah bayḍā, white (silver) chain.

Salsah mithamman, octagonal chain (?). Chain of eight intertwined threads.

Salsah mufaṣṣashah, chain with precious stones or rosettes.

Salsah sufrā, yellow (i.e. gold-washed) chain.

Shumaylah (*āt*), wider silver bracelet (Hunter, 60; *Gloss. dat.* also reports this from Ḥaḍramawt).

Taṭārīf (sing., *taṭrīf* ?), plates covered with ornamental stones attached to the chains of the *qarqūsh*. End pieces of a choker or necklace, of two shapes.

Tiklūl, small white balls joined to the *aqrāt*.

Wussāfi, a square hollow plate with filigree decoration. It has about ten holes through which the maker threads precious stones, red coral, silver grains (*ūt*). It used to be worn by young girls.

Zanābil, small basket-like ornaments of filigree suspended from the chains of the *qarqūsh*.

Zimām, an ornament of silver or gold, in which jewels may be set, put by girls on their noses (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 490; *Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 137, 311, which calls it a rosette (*zahrāh*)).

iv. The Dagger (*ḥihāz*)

The South Arabian dagger, the *janbiyyah* (pl., *janābī*) of the free tribesmen and armed aristocracy is an article of dress of an importance not dissimilar to that of the sword in feudal European society, though parallels should not be too closely drawn. Professor Beeston has recently discovered an allusion to a dagger in a pre-Islamic inscription and Professor Jacques Ryckmans¹³⁴ has shown in a drawing newly available of the stele from Kharibat Al 'Alī near al-Ḥazm in Jawf Bin Naṣir that the two figures on it are wearing, that on the left the long *sabikah*, that on the right the dagger with the crook (*rūzah*), which today would be the types worn by the Sayyids or Qāḍīs, and tribesmen respectively. The curious thing about both daggers is that the hilt is placed the wrong way round—this may perhaps be a simple error of the engraver. The curved dagger is worn well to the left of the waist. Daggers figure on some medieval coins, they are often to be seen as graffiti on walls, for instance on the sides of cisterns scratched in the plaster. A man's standing is to be estimated from the value and splendour

before 1962 is distorted and sometimes incorrect.

127 *Dawwal* = *dawwar*, to make go round, *Gloss. dat.*, 1862—he will make each house or group pay in turn.

128 Op. cit., I, 40.

129 Cf. Geoffrey Turner, 'South Arabian gold jewellery', *Iraq*, London 1973, XXXV, 127-39. F. M. Hunter, *An account of the British settlement of Aden in Arabia*, London, 1877, has a list of jewellery worn there. Rossi, refers to C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen*, 156, for an accurate description of necklaces worn by Arabs and Jews. For verses referring to ornaments see *Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 161, 363.

130 Op. cit., I, 136.

131 Ibid, I, 149. It looks as if Nazīh had misunderstood the *duqqah* which he calls *naqshah*, and is a hollow bead-ball, as illustrated in Brauer, op. cit., Taf. IV, d. Muḥ. b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Mubayyātāt*, Cairo (?) n.d., 154, mentions an old type of ornament, *al-fulūl*.

132 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 75, has a verse of al-Khafanji:

Wa-kassarāt min ba'd dha 'l-ḥadāwid

Wa-hazzāt al-labbāt wa-'l-galāyid.

133 In the days of Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib, the barbarity of some soldiers was such that in Raymah they would cut off the ear of a woman of the *ra'iyah* to get the *khurṣ* attached to it, and some ears with their *akhrās* were sold in Ṣan'ā' (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 670).

134 'La chasse rituelle dans l'Arabie du Sud ancienne', *Al-Bahit: Festschrift Joseph Henniger*, Studia Instituti Anthropos, 28, Bonn-Fribourg, 1976, 290. Cf. R. B. Serjeant, *South Arabian Hunt*, London 1976, 104. A. K. Irvine, 'Homicide in pre-Islamic South Arabia', *B.S.O.A.S.*, 1967, XXX, ii, 292, *szb*.

of his dagger, but it is the quality of the handle that makes the weapon costly. When the Imām Şāhib al-Mawāhib had his *wazīr* arrested in 1121/1700-1, about two hundred and forty splendid and costly *janbiyyahs* were found in his house in Ibb.¹³⁵ There is a dagger worn by an ascetic scholar, a *qāḍī*, in the days of al-Mahdī 'Abbās which it was agreed was not worth a *qirsh*, but a price of one hundred *qirsh*, *riyāls*, was paid for a fine dagger at this time.¹³⁶ The wages for the silver mountings of the scabbard are laid down in *Qānūn Şan'ā'*.¹³⁷

The following names of the parts of a tribesman's dagger were taken down from a Royalist tribesman in the mountains in 1966.

The handle (*rās*) of the dagger is made of the horns (*qurūn*) of the *waraf*, an animal from Ḥabashah—the word is not known to Arabic, but it might be a giraffe.¹³⁸ The *mabsam* is the horizontal ornamented silver band covering the foot of the handle and top of the blade—at least once I have seen a *mabsam* with an Arabic inscription on it. The *asīb*¹³⁹ (pl. *iswab*) is the upper part of the scabbard.¹⁴⁰ The delicate pea-green leather thongs of tanned sheep-goat skin wound round the scabbard are known as *ṭirshah*¹⁴¹—a *marshab* is a plaited ox-hide rope in general, a term not necessarily applied to a dagger. *Ḥulbah* was the name given for a dagger scabbard without a crook at the end, the crook of a dagger of another type is called *tūzah*. *Ḥurūf* are coins mounted on the dagger handle. Sayyids only were said to me in Şan'ā' to wear the *thūmah* scabbard without the crooked part which my informant described as *ʿaṭfah* but this does not seem to be a technical term. Behind the scabbard is a *jayb al-ḥilyah wa-l-qalam*, leather pocket for the pen and the *ḥilyah* which last was described as the silver (*mukhlaṣ*) part of the knife (*sikkīn*) carried behind the dagger. The *itm* is a wooden stick used to stir food, often worn behind the dagger also, *milqāṭ*¹⁴² are pincers for taking coals of charcoal to put on a pipe-bowl, and are made of *naḥās* which in the north Yemen means brass. Little projections on the knife-handle¹⁴³ for ornament are known as *zahrāh* which might be rendered as rosette, flower. *Ḥunayshī* meaning little snake, is a silver chain sometimes attached to such objects.

The *yasarah* is the dagger-belt, and it has often a *ḥirz* (amulet-case at the side), and a *maḥfazāh* or purse of silver (*li-l-buqash*) for money; beside it is a kohl-pot (*mukḥalah*) of silver. The belt has a buckle (*ḥilqah*) with a tongue (*ibzīm*).

The tribesman told me that the *dawshān* makes the scabbard of leather and wood—it is he who cuts these leather strips into thread (*miḥbas*, pl., *maḥābis*) to sew the dagger scabbard.

There seems to be no special significance attached to inheriting a dagger—for example if a man leaves two male children they value the dagger and presumably one would take it at the valuation.

The dagger with filigree silver mounts and heavily embroidered belt shown at the Şan'ā' Exhibition¹⁴⁴ in 1976 has a handle with silver pins hammered into it (*rās mazrū'*), *ḥurūf* coins or discs, a *mabsam*, amulet-cases (*ḥirz* or *kitāb*), a *sulṭah* silver guard, a strap (*lisān*), round metal ornaments (*zahrāh*), a buckle (*shanjīl/shanjāl*).¹⁴⁵ Another Şan'ānī word for a buckle on a belt is *ṣiwah*.

The dagger handle made of *Sayfānī* or *zurāf Sayfānī* which is mostly rhinoceros horn imported from Kenya, has certain properties—if a snake (*ḥanash*) bites you you take the handle of the Sayfānī dagger, and dip it in milk (*laban*) and put it on the wound (*ṣawb*) and it cures it. The horn dagger handle can be cleaned with a plant called *nuqum*¹⁴⁶ (in Ḥujariyyah, *irsim*) which has violet flowers with a yellow centre and light green leaves with prickles in them. Dagger blades are re-polished by the *ṣayqal* (pl. *ṣayāqil*) who removes the rust. Al-Rāzī¹⁴⁷ alludes to a Masjid al-Şayāqil, possibly their mosque at a remoter time.

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghashmī (later President and assassinated in 1978) told me that if you wish to give an *ʿaqirah* and have no animal to use for this sort of sacrifice you can resort to *kasr al-jihāz*. You break off the *tūzah* from the rest of the scabbard and hand it to the person to whom you are making the *ʿaqirah*. Muḥammad al-ʿUbaydī in fact positively stated that *kasr al-jihāz* in a tribesman's eyes was stronger than slaughtering an *ʿaqirah*.

In Muslim law there are certain restrictions on the use of gold, silver and silk in men's apparel, but according to al-Murtaḍā¹⁴⁸ these are permissible at a time of pitched battles (*muṣāffah*). Silver and gold can be used to ornament bridles, girth-rings, and stirrups. Silver seal-rings (*khātām*), a gold nail for a bezel-stone (*mismār al-faṣṣ*) are permitted. Other instruments to which silver may be applied (*tafḥīḍ*) are the ferrule of a knife (*dabbat al-shufrah*), the pen case (*dawāt*), the hilt and handle of a sword and its shoe (*ḥadhw*) and rings, bridle, collar (*labab*) and straps (*thafar*) of horses. Gold-wash (*tamwīh*) is permissible, but this should not be applied to the ceilings or walls of a room.

135 *Nashr al-ʿarf*, II, 421.

136 *Ibid*, II, 766.

137 Section 3, iv.

For daggers see illustrations in J., Kirkman, ed., *City of Şan'ā'*, London, 1976, 65, 71, 76. On p. 14, tribesmen are shown with daggers of Khawlān region.

138 It has been suggested that rhinoceros horn is used.

139 A proverb runs, '*ʿAsīb-ih bi-shāwir idhn-ih*, His scabbard is speaking (secretly) in his ear.' It is used of a conceited person (*maghrūr bi-nafs-ih*). All turbaned (*muʿammam*) persons, like the tribes and some merchants, use the *ʿasīb* in the sense of dagger with a scabbard and belt.

140 Cf. al-Khafanji, in *al-Ṭarāʾif al-mukhtārāh*, ed. Aḥ. Sharaf al-Din, Cairo,

1970, 121, *ghilāf al-khanjar*.

141 Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 171, *turshah*, green coloured stone.

142 Cf. *muntab* exactly like the *milqāt*, used for taking thorns out of the foot, or for plucking hair (*Tarjīʿ al-aṭyār*, 383).

143 As on the knife-handles shown in *City of Şan'ā'*, 76.

144 *Ibid*, 71, at top. The function of the *sulṭah* is not clear—perhaps originally a silver buckle?

145 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 208, no. 578, calls it *ibzīm*.

146 A plant of the Deadly Nightshade type.

147 *Tārīkh*, 221, 232.

148 *Al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, IV, 356-60. (K. al-Libās).

Chapter 14

Analysis of the Şan‘ā’ Market Today

An attempt is made in the following pages to portray the structural characteristics of the Şan‘ā’ Market. It is based on researches carried out by the writer during the years 1971, 1972, and 1974,* but, inevitably, it leaves many gaps where the more complex aspects of the Market structure are concerned. As no previous studies are available this account is somewhat in the nature of a pioneer study. The Market as the centre of socio-economic interaction gives a good indication of the relationships which form an essential part of the cultural complexity of an urban society. Naturally one looks for the key that will open the door to the understanding and explanation of the economic formula one observes in the Market. The central principle and ideal of economic thinking is basically a social one—namely, how to regulate, by social mechanisms, the production and distribution of goods in such a way as to guarantee the optimum of satisfaction both of individual needs and those of the group as a whole. Economic measures must therefore take account of social attitudes, and the economic system cannot be assessed in isolation from the study of society. Starting from this point one arrives at the concept of alliance-groups as the key to be used in studying the Market. The alliance-group is conceived of as a body of individuals within a society bound together by common interests. These interests become identical when there exists among the members of a given group, a consensus of opinion regarding the regulation of profits arising from their craft or business.

The complexity of urban society necessitates that an individual working in the Market must belong to various groups of associates—e.g., a body of relatives by blood, a professional group tied to the Market, a social class, and a city quarter. The concept of the alliance-group enables us to comprehend the social involvement of the Market with the urban society of Şan‘ā’, and to portray with greater clarity their socio-economic interaction. To demonstrate how the structure of these groups works special attention will be given to the way in which goods circulate within the various groups of associates. No account, of course, however comprehensive, can claim to offer an exact description of any category of socio-cultural phenomena, but it at least lays out a pattern for further consideration.

It is the writer’s pleasant duty to express his thanks to his informants, merchants and artisans, for their ready and willing co-operation, once they had overcome their inherent and natural suspicion of interest taken by a foreigner in economic questions.

* The investigations carried out in 1971 and 1972 were made possible through the support of the Swiss National Funds. The visit in 1974 was subsidised by the World Islamic Festival Trust. I should like to thank both institutions for their help and support.

The Location

The Şan‘ā’ Market is of the type of open markets¹—the streets of workshops and businesses form a centre that is associated with the peripheral markets, Sūq Bāb al-Yaman, Sūq al-Baqar and Sūq al-Jimāl.

The centre of the market is situated in the south eastern part of Şan‘ā’. The southern limit of the centre of the market abuts on a line to be drawn between the important monuments illustrating the history of the town, al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr, the site of Ghumdān, the ruins of the Christian church and the castle.² Through the interior of the market there run two lines of streets—one along the south-north axis from Bāb al-Yaman to Bāb al-Sha‘ūb, the second along the east-west axis from Bāb al-Qaṣr, via Sūq al-baqar, to Bāb al-Şabāḥ.

With regard to the peripheral markets—Sūq Bāb al-Yaman lies south of the market centre and is connected with it through the Sūq al-Naẓārah; Sūq al-Zumur (Sūq al-Jimāl), situated in the north, is linked to the centre of the market by the Sūq al-Madar and Sūq ‘Aqīl; Sūq al-Baqar is situated west of the market centre and can be reached from it by Sūq Ṭalḥah. The Firewood Market lies outside the walls.

From this description the suburban markets such as Sūq Bāb al-Şabāḥ are excluded, as also the business streets with new shops that have been opened outside the old market area.

According to information yielded by the map, Şan‘ā’ 4 (Health Organization, Yemen Arab Republic, 1:5000), the ground on which the market centre is situated ascends slightly along the south-north axis from 2258 to 2260m. The incline diminishes very little northwards (2259m) and eastwards (2258m). The western part of the market centre where the joiners, shoemakers and smiths have their workshops, shows a slight rise (2260-2261m) compared with the eastern part.

The following mosques are situated around the market centre—al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr, al-Madhab, al-Shahīdayn and ‘Aqīl. Within the market centre is situated ‘Alī.³ According to information from *Masājid Şan‘ā’* there was in the present Sūq al-‘Alaf an earlier mosque of which nothing remains today.⁴ The Masjid al-Najjār mentioned in the same work is likewise unknown.⁵

Within the area of the peripheral markets are situated the following mosques—in Sūq Bāb al-Yaman, al-Ruḍwān, in Sūq al-Baqar, Masjid Maḥmūd and in Sūq al-Zumur (Sūq al-Jimāl), al-Zumur.

1 Cf. E. Wirth, 224.

2 Cf. C. Rathjens & H. von Wissmann, 346.

3 See Map no. 6, in C. Rathjens & H. von Wissmann.

4 *Masājid Şan‘ā’*, 116.

5 Op. cit., 137.

The Spatial Organization of the Market

Before going into the question of the organization of the market centre the names of the individual markets existing today may be mentioned. First the use of synonyms may be noted; such as Sūq al-Mukhlāṣ for Sūq al-Fiḍḍah (No. 6). Furthermore some new names are used alongside the old, for example Sūq al-Ḥumaydī (No. 47) is called Sūq al-Jadīd or Sūq al-Thawrah; Sūq al-Jadīd (No. 19) is also called Sūq al-Thawrah; Sūq Bāb al-Yaman (No. 60) is called Sūq al-Ḥurriyyah. For Sūq al-Jimāl (No. 30) the name Sūq al-Zumur is used, as, in the place of the old camel market, trade is carried on in a new range of wares (assorted goods, western products of a technical nature, e.g. water piping, etc.). These examples indicate that the new names of the present day reflect both political change and economic transformation.

Features characterizing the market centre are a well-defined separation from the residential quarters; the prohibition from entering the market area at night except where the joiners, shoemakers and smiths have their workshops, which is controlled by a guard; organization in production and trade zones; differentiation between markets with a specific supply of capital goods and those offering consumer goods; fixed sites for specific agricultural products (*qāt*, grapes, etc.); the presence of customs-houses, of a safe depository and numerous warehouses.

Production Zones

The boundary between production and trading zones is not very clearly distinguished. Only those handicrafts involving noise and smell, such as joinery, smithery, including tinsmiths, and the shoemakers' shops, are separate from the trading zone. With regard to location a production zone in the western sector (I) of the market centre can be distinguished from one in the eastern sector (II).

I Classified in accordance with the type of raw materials to be processed the following handicrafts come within the production zone:

Sūq al-Naḥās	(No. 46)	Coppersmiths
Sūq al-Ḥaddādīn	(No. 42)	Blacksmiths
Sūq al-Mawāqīd	(No. 39)	Tinsmiths (<i>mawqīd</i> is a tinned copper charcoal brazier)
Sūq al-Janābī	(No. 37)	Daggermakers
Sūq al-Aswāb	(No. 38)	Makers of leather covers for dagger-sheaths
Sūq al-Minqālāh	(No. 41)	Cobblers
Sūq al-Maḥāzīm	(No. 24)	Beltmakers
Sūq Ḥārat al-Madar	(No. 29)	Saddlers (Originally the Pottery Market)
Sūq al-Najjārīn	(No. 40)	Joiners
Sūq al-Mikhrāṭah	(No. 25)	Turners
Sūq al-Qaṣīb	(No. 23)	Makers of pipes for water-pipes
Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā	(No. 21)	Tailors, also some cloth merchants
Sūq al-Kawāfi	(No. 26)	Cap-makers
Sūq al-Salab	(No. 27)	Ropemakers

II In this production zone are concentrated the craftsmen specializing in the manufacture of veils and silver ornaments. It includes Sūq al-Fiḍḍah (No. 6), the silversmiths, and Sūq al-Miṣbāghah (No. 5), and the plangi-dyers.

To the list above certain additions must be made. Tailors' workshops are found today in the following markets—Sūq al-Fiḍḍah, Sūq al-Ḥumaydī and Sūq al-Bazz; not all tailors working in the town are included, as much cottage industry is carried on.

Three goldsmiths' workshops lie outside the Sūq al-Fiḍḍah, two in a street in Ḥārat Mūsā, and one in a square in front of Masjid al-Madhab, which is also called Sūq al-Khubz (No. 3).

Among the service occupations must be mentioned cuppers or blood-letters (*ḥajjāmīn*) in Sūq al-Mikhrāṭah; barbers in the following markets: Sūq al-Qāt, Sūq al-Fiḍḍah, Sūq al-Milḥ and Sūq al-Naḥārah. Eating-houses are concentrated in Sūq al-'Aysh—also Sūq al-Luqmah (No. 11); some are also scattered about Sūq al-Naḥās (No. 46) and Sūq al-Naḥārah (No. 45). In Sūq al-Khubz, mentioned above, bread and boiled potatoes are on sale.

Tanneries are situated mainly in Ḥārat al-Ṭawāshī, while butchers, brickmakers and lime-burners have their workplaces outside the walls.

Trading Zones

The trading zone proves to be more differentiated in consequence of the more varied supply of goods. To make the survey clearer the markets are grouped in accordance with the types of commodity.

1 Provisions and specialities

Sūq al-Ḥabb	(No. 12)	Cereals
Sūq al-Ḥilbah		
wa-'l-Milḥ	(No. 13)	Spices
Sūq al-Zabīb	(No. 15)	Raisins, various provisions
Sūq al-Saman	(No. 10)	Oils
Sūq al-Qishr	(No. 16)	Coffee, coffee bowls, sugar and other provisions
Sūq al-'Inab	(No. 43)	Grapes, fruit
Sūq 'Aqīl	(No. 7)	Grapes, fruit, provisions
Sūq al-Qāt	(No. 4)	<i>Qāt</i>

2 Assorted goods (Provisions, specialities, tinned goods, other imported goods, e.g. lighters, soap, combs etc.)

Sūq al-Naḥārah	(No. 45)
Sūq al-Ḥinnā	(No. 44)
Sūq al-Milḥ	(No. 2)
Sūq al-Jadīd	(No. 19)
Sūq al-Ḥumaydī	(No. 47)
Sūq al-Jabbānah	(No. 37)
Sūq Ṭalḥah	(No. 32)

3 Cloth and clothing

Sūq al-Bazz	(No. 22)	with the following sub-markets:-
Sūq al-Abyaḍ	(No. 22)	
Sūq al-Ṣayārīfah	(No. 22)	
Sūq al-Maṣāwin	(No. 22)	veils, head wraps
Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā	(No. 21)	
Sūq al-Fitlah	(No. 18)	wool

4 Household and other goods

Sūq al-Ḥalaqah	(No. 36)	Tin and plastic wares
Sūq al-Mi'ṭarah	(No. 14)	Druggists and apothecaries
Sūq al-Bārūt/Bārūd	(No. 11)	Gun-powder market (closed)
Sūq al-Quṣṣ	(No. 28)	Plaster market
Sūq Dār al-Jāmi'	(No. 49)	Import business (Western products of a technical nature)

Between Sūq al-Qishr and Sūq 'Aqīl is situated Sūq al-Miṣbāḥ/Sūq al-Qamlah (No. 17). In this market private individuals display articles of their own property for sale; commission agents also auction their goods there.

Agricultural products are sold in the following markets: Sūq al-'Inab, Sūq al-Zabīb, Sūq al-Ḥinnā, Sūq 'Aqīl, Sūq al-Qāt, and Sūq al-'Alaf (No. 135), the Fodder Market. On the north side of al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr a sheep market is held annually before al-'Id

al-Kabīr. It is also known as *Sūq Mawsim al-ʿĪd*. Sheep are sold there by individual vendors.

The peripheral markets are distinguished from the market centre by the following important features: their location in the side-streets leading to the market centre; their having no distinct separation from the residential quarters and no guard; the existence of peripatetic traders alongside fixed premises; the predominantly seasonal supply of goods, except in the case of the Cattle and Fodder Markets.

Sūq Bāb al-Yaman:

In this side-street leading to the market centre, the oil presses (*ma'ṣarah/ma'āṣir*) are found, as they are supplied by the farmers with the raw material (*khardal*) for extracting vegetable oil (*saḥīṭ*). As well as the farmers who offer their produce for sale, there is also a large number of peripatetic traders in different country products, as well as vendors of pottery from the *Tihāmah*, butchers and peripatetic shoemakers. In the fixed shops assorted goods and country products are sold; nearby also are businesses specialising in charcoal, petroleum and a radio-business opened by emigrants from *Ḥaḍramawt*. The day to day activity of the market is now and again varied by auctions, the appearance of street singers (*nashḥād*) and occasionally by a woman fortune-teller (*mufawwilah*, pl., *-āt*) who foretells the future by means of sea-shells.

Sūq al-Baqar:

The Donkey Market (*Sūq al-Bahā'im*) is part of the Cattle Market proper. Both markets are always held on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. At present only the Donkey Market is held in its traditional place, while the Cattle Market has been removed outside the town to the vicinity of *Bāb al-Sha'ūb*.

Sūq al-Jimāl:

The former camel market—also called *Ḥawshat al-Rubū'i*—today bears the name of *Sūq al-Zumur*; in it mainly assorted goods and imported technical goods are offered for sale. Only the sites of some firewood merchants' stores recall the former market for country products. In earlier times the Camel Market was usually held on a Wednesday.

Within the market centre are sited certain institutions of great economic significance, the custom posts, of which two are working at present—*Jumruk al-Qishr* and *Jumruk al-Zabīb*. The former was previously called *Samsarat al-Shāmī* but it was also known as *Samsarat al-Qishr wa-l-Bunn*. Following oral traditions it was converted by order of *Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* into a customs office and equipped with scales and since then it has been known as *al-Mizān*. Formerly it was used as a store for *qishr* and *saḥīṭ* (oil), but today *qishr* only is stored there. Since the establishment of the Republic all imported goods are weighed outside the market, near *Bāb al-Sitrān*. Only *Jumruk al-Zabīb*, where raisins and grapes imported to *Ṣan'ā'* were subjected to customs clearance, has completely retained its function and it also serves as the office of the *Shaykh al-Layl* who is responsible for the security of the market at night.

Near the customs offices the place where deposits (*wadī'ah*) of money were made *Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan*, a magnificent building (cf. p.278a), constituted an important market institution.⁶ As it was plundered by the soldiers of *Imām Aḥmad* in 1948,⁷ the merchants use the bank situated outside the market area. The warehouses (*samsarah*, pl., *samāsir*) are also to be reckoned as institutions of economic importance. A distinction is made between a) warehouses, b) warehouses in which accommodation is provided and c) warehouses in which accommodation is provided for man and beast (*samsarah li-l-dawābb*). In all I was able to count 27 warehouses, of which two bore the term *makhzan*, one was used for storing *saḥīṭ* (oil), the second as a granary. The

latter was a gift by *Bayt al-Bilaylī*, a respected family of the town. Of the above-mentioned total, 16 lie within the market centre the others are to be found in the side-streets leading to the market. Cf. Appendix 1, p.275

A description of the most important institutions of the market would be incomplete, if the water supply, so important for the daily life of the market were omitted. Altogether 18 wells, gifts of different persons, ensure the water supply. Appendix 2 gives an inventory of the wells. Worth mentioning is the existence of a house for providing drinking water in the *Sūq al-Miṣbāghah*, called by the ordinary name of such buildings *Bayt al-Sharbah*, which especially provides the *Sūq al-Qāt* with the water that one has to drink when chewing *qār*. The owner has the water brought from his well outside the market in a two-wheeled cart (*qārī*) specially constructed for the transport of water and he decants it into small jugs, the contents of which he sells.

Property Relationships in the Market

To make an appreciation of the economic basis of the people operating in the market, in both the productive and in the commercial sectors, a glance at the law of property is necessary. The results presented below, are based on an investigation carried out in the year 1974, in the course of which I questioned 238 people operating in the market. In this study I shall refer to other results of this inquiry. The immediate purpose is to examine, as far as one can, the particular variants of property law that apply to work-places and shops. The results of my enquiry are collated in the following table.

	Artisans (N=157)		Merchants (N=81)		Total (N=238)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Ownership	36	22.93	13	16.05	49	20.59
Lease	29	18.47	16	19.75	45	18.91
<i>Waqf</i> (partial)	41	26.12	19	23.46	60	25.21
<i>Waqf</i> (total)	51	32.48	33	40.74	84	35.29
Total	157	100.00	81	100.00	238	100.00

N = number of those questioned

% percentage of the total of the group

The percentage with ownership, at 23.93% among craftsmen, is higher than 16.05% among merchants.

As I understand matters two factors suggest an explanation for this discrepancy: 1) The workshops have been in possession of the family for several generations; 2) The economic importance of handicrafts before competition with the increased import of factory-produced goods allowed workshops to be kept in family possession.

Common to both groups is roughly the same percentage of leased property and the surprisingly high percentage of *waqf*-property. With regard to the latter type of lease both groups differ as to the percentage of the two existing types of *waqf*—*waqf al-arḍah* and *waqf kāmīl*. In the case of *waqf al-arḍah* only the site of the workplace or shop concerned is *waqf*, whereas the premises located thereon come under private ownership. Even a wall on the site is not part of the *waqf*. In the table this property relationship is designed as partial *waqf*. *Waqf kāmīl* includes the site as well as the premises erected thereon—hence we have called it total *waqf*. The percentage of *waqf* in the case of merchants at 64.19% is slightly higher than the 58.59% for craftsmen.

Considerable differences can be discerned in the proportion of *waqf al-arḍah* to *waqf kāmīl*. In the case of craftsmen *waqf kāmīl* exceeds *arḍah* by 6.37% whereas in the cases of merchants the percentage rises to 17.28% in favour of *waqf kāmīl*, i.e. the latter

6 C. Niebuhr, 1772, 231. Niebuhr especially stresses S. at Mahdī, probably with the *Samsarat al-Imām al-Mahdī*.

7 Cf. O'Ballance, 48.

type of *waqf* lease outnumbers the *waqf al-arḍah*, a fact suggesting the economically favoured position of the merchants. In the statements received in explanation of this situation, reference was made in the majority of cases to the fact that many merchants belong to the socially privileged class of the Sādah and therefore access to the *waqf kāmīl* is easier for them. As this information could not be verified, it will have to be treated with caution.

It is always valuable to check results obtained from informants against data provided by other sources, and my results can be checked by reference to the Awqāf Ministry. In the compilation, *Asās mustawfāt al-awqāf bi-Şan'ā'*, (1390/1970-71) of this authority, the number of *awqāf* in the market is given as 1,025 bringing in receipts of 4,751 *riyāls* per month (an average of 4.6 *riyāls* per *waqf*). Unfortunately no distinction is made in the lists between *waqf al-arḍah* and *waqf kāmīl*. If on this number of *awqāf* of 1,025 there is based the number of active craftsmen and merchants in the market of 1,741—the number produced by my calculations in my 1971 enquiries—the percentage of *waqf* amounts to 58.87%. The figure of 60.50% (*waqf al-arḍah* 25.21%, *waqf kāmīl* 35.29%) obtained by my random tests confirm the relative accuracy of my results.

The *waqf* holder pays a monthly sum to the Ministry of Awqāf, the amount of which is determined, on the one hand by the type of *waqf*, on the other hand by the estimated income. This sum can be paid off through service in the mosque—by reciting the Qur'an (*qir'āh*).

In the market there are also other *waqfs*—mostly wells/fountains (*sabīl*) and stores (*makhzan*) donated as *ṣadaqah* or *maḥsinah* for public use.

It is evident then that the institution of *waqf* seems to play a necessary economic part in the market life but the question why remains unanswered. Any answer presupposes a knowledge of the development of *waqf* in the market area and requires some indication of the conditions that led to this high percentage of *waqf*. Here we are faced with a problem, namely, the lack or inaccessibility of sources. In this context a source proved to be useful only insofar as it provided the basis for an inference. This latter we find in al-Rāzī who, in the Ms. of his work *Tārīkh madīnat Şan'ā'* (Ambrosiana Ms.) recorded the names of a number of people who specifically donated businesses as *ṣadaqah*, presumably the sites intended are in the market area.⁸ It is significant that these persons who act as donors are people of high social standing who must certainly have exercised political influence, such as Ibn Misād (sic) al-Ḥajarī or Maḥfūz b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir.⁹ We have, of course, no effective answer to the question as to what motive induced these personalities to donate as *waqf* plots of land in the market area. We are therefore thrown onto mere conjecture. I interpret the indications we have as pointing to the use of the *waqf* as an economic and political instrument to stimulate the development of the market. In order to render the activity attractive to the groups essential to the market, such as craftsmen and merchants, first of all such property relationships had to be created in the market area as made its use economically acceptable. If one realizes that, in the widespread economic system of rentier capitalism in the Near East, as first described by H. Bobek,¹⁰ such high deductions had to be paid from the yield that those liable to payment frequently hardly gained a bare subsistence, it will be understood that measures had to be taken to reduce the private share in land. In this sense these donations constitute the transference of the private share in land ownership to the public. Only through such a solution was one of the most important conditions created for the activity of craftsmen and merchants without landed property in the market area. This explanation may perhaps enable one to understand the motives

underlying the establishment of *awqāf* in the market area. But it still remains hypothetical. Only one thing is certain—the institution of the pious donation played a decisive part in the development of the market.

The Development of the Market

The records of the Market of Şan'ā' in the sources at our disposal prove frequently to be inaccurate and incomplete. This obviously is the cause of the hypothetical character of any statement based on such data. In order to arrive at a fairly valid assessment I start from the axiom that the passages concerned reproduce an order that, consciously or unconsciously, relates to the reality observed. If, for example, al-Rāzī puts the sheep-and-goat market along with the butchers and cuppers or blood-letters, then I assume this passage reproduces a grouping observed by him.

The Market in the 5th/11th Century

The earliest Arabic source containing references to the market is the *Tārīkh madīnat Şan'ā'* of al-Rāzī. Of this work the manuscript (Ambr. MS.G.15) in the Ambrosiana Library and printed edition were used. The spatial arrangement of the market, which can be reconstructed from the data abovementioned, is evident from Table I. It shows a simpler organization in accordance with the type of production of commodities and goods offered for sale that will be observed in later phases of its development.

The following features appear worthy of note:-

Craft Groupings

Joiners, smiths, lance-makers, makers of dagger-sheath covers and druggists. Cuppers, blood-letters, butchers and the sheep-and-goat market form one unit. Silversmiths and manufacturers of dagger blade are adjacent to one another. Shoemakers are separate from the other crafts.

Banana sellers have their shops in the Silversmiths' Market. This is evidence that organization by occupation is not always consistently followed.

The Straw Market, Sūq al-Tibn(?) and the unidentified Sūq al-Lasāsīn constitute a market formation that seems to lie outside the markets already mentioned. The same applies to the Sūq al-'Irāqī which was probably an import market.

The Cloth Market is separate from the craftsmen's markets, provision markets and the sheep-and-goats market. Al-Rāzī does not mention the markets of our own day: turners, tin-smiths, water-pipe manufacturers, tailors, cap-makers and ropemakers, nor yet the *Qāt* Market, Grain Market, Grape Market, Cattle, Donkey, and Camel Market.

Instructive references are made by al-Rāzī about the change of sites of some occupations, effected in his time; a) the Oil Market located at the earlier Meat Market, where also the cuppers and blood-letters pursued their professions.¹¹ b) on the same site, i.e. the earlier Butchers'-Cuppers'-Bloodletters' Market were located the druggists' shops.¹² It is implied that certain occupational groups had close relationships with mosques when for example, a Masjid al-Baqqālīn¹³ is called the Provision Merchants' Mosque and a Masjid al-Şayāqīl the Dagger-blade Polishers' Mosque.¹⁴ At the time of al-Rāzī the latter was situated in the Firewood Market. With regard to the Masjid Sūq al-Lasāsīn al-Rāzī notes that the 'Abbāsīd governor in Şan'ā', Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barmakī, had built a mint (Dār al-Ḍarb or Dār al-Barmakī) in the

8 Al-Rāzī, a, fol., 109 b-110 b, 112 b, 117 b.

9 Op. cit., fol., 11 a.

10 H. Bobek, 283.

11 Al-Rāzī, b, 27.

12 Op. cit., a, fol., 11 a, 115 b.

13 Op. cit., a, fol. 105 a.

14 Op. cit., b, 232.

Table 1 The grouping of occupations in the Market according to al-Rāzī

Sūq al-Najjārīn ¹ (Joiners)	Sūq al-Bazz ⁶ (Cloth Market)	Sūq al-Ḥaṭab ¹⁰ (Firewood Market)	Sūq al-Lasāsīn ¹⁸
Sūq al-Ḥaddādīn ² (Smiths)	Sūq al-Ṣawagh ⁷ (Silversmiths)	Sūq al-Tibn(?) (Straw Market)	Sūq al-Ṭabbānīn ¹⁹
Ḥānūt al-Ḥirāb ³ (Lance shops)	Sūq al-Ṣayāqīl ⁸ (Blade polishers)	Sūq al-Shawwāyīn ¹² (Grillers)	Sūq al-Ḥadhdhā'in ²⁰ (Shoemakers)
Sūq al-Khazzārīn ⁴ (Belt makers)	Sūq b. Maghar ⁹	Sūq al-Baqqālīn ¹³ (Provision dealers)	Sūq al-Ḥajjāmīn ²¹ (Cuppers and blood-letters)
Sūq al-'Aṭṭārīn ⁵ (Druggists)		Sūq al-Sammānīn ¹⁴ (Ghee dealers)	Sūq al-Jazzārīn ²² (Butchers)
		Sūq al-Mawz ¹⁵ (Banana Market)	Sūq al-Ma'z ²³ (Goat Market)
		Sūq ibn Ma'n ¹⁶	
		Sūq al-'Irāqīyīn ¹⁷	

1 al-Rāzī, a: 112 b, 115 b.

2 Ibid, a: 112 b, 110 a, 115 b.

3 Ib., a: 112 b.

4 Ib., a: 110 a, 115 b.

5 Ib., a: 115 b.

6 Ib., a: 116 a.

7 Ib., a: 110 b, 113 a, 116 a.

8 Ib., a: 110 b.

9 Ib., a: 109 b.

10 Ib., b: 232.

11 Ib., a: 105 a.

12 Ib., a: 116 b.

13 Ib., a: 116 a.

14 Ib., a: 116 a.

15 Ib., a: 116 a.

16 Ib., a: 113 b.

17 Ib., a: 69 a.

18 Ib., a: 110 b.

19 Ib., b: 106 passim.

20 Ib., a: 116 b.

21 Ib., a: 110 a.

22 Ib., a: 115 b, 117 a.

23 Ib., a: 110 a, 117 a.

Sūq al-Ṭabbānīn (Straw Sellers' Market). Near it he had a mosque erected which, in the time of al-Rāzī, was known as Masjid Sūq al-Lasāsīn.¹⁵

The Market in the Eighteenth Century

For this period the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* constitutes the most important primary source. The market structure, as revealed by the *Qānūn* approximates closely to the present pattern in its basic characteristics. Compared with the market at the time of al-Rāzī the organization of the occupational groups appears more diverse and more rigid (Table II). Three producer groups are clearly perceptible—metal workers, wood and textile processing, bakers and millers. The silversmiths are treated next to the cloth market. The commodity markets can be classified into four distinct groups of goods—provision and speciality markets, cloth markets, livestock markets including a firewood and fodder market, and the import market comprising the shops of druggists, silk merchants and dealers in household furnishings. For a knowledge of the social structure of the market it is an important fact that in the *Qānūn* the institution of the Shaykh al-Sūq is mentioned for the first time, which will be dealt with more closely later.¹⁶ The same applies to the Bāniyāns, for whom see pp. 432-5.¹⁷

Craftsmanship in the markets shows a greater degree of specialisation evident in the trades not mentioned by al-Rāzī which have emerged since his time—coppersmiths, farriers, tinsmiths, gun-barrel manufacturers, key-makers, saddlers, tailors, ropemakers, makers of water-pipes, plangi-dyers, bakers with *farrānīn* and millers. Instead of lance manufacture which is no longer mentioned, we find a new occupation, gun-stock makers. This new craft reflects the change in armaments of the Yemenis since the Ottoman occupation, for the Mamlūks made the inhabitants of Yemen acquainted with firearms.¹⁸ In the *Qānūn* we do not find al-Lasāsīn or the designation Ḥadhdhā'in. The shoemakers are included with the tinsmiths in Sūq al-Minqālah wa-'l-Iskāfiyyah.

In contrast to al-Rāzī the veterinary surgeons are mentioned as a new profession. The trade in provisions, fruit and such specialities as stimulants and fine wares shows itself very much subdivided. There is a grain market, raisin market, tobacco market, a salt market (Sūq al-Milḥ) and, for the first time, *qāt* and the henna markets appear, yet there is no banana market.

In the cloth trade the more varied supply of goods is evidenced by the fact that, alongside the cloth market (Sūq al-Bazz) already mentioned by al-Rāzī, the following textile markets are distin-

guished—Sūq al-Ḥaḍramī, in which indigo dyed materials were on sale, and Sūq al-Ḥarīr, the Silk Market. Of course, the latter might be included with the druggists and Sūq al-Ḥalaqah in a complex in which imported goods preponderated. Finally, the Sūq al-Maṣāwin is mentioned as another textile market in which the veils/headwraps for covering the female head and shoulders are obtained.

Alongside the sheep-and-goat market, already known to al-Rāzī, a Cattle and Donkey Market, a Horse and Mule Market, a Camel Market and a Fodder Market have become established, thus enlarging the supply of country products. The connection between the sheep-and-goat market and the butchers remains unaffected by the changes.

The Market in non-Arabian Sources

In the earliest European description written by the Bolognese, Lodovico di Varthema, who visited *Ṣan'ā'* in the early 16th century, we find no information about the market. The Englishman, John Jourdain, who stayed in *Ṣan'ā'* about 100 years later—in June 1609—refers to the market in his report:

The trade of this cittye is cheiflie with the Benaianes of Guzaratt, which bringeth yearly all kinde of comodities, as bastaes, shasses, cotton wool, with other stuffs of their cuntrye, and lye here as factours for the Banians of Aden, Moucha, Zida, to whom they yeild there accompts; for in each of those places before mentioned there is one cheife Banane as Consull or such like, which doth all the buysines in each place. With the Banians marchannts I had some conference concerninge their trade and our cuntrye comodities, whoe told me that this cittie would vent yearlie aboute 2000 bahars of yron and greate store of tynne, and lead alsoe would sell at a good rate, broad cloth about 100 peeces of violett or stamell and Venice reds, with some steele; this cittye yealdinge little comodities for marchandize, onlie some fua alias Bua, which the Banans doe use to carrie much to the Indies to dye red withall, and make greate proffitt thereby.¹⁹

Two facts deserve our attention: first, the part played by the Bāniyāns²⁰ in the commercial sector, and second, the small yield from trade. Now there is not a single representative of this Indian merchant caste in *Ṣan'ā'*.

The report by Carstein Niebuhr, who stayed in *Ṣan'ā'* from 16th to 26th July 1763, constitutes an additional source. His description does not prove very detailed, as he was under severe

15 Op. cit., b, 106 passim.

16 *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 282, no. 1, ii.

17 Op. cit., 300.

18 Al-Nahrawālī al-Makki, 21.

19 Winter Jones; see further L. Forrer, 20.

20 Cf. section on Bāniyāns, pp. 432-35.

Table 2 The grouping of occupations in the Market according to *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*

Al-Miḥdādah ¹ (Blacksmiths' Market)	Al-Khabbāzin ⁹ (Bakers)	Sūq al-Ghanam ¹⁹ (Sheep-and-goat Market)	Sūq al-Saman ²⁶ wa-l-Saliḥ (Ghee Market)	Sūq al-Fiḍḍah ³⁵ (Silver Market)
Al-Bay'irah ² (Veterinary surgeons or farmers)	Al-Farrānīn ¹⁰ (Bread-oven Men)	Al-Majzarah ²⁰ (Meat Market)	Sūq al-Qishr ²⁷ (Coffee-husk Market)	Sūq al-Bazz ³⁶ (Cloth Market)
Al-Minjārah ³ (Carpentry Market)	Al-Madāqiqah ¹¹ (Flour Millers)	Sūq al-Ḥaṭab ²¹ (Firewood Market)	Sūq al-Tunbaq ²⁸ (Tobacco Market)	Sūq al-Ḥaḍramī ³⁷ (Market of Ḥaḍramī Cloth)
Ṣunnā' al-Maghāliq ⁴ wa-l-Dawāyir (Lock and Key Smiths)	Al-Ṣabbāghīn ¹² (Plangi)-dyers)	Sūq al-Baqar ²² wa-l-Bahā'im (Cattle and donkey Market)	Sūq al-Tutun al-Aswad ²⁹ (Tobacco Market)	Sūq al-Maṣāwin ³⁸ (Head-scarves Market)
Al-Majariyyīn ⁵ (Gun-stock makers)	Al-Qaṣṣābīn ¹³ (Pipe-tube makers)	(Al-Makhāyīṭah ¹⁴ (Tailors)	Sūq al-Ḥabb ³⁰ (Grain Market)	
Sūq al-Nahās ⁶ (Brass Market)	Al-Sarrājīn ¹⁵ (Saddlers)	Sūq al-Jimāl ²³ (Camel Market)	Sūq al-Milḥ ³¹ (Salt Market)	
Sūq al-Minqālah ⁷ (Sandal-makers' Market)	Sūq al-Mi'ṭarah ¹⁶ (Spicery Market)	Sūq al-Khayl ²⁴ wa-l-Bighāl (Horse and mule Market)	Sūq al-Zabīb ³² (Raisin Market)	
Sūq al-Iskāfiyyah ⁸ (Shoemakers' Market)	Sūq al-Ḥarīr ¹⁷ (Silk Market)	Sūq al-'Alaf ²⁵ (Fodder Market)	Sūq al-Ḥinnā ³³	
	Sūq al-Ḥalaqaḥ ¹⁸		Sūq al-Qāt ³⁴	

1 *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*,
supra, 296, no. 29.
2 Ibid, 296, no. 30.
3 Ib., 297, no. 31.
4 Ib., 297, no. 32.
5 Ib., 297, no. 32.
6 Ib., 298, no. 34.
7 Ib., 298, no. 35.

8 Ib., 298, no. 35.
9 Ib., 295, no. 28.
10 Ib., 295, no. 28a.
11 Ib., 295, no. 28a.
12 Ib., 294, no. 27a.
13 Ib., 294, no. 27a.
14 Ib., 294, no. 27a/c.
15 Ib., 295, no. 27.

16 Ib., 286, no. 6.
17 Ib., 286, no. 8.
18 Ib., 286, no. 9.
19 Ib., 291, no. 20.
20 Ib., 291, no. 20.
21 Ib., 291, no. 21.
22 Ib., 292, no. 22.
23 Ib., 292, no. 23.

24 Ib., 292, no. 24.
25 Ib., 293, no. 25.
26 Ib., 287, no. 10.
27 Ib., 286 seq., no. 10.
28 Ib., 287, no. 11.
29 Ib., 288, no. 12.
30 Ib., 288, no. 14.
31 Ib., 289, no. 15.

32 Ib., 289, no. 16.
33 Ib., 289, no. 17.
34 Ib., 290, no. 18.
35 Ib., 283, no. 3.
36 Ib., 282, no. 1.
37 Ib., 283, no. 2.
38 Ib., 294, no. 27, a/b.

mental strain on account of the tragic fate that had pursued the members of the Danish expedition. In this, local circumstances also played a part, by which he felt handicapped during his stay. 'I wish I had been able to make an exact ground-plan of this city. But when I went into the street, I was immediately surrounded by a crowd of inquisitive people and accompanied by them everywhere, and under these circumstances I did not consider it advisable to look at the compass very often and to note the lines and angles . . . Most of the streets on the ground-plan have, as may be supposed, been indicated at discretion.'²¹ From this reference, critical as to source, it becomes clear that we cannot use his plan of the town for evaluation.²² There remains only the short rendering of his observations.

Moreover, we find in Sana, as in all large eastern commercial towns, big caravanserais (Simsera, Oqal) for merchants and travellers, likewise special sites and quarters of the town, where wood, charcoal, iron, grapes, corn, butter, salt or bread are sold. In the bread market there are only women sitting. We can also find in Sana a market where old clothes can be exchanged for new. There are also those who deal in Indian, Persian, Turkish, and other goods; also those who sell all kinds of spices and medicaments, who sell kaad leaves, all kinds of dried and fresh fruit such as pears, apricots, peaches, figs etc.; carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, saddlers, tailors, cap-makers, stonemasons, goldsmiths, barbers, cooks, book-binders, even writers who for a few stivers compose a petition to the Imam or to some other notability, who also teach children and copy books, and in the daytime sit in their small booths in a certain quarter of the town.²³

Two facts stand out from this description. The series of craftsmen mentioned—joiners, smiths, shoemakers, saddlers

21 C. Niebuhr, 1774, 418, passim.

22 In a letter from Bombay to Gräff J. H. E. Bernstorff, at that time the Danish Foreign Minister, dated 20 October 1774, Niebuhr explains that he could not draw a map to scale of Ṣan'ā'.
Danske Rejks Archiv. T.K.V.A. ALM.AFD III 4. Arabiske Rejse II, 1763-70. 62 e.B.C. 26.

23 Op. cit., 1774, 42.

24 R. Manzoni, 122. The original text runs,

Es-suq, o mercato, e il quartiere centrale della città. E tutto a viuzze che s'incrocicchiano tra di esse. Gli Arabi sono divisi in tante corporazioni quanti sono i mestieri che fanno (a capo di ciascuna di esse sta uno scekh); quindi al *Suq*, nelle medesime strade stanno tutti i lavoranti nello stesso

corresponds to the order previously established. The order of the remaining craftsmen remains unclear.

The sources quoted so far belong to the 17th and 18th centuries and have hardly added to our picture in any extent worthy of mention, apart from some information obtained from Arabic sources. For the situation in the 19th century the description of the market by R. Manzoni proves informative, especially as for the time being we have no Arabic sources at our disposal for this period.

Es-suq, or the market, is in the centre of the town. It consists of intersecting streets. The Arabs are divided into as many corporations as there are Arabs who practice them (at the head of each stands a Sheikh); hence there are to be found in the same streets workers in the same occupations and dealers in the same goods. Cabinet makers, mechanics, manufacturers of shovels and knives, traders in pipes, candlesticks and metal cooking utensils, druggists (traders in coffee, incense, perfumes and drugs), coal merchants, cloth merchants, rope-makers, pipe cleaners etc., always have their shops and businesses next to one another in the same streets. On the main square there is situated the corn market; on another, by Bab al-Yemen, the market for stoves of burnt clay, near it the fruit and vegetable market (on the Makhazem er-Robali Square). Near the Et-Tauasci (al-Ṭawāshī) Square there is situated the bread market and the one for green fodder. The only slaughter-house of Sana-el-Medine is situated immediately on the right side of the entrance to Bab al-Yemen.²⁴

It is difficult to derive a satisfactory picture of the exact location of the crafts mentioned by R. Manzoni since he first refers to the organization by occupation, but he then goes on to the craftsmen and merchants whose workplaces and shops were

genere, o i mercanti della stessa merce. Falegnami, fabbri-ferrai, fabbricatori di spade e di coltelli, venditori di pipe, di candelabri e di vasi metallici, droghieri (venditori di caffè, incenso, profumi e droghe), carbonai, mercanti di stoffe, fabbricatori di corde, pulitori di canne di pipe, ecc., ecc., hanno i loro magazzini o botteghe gli uni vicini agli altri, nelle stesse vie. Nel piazzale centrale trovatisi il mercato del grano; in un altro, verso Bab el-Yemen, il mercato delle stoviglie di terra cotta; vicino a questo il mercato delle frutta ed erbaggi (nel piazzale del Makhazem er-Robali). Verso piazza *El-Tanasci* v'è il mercato del pane e delle provvigioni verdi per le stalle.

L'unico macello di Sanaa el-Medine trovatisi a destra appena entrati da Bab el-Yemen.

situated in the same street. Hence this part of the description should perhaps not be taken into account because of its vagueness. On the other hand, the following information is important: 1) the existence of a market in which pottery ovens were sold and of a fruit and vegetable market in the Bāb al-Yaman, except that the latter is now adapted to present-day conditions. 2) the location of the Bread Market and Fodder Market at al-Ṭawāshī Square. 3) the location of the abattoir east of Bāb al-Yaman.

Manzoni's town plan of 1879 contains several mistakes in the location of the mosques and hence must be treated with caution, and be regarded as a source based on the older Turkish town plan made during the governorship of Muṣṭafā 'Āṣim Pāshā 1291/1874. From it we derive important information: 1) The connecting road between the Bāb al-Yaman and the Market is marked as Ṭarīq al-Sūq. Nowadays this quarter forms part of Sūq Bāb al-Yaman. 2) The present Sūq al-Naṣārāh is entered as Sūq al-Milḥ; its southern boundary corresponds to the present line of demarcation between Sūq Naṣārāh and Sūq Bāb al-Yaman. This circumstance suggests that this part of the market in Sūq al-Naṣārāh must have been so named only after 1874. 3) The Grape Market, Sūq al-'Inab, is situated north of Sūq al-Milḥ. 4) The market area entered on the town plan corresponds approximately to the present market centre.

Both sources, R. Manzoni's description and the Turkish town plan, accordingly prove relevant to the discovery of changes in the market's structure. Belonging to the preceding century, they provide an important prerequisite for the evaluation of oral information which perhaps does not link up chronologically but goes back to the end of the 13th/19th century.

The Market in Ottoman and pre-Republic Times According to Oral Tradition

The earlier history of Sūq al-Ḥalaqah and legends associated with it are discussed on p. 159a seq.

According to my authorities Sūq al-Ḥalaqah is said to have been called Sūq al-Ḥarāj in earlier times because goods were auctioned there. On this area there are said to have been no shops. The traders sat before their booths, tent-like constructions, surrounded by low stone walls, or they offered their wares in the open air. This information corresponds to al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Sayāghī's observation that traders in the market sat on chairs before their booths because there were no shops.²⁵

We shall now summarize the recollections of my informants about the market in general:

The Qāt Market was situated in the same place as it is today.

On the area of the present Sūq Bāb al-Yaman there were no shops, only peripatetic traders (*mufarrishin*), who offered chiefly vegetables for sale. Hence this part was called Sūq al-Khudrah, the Vegetable Market.

By al-Qaṭṭā' well oil lamps (*misrājah*, pl., *masārīj*) were sold.

The present Fodder Market (Sūq al-'Alaf) used to be called Sūq al-Qamariyyah because alabaster windows were sold there. Between the present Sūq al-Janābī and Sūq al-Bazz lay the Sūq al-Balas, where prickly pears and oranges were on sale.

In Sūq al-Ḥumaydī and Sūq al-Jadīd was a big warehouse (*samsarah*) which was also called al-Khān. In the part still preserved wholesalers have today established themselves.

Opposite Sūq al-Ḥumaydī lay Samsarat al-Bārūt, a powder magazine that was destroyed by an explosion during the Turkish Occupation.

On the site of Sūq al-Jadīd (No. 19) there stood a warehouse, Samsarat al-Khawḍamī.

Jumruk al-Qishr used to be called Samsarah al-Shāmī, where oil and *qishr* were stored.²⁶ Coffee beans and especially *qishr* were

kept in Samsarat al-Majjah. In the approach street from Bāb al-Qaṣr to the Market were situated the shops of European merchants (Italians, Greeks, Russians and French). This part was called Sūq al-Naṣārā.

Summary

The present market organization is the result of various structural and spatial changes. These changes are to be seen in close association with the emergence of new needs, e.g. *qāt* consumption, the use of firearms, with the expansion of the import trade and the extension of business relations with the rural interior. The growth of these relations can be explained by the continuing reduction of urban areas suitable to cultivation in consequence of increased building. This tendency is causing a progressive dependence of the urban population on the inflow of agricultural produce from the country. The extent of this becomes clear when it is realized that in the year 1973 the share of country products in the gross annual expenditure amounted to 36.35% of all expenditure, which corresponds to a percentage of 66.98% of the total quota of foodstuffs. The ratio of the foodstuffs in the total expenditure comes to 54.27%.

Worthy of comment, moreover, is the large percentage of *awqāf*, which underlines the economic significance of this institution. The *waqf* institution has probably exercised a permanent influence on the rise of the *Ṣan'ā'* market as we may deduce by examination of the data provided by al-Rāzī.

Taking al-Rāzī's work as a starting point, from which the development of the market can be sketched, we can establish three phases of changes relevant to its organization: 1) the phase that *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* reflects in the 12th-13th/18th-19th century, 2) the 13th/late 19th century phase, 3) the phase after the proclamation of the Republic.

1 The market organization in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* is characterized essentially by the following feature compared with the situation that al-Rāzī portrays in the 11th century, namely increased differentiation of the commodity markets. What is striking is the relatively large percentage of the supply of rural products, which is reflected in the corresponding number of markets. The various branches of handicraft production have become more differentiated because of increased specialization and are relocated. The spatial organization, particularly the division into two production zones, could roughly correspond to that of the present day.

2 The market in the 19th century is distinguished primarily by the extension of the southern peripheral market, Sūq Bāb al-Yaman, where certain agricultural products, mostly fruit and vegetables, were exposed for sale and in fact are still sold there today. As contrasted with the present situation individual specialised markets formerly in the market centre, e.g. the Grape Market and the Bread Market, are today located on other sites.

3 With regard to the present organization of the Market certain essential characteristics are to be remarked. These include the transfer of individual markets within the market centre, e.g. the Grape Market and the Bread Market; the vacating of markets in which indigenous products such as oil lamps and alabaster windows were sold, due to the town's being supplied with electricity and the importation of petroleum and other goods such as glass windows; the establishment of new markets in which imported manufactured goods are sold (in connection with which must be mentioned the change-over of technical equipment of some craftsmen, especially joiners, due to the adoption of machinery); structural transformation of the Camel Market into a place for dealing in industrial imported manufactures of a technical nature and assorted goods; the absence of a Horse and Mule Market in consequence of the mechanization of the means

25 These figures are based on the statements given in the Yemen Arab Republic, *Report on the First Round of the Family Budget Survey in Ṣan'ā'*, 16-24.

26 Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 286, no. 10.

Map of the Sūq

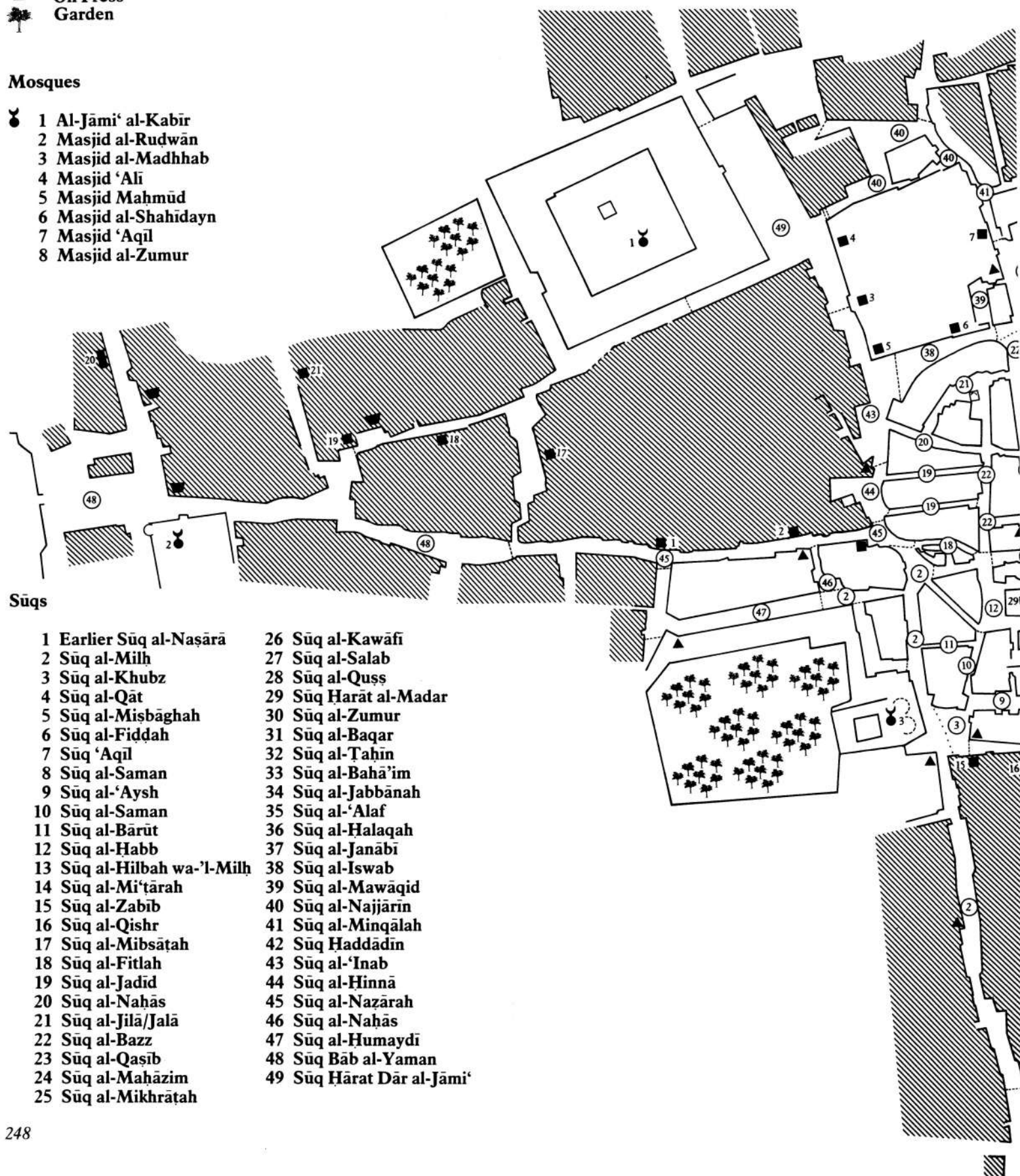
- ▲ Watchman's cabin
Samsarah
- Sūq Border
- [A] Jumruk al-Qishr
- [B] Jumruk al-Zabīb
- ☛ Oil Press
- ☛ Garden

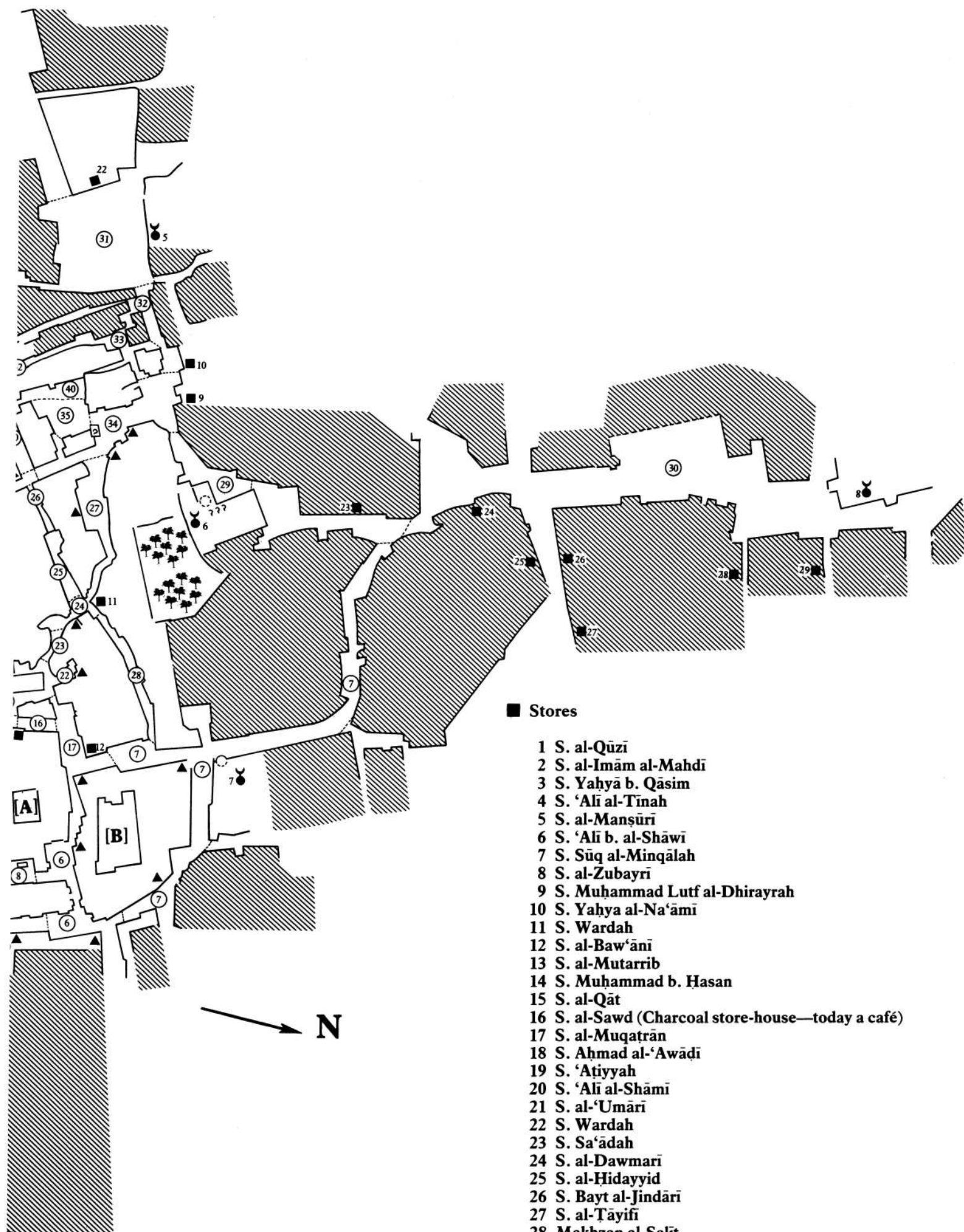
Mosques

- ☪ 1 Al-Jāmi' al-Kabir
- 2 Masjid al-Rudwān
- 3 Masjid al-Madhhab
- 4 Masjid 'Alī
- 5 Masjid Mahmūd
- 6 Masjid al-Shahīdayn
- 7 Masjid 'Aqīl
- 8 Masjid al-Zumur

Sūqs

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Earlier Sūq al-Naṣārā | 26 Sūq al-Kawāfi |
| 2 Sūq al-Milh | 27 Sūq al-Salab |
| 3 Sūq al-Khubz | 28 Sūq al-Quṣṣ |
| 4 Sūq al-Qāt | 29 Sūq Ḥarāt al-Madar |
| 5 Sūq al-Miṣbāghah | 30 Sūq al-Zumur |
| 6 Sūq al-Fiddah | 31 Sūq al-Baqar |
| 7 Sūq 'Aqīl | 32 Sūq al-Tahīn |
| 8 Sūq al-Saman | 33 Sūq al-Bahā'im |
| 9 Sūq al-'Aysh | 34 Sūq al-Jabbānah |
| 10 Sūq al-Saman | 35 Sūq al-'Alaf |
| 11 Sūq al-Bārūt | 36 Sūq al-Halaqah |
| 12 Sūq al-Habb | 37 Sūq al-Janābī |
| 13 Sūq al-Hilbah wa-'l-Milh | 38 Sūq al-Iswab |
| 14 Sūq al-Mi'tarah | 39 Sūq al-Mawāqid |
| 15 Sūq al-Zabīb | 40 Sūq al-Najjārin |
| 16 Sūq al-Qishr | 41 Sūq al-Minqālah |
| 17 Sūq al-Miṣṣāṭah | 42 Sūq Haddādīn |
| 18 Sūq al-Fitlah | 43 Sūq al-'Inab |
| 19 Sūq al-Jadīd | 44 Sūq al-Hinnā |
| 20 Sūq al-Nahās | 45 Sūq al-Nazārah |
| 21 Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā | 46 Sūq al-Nahās |
| 22 Sūq al-Bazz | 47 Sūq al-Humaydi |
| 23 Sūq al-Qaṣīb | 48 Sūq Bāb al-Yaman |
| 24 Sūq al-Mahāzim | 49 Sūq Ḥarat Dār al-Jāmi' |
| 25 Sūq al-Mikhrāṭah | |





of transport (of the other livestock markets there remains only the Donkey Market, whilst the Cattle Market is mostly outside the town); the increasing integration of the peripheral market into the market centre; the transfer of the customs office outside the town, and the transfer of the money depository since Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (cf. pp. 191b, 278a), which served as one, was plundered in 1948.

The Market and its Socio-economic Connection with Urban Society

As set forth in the Introduction, it will be attempted to portray the involvement of the Market with the complexity of urban society by applying the concept of alliance groups.

The kinship group, the corporative group bound to the Market, the social classes and the organization by residence are to be understood as groups of associates.

The Kinship Group

Patrilineal descent forms the basis of the kinship group. In order to understand the inner structure of the kinship group it is necessary to set out the terms of relationship employed. The terms are rendered by a descriptive notation the principle of which must be explained to the reader unacquainted with anthropological literature. This notation is based on the following designations: Fa = Father, Mo = Mother, So = Son, Da = Daughter, Chi = children, Br = Brother, Si = Sister, Hu = Husband, Wi = Wife; age relative to the person is rendered by e = elder, y = younger. By the combination of these designations a kinship term, always regarded as ego-centric, can be exactly defined. For the better understanding of the kinship terminology used in Şan'ā' attention should be drawn to the fact that these terms come into the category of reference terms, i.e. the terms with which one designates a relative in the presence of a third party. Terms of address, used in speaking to a relative, are, as far as I could determine, identical with the reference terms—apart from a few designations. Thus the person addresses his step-father as 'amm (FaBr), a custom probably rooted in the Levirate marriage. In a polygynous family group the person calls his father's wives—apart from his mother—*khālah* (MoSi). That this form of address is derivable from sororal polygyny would be quite conceivable, but for the time being it must remain an open question. Address terms are Si = *shaḡiqah*, if the person is male and Br = *şinway* if the person is female.

Blood Relations

1 The ego generation

Br. e.	<i>akh kabīr</i>
Br. y	<i>akh şaghīr</i>
Si. e.	<i>ukht kabīrah</i>
Si. y.	<i>ukht şaghīrah</i>
Br. Brother from the same father	<i>akh min al-ab</i>
Si. Sister from the same father	<i>ukht min al-ab</i>
Br. Brother from the same mother	<i>akh min al-umm</i>
Si. Sister from the same mother	<i>ukht min al-umm</i>
FaBrSo.	<i>ibn al-'amm</i>
FaBrDa	<i>bint al-'amm</i>
FaSiSo	<i>ibn al-'ammah</i>
FaSiDa	<i>bint al-'ammah</i>
MoSiSo	<i>ibn al-khālah</i>
MoSiDa	<i>bint al-khālah</i>
MoBrSo	<i>ibn al-khāl</i>
MoBrDa	<i>bint al-khāl</i>

2 First ascending generation

Fa	<i>ab, wālid</i>
Mo	<i>umm, wālidah</i>
FaBr	<i>'amm</i>
FaSi	<i>'ammah</i>
MoSi	<i>khālah</i>
MoBr	<i>khāl</i>

3 Second ascending generation

FaFa	<i>sīd</i>
MoFa	<i>sīd</i>
FaMo	<i>jaddah</i>
MoMo	<i>jaddah</i>

4 First descending generation

So e	<i>ibn, walad kabīr</i>
So y	<i>ibn, walad şaghīr</i>
Da e	<i>bint kabīr</i>
Da y	<i>bint şaghīr</i>
BrSo	<i>ibn al-akh</i>
BrDa	<i>bint al-akh</i>
SiSo	<i>ibn al-ukht</i>
SiDa	<i>bint al-ukht</i>

5 Second descending generation

SoSo	<i>ibn al-ibn, ibn al-walad, ḥafid</i>
SoDa	<i>bint al-ibn, bint al-walad,</i> <i>ḥafidah</i>
DaSo	<i>ibn al-bint, sibḡ</i>
DaDa	<i>bint al-bint, sibḡah</i>

Relations by Marriage

BrWi	<i>zawjat al-akh, ḥamāh</i>
SiHu	<i>nasīb, şīhr</i>
HuBr	<i>ḥamāya</i> (lit., my brother in law)
HuSi	<i>şihrah</i>
WiBr	<i>nasīb</i>
WiSi	<i>nasībah</i>
HuFa	<i>'amm</i>
HuMo	<i>'ammah</i>
WiFa	<i>'amm</i>
WiMo	<i>'ammah</i>
FaBrWi	<i>'ammah</i>
FaSiHu	<i>zawj al-'ammah, nasīb</i>
MoSiHu	<i>zawj al-khālah, nasīb</i>
MoBrWi	<i>zawjah al-khāl, khālah, nasībah</i>
FaWi	<i>khālah in remarriage or polygamy</i>
MoHu	<i>'amm in remarriage</i>
WiSo	<i>rabīb in remarriage</i>
WiDa	<i>rabībah in remarriage.</i>

Analysis of the kinship terms enables us to reveal the inner structure of the kinship group, and the legal obligations resulting from membership and status. The legal rights do not signify rights in respect of members only; this would be rather too simple. Economic considerations come into play too. In such a group consanguinity and affinity are not merely mechanisms for establishing descent, but also regulate the economic relations within the descent group and determine the external economic relations with it. Conceptually, primacy goes to ensuring the fundamentals of existence, but regard has to be made to the important fact that the obligations to render assistance, deriving from the status of a member, involve lasting consequences for his economic actions. One should think of blood money, for example, for the contribution to which legal action can be taken against the members of one's descent group. Hence our primary interest lies in the economic regulations affecting the relations between kinsfolk. First of all, however, the aim is to reveal the fundamental features of the present system of relationship.

In accordance with patrilineal descent there is first a sharp distinction between paternal and maternal relatives. This distinction is expressed etymologically in the designation *lahmī* (my flesh) for the paternal line, and *ahlī*, my family, or *bayt al-khāl* for the maternal group of relatives. The use of *lahm*, flesh, in this sense is ancient, for in al-Wāqidi's *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Cairo-Oxford, 1966, II, 612, Suhayl speaks to the Prophet of 'those relatives and flesh of ours (*hā'u'lā'i aqāribu-nā wa-lahmu-nā*)'.

The criterion of relative age, i.e. senior and junior, is expressed only in the ego generation and in the first descending generation by the adjectives old and young. The relationship terms for relatives of the ascending generation designate the actual status at the same time.

The terms in the ego generation, in the first ascending generation and in the descending generation are characterized by bifurcation, by which it is clearly indicated whether anyone is connected with the person by a male or female relation. In the second generation the grouping follows the merging principle, by which the lineal and collateral relatives are subsumed under one classificatory term. Among affinal relatives we find it also in the term for parent-in-law, 'amm or 'ammah, a designation that must be understood from the preferences for paternal parallel-cousin-marriage.

Where consanguinity becomes clear, for example, is in the obligation to call on their parents which arises among the agnates when neo-local residence is established (i.e. residence in a new locality). The same applies for married women who live separated from their parents in consequence of patri- or viri-local residence.

Attention must now be directed to the structure of the economic units firstly to the types of family that can be seen from the following table:

	Craftsmen (N=152)		Merchants (N=81)		Total (N=233)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Nuclear family (independent)	48	31.58	29	35.81	77	33.05
Extended family	72	47.37	34	41.97	106	45.49
Fraternal joint family	32	21.05	18	22.22	50	21.46
Total	152	100.00	81	100.00	233	100.00

The results of our random test reveal the following order of family types according to their frequency: extended family—nuclear family—fraternal joint family. The following were the reasons for the remarkably high percentage of fraternal joint family: a) lack of financial basis for founding a neo-local residence; in most cases the elder brother, who is favoured by primogeniture owing to the rules of inheritance, is in a position not to pay the younger brother his share; b) the extension of the house in the father's lifetime involving living together and c) joint management of the paternal business established by the rules of inheritance.

The fraternal joint family is based by the law of property on the *milk mushtarak*, joint ownership by brothers. Common ownership includes the paternal dwelling with all its dependencies and, as explicitly mentioned under point c) includes the father's workplace and shop. Consequently a distinction must be made between the fraternal joint family as resident community and as an economic unit. Inquiries have shown that of a total of fraternal joint families of 50 only 22% come in the last category. In a fraternal joint family that forms a resident community the brothers manage their affairs independently of one another; yet the circulation of goods on the basis of distribution is naturally more intensive²⁷ than among the blood (consanguineous) relatives. Yet if a fraternal joint family is also based on an economic

unit, the redistribution in equal shares of the income by the elder brother ensues.

Where the types of marriage are concerned I have at my disposal information on 119 persons (80 craftsmen, 39 merchants). Of these, 112 persons lived in monogamy (94.11%), only 7 of my informants had married a second wife; hence the percentage of the total of polygonous households among the persons questioned amounts to 5.89%. Parallel-cousin-marriage (FaBrDa) with 48 cases attains a relatively high frequency of 40.34%. Regarding the stability of marriage, a count showed that 24 men had had a divorce, which corresponds to a percentage of 20.17%. As grounds for divorce, allegations were, incompatibility of the wife (11/ 45.83%), laziness (9/ 37.50%) and sterility (4/ 16.67%).²⁸

After acquainting ourselves with the types of family upon which the economic unit is constituted, the question arises as to what extent the choice of profession follows the family tradition. To answer this question we must exclude those craftsmen (34) and merchants (25) who have moved to Şan'ā' and pursue none of the occupations associated with the family tradition, and likewise, the silver and goldsmiths engaged in an occupation not based on family tradition. From the table below it is evident that choice of occupation associated with family tradition prevails over individual choice. An important difference between craftsmen and merchants is evident in the higher percentage of individual choice among craftsmen.

	Craftsmen (N=123)		Merchants (N=56)		Total (N=179)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Family tradition	82	66.67	45	80.36	127	70.95
Individual choice	41	33.33	11	19.64	52	29.05
	123	100.00	56	100.00	179	100.00

The next question naturally concerns the size of the economic unit. For this we have the following statistics:

	Craftsmen (N=157)		Merchants (N=81)		Total (N=238)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
One-man businesses	113	71.98	65	80.24	178	74.79
Business with:						
1 Associate	11	7.01	1	1.24	12	5.04
2 Associates	25	15.92	11	13.58	36	15.13
3 Associates	6	3.82	3	3.70	9	3.78
4 Associates	2	1.27	0	0.00	2	0.84
5 Associates	0	0.00	1	1.24	1	0.42
	157	100.00	81	100.00	238	100.00

The greater part of the economic units, 74.79%, consists of one-man businesses; only 25.21% are classed as businesses run by two or more persons. In the case of craftsmen and merchants, businesses involving two associates predominate. We are naturally interested to know how the businesses that come into the plural category are composed with regard to connections with relatives. The result of my inquiries are set out in the following table:

	Craftsmen (N=44)		Merchants (N=16)		Total (N=60)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Relatives	31	70.45	12	75.00	43	71.67
Relatives and non-relatives	6	13.64	2	12.50	8	13.33
Non-Relatives	7	15.91	2	12.50	9	15.00
Total	44	100.00	16	100.00	60	100.00

²⁷ Cf. A. Bornstein, 15, with samples from four different regions which only show slight deviations from the rate of divorce ascertained by the author.

²⁸ This conclusion is as an antithesis of the possible generalisation of Cl. Meillassoux's model.

As one can gather from the table, in the majority of cases in which associates are running a business they are relatives (71.66%). Further research shows that they are mostly (consanguineous) relatives. Apart from sons and brothers other consanguineous relatives are paid, exactly like workers, not relatives, on the basis of the current agreement for the occupational group concerned.

The compass of the economic unit is flexible: it is determined by the type of family, the extended family, the nuclear family and the fraternal joint family. In the extended family we can see the predominant type of basis for the economic unit. However, by the family types mentioned there is given only the social framework for possibilities of economic integration within a group of relatives. The function of the family economic unit is affected by an economic order of size, the size of the business, which determines its production. Our research has yielded a numerically high proportion of one-man businesses. But this signifies nothing more than the male parent's ownership of the means of production and his consequent exertion of social control on the members of his family unit, as also that the economic status of the family depends exclusively on his industry and efficiency.

To assess the consequences arising from this situation it is first necessary to examine a further economic component, the division of labour between the sexes within the family, and then to clarify the structure of authority rooted in the extended family.

With regard to the division of labour between man and wife we have to limit ourselves to noting that the production of goods and trading, viz. the activities by which the economic basis of the family is assured, come exclusively within the competence of the man. Within the wife's domain belong household affairs and bringing up children. As a worker she is therefore excluded from the process of production and the commercial sector. This, however, does not mean that her social status is thereby held to be inferior, for we must not overlook her function as mother, through which not only is the continuation of the line/lineage guaranteed, but the labour force potential for the economic unit ensured.

The authority of the genitor in the family is based on three factors. Firstly, from an economic point of view it is decisively furthered by patrilineal descent by reason of the inheritance settlement associated with this descent. Secondly, it is supported by the fact that he exercises effective control of the capital (*rās al-māl*) and thirdly, by the right of distribution of income, which he exercises through his control of the means of production. Since he controls the means of production and distribution of income his agnates fall into a state of dependence especially apparent in the case of a marriage when the requisite bride price is transferred to another economic unit, the family of the bride. One must not make the mistake of interpreting this dependence, with its undeniable tendency frequently to cause conflict, as exploitation.²⁹ The family understands itself from an economic viewpoint, to be a unit based on a partnership (*sharikah*) in which the agnates have a valid claim to a share (*si'āyah*) of the income produced by their work. Into this share come not only maintenance costs but also the claim to wealth accumulated by the genitor, including the means of production, assured by the inheritance settlement. Lastly one must not forget that primogeniture, the right of the first born, certainly involves an unequal distribution of the estate among the agnates. From this aspect this economic dependence of the agnates on their genitor cannot be designated as exploitation.

With regard to paternal authority one point, viz. the possible control of the marriage, needs clarification. The bestowal of the bride price required demands that the genitor should not distribute a part of the income, but accumulate it. He is motivated to take this action by the social obligation to guarantee the

continuation of the line. His control of the marriage of the agnates is limited to the choice of the group with which the initiating of a relationship is deemed desirable. The bestowal of the bride price ensues independently of the work performed by the agnate because of the relatively early age of marriage between the ages of 16 and 18. The family economic unit is only dissolved, of course, if the father dies when the agnate leaves the community house based on the patri-local residence to start a neo-local household in a new district. The possibilities of independence outside the paternal family are economically limited. As a rule this is possible only when there is not enough room available for the agnate's family in the paternal home. In such a case the agnate receives an advance from the share of the inheritance due to him, even when the agnate is striving for economic independence. The economic dependence on the father is presumably terminated by this, yet the social obligation (*fard*) to render assistance implied by membership of a group of relatives remains in force. These include both legal obligations (payment of blood money, standing surety, etc.) and economic assistance (*ṣadaqah* or *musā'adah*), obligatory upon all (consanguinal) relatives of a person. The significance of consanguinity, to which repeated reference is made, is also expressed in the ritual visitation for the exchange of gifts (*ziyārat al-arḥām*). On the occasion of al-ʿĪd al-Kabīr one must visit all married women of the group (FaMo, MoMo, FaSi, MoSi, MoSiDa, MoBrDa, and in case of marriage to another man, also FaBrDa) and give a present. One receives gifts in return.

The circulation of goods within the kinship group, including affinal relatives is limited to the reciprocal distribution (*badal*) of the means of existence.

Groups of Alliance Bound to the Market

Producers and merchants, united through dealing in certain goods manufactured and supplied, form groups of alliance with exclusively occupational interests. Consequently every craftsman and merchant belongs to such a group. These groups of alliance bear no name of their own, but are called after the respective craft or market in which they are located, e.g. the People of the Cloth Market (Ahl Sūq al-Bazz).

All members of a group of associates are on equal footing (*mutakāfi*) and when they infringe its resolutions they are liable to legal disciplinary proceedings (*mutaqāḍan*), should provision be made for the prosecution of an offender. Cooperation with other sectors of the craft, and agreements individually concluded with customers, are not affected by a resolution of a group of associates.

Every group of associates is presided over by an *ʿaqil*. The holders of this office are elected by the members; they are personalities who appear suitable by reason of their social reputation and their qualities. Before such elections parties often form within the group of associates; yet the *ʿaqil* elected by a simple majority of votes is generally respected by all members of the group. Elections take place when the *ʿaqil* in office resigns, or is accused of acting contrary to the interests of the group. The latter occurs if he ignores its resolutions (*khiyānat al-qarār*). In such cases he receives a letter signed by all members of the group communicating to him his removal from the office. The *ʿaqil* is thereupon obliged to convene an election meeting.

The election meeting and extraordinary meetings summoned in case of need are mostly held in the court of a mosque.

Among the functions of the *ʿaqil* are: 1) supervising the implementation of resolutions passed at meetings by group members (*qā'idah al-majmū'ah*). 2) arbitrating in disputes between group members; in disputes between members of different groups of associates the *ʿaqil* of the group concerned

29 W. Dostal, 1974, 2 passim.

intervenes as mediator; 3) convening meetings should the economic situation or ordinance require; at these meetings, among other things, price regulations are agreed in order to guarantee a fair basis for competition for all group members; 4) representing the economic interests of the group before other groups of associates and before the authorities; 5) collecting the *zakāt* tax from members of the group. For performing his office the *ʿaqil* receives remuneration. As a rule it amounts to one tenth of the yield of the *zakāt* tax. There are, however, other regulations, as can be seen from Article 10 of the resolution (*qarār*) of the joiners' association, infra, which affords us an insight into the kind of resolution carried by a meeting. This document concerns the associate group of joiners, and was placed at my disposal by the *ʿAqil*, al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭawīl. It was drawn up on the occasion of his election. Emphasis is laid on the regulations for raw material procurement of timber imports and on fair distribution of the timber to members of this group of associates. The import of timber is controlled collectively by a veto on individual purchase. A specially appointed committee supervises the distribution of the timber, which is stored in two yards, the common property of the group of associates. By controlling the distribution of timber a common set of conditions guarantees a fair basis of competition between individual joiners.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

This is a decision of all the joiners in the capital, *Şan'ā'*, after a meeting held by all the signatories below, on the following articles:

Article 1

The *ʿaqil* elected is spokesman on behalf of all the joiners, he being al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭawīl.

Article 2

The dealers (*muşliḥin*) in the sale of *ṭunub*-timber as a committee with the *ʿaqil* are al-Ḥājj Şāliḥ Muḥsin al-Baylī and al-Ḥājj Maṣṣūr al-Baylī for Bīr al-'Azab, and the Sayyid Luṭf 'Abbās and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥamzah for *Şan'ā'*. All four will meet together when need requires.

Article 3

All of us affirm that it is obligatory to collect all the *ṭunub*-timber imported to *Şan'ā'* in two depots, one in *Şan'ā'* and the other Bāb al-Balaqah. No importer may deposit *ṭunub*-timber in any but these two depots.

Article 4

After the arrival of the *ṭunub*-timber in the depot, the *ʿaqil*, accompanied by two honest men (*udūl*) to be elected by the joiners, will come and then the price-fixing (*tas'ir*) at the price appropriate to the commodity will take place in the presence of the vendor.

Article 5

After price-fixing the *ṭunub*-timber imported will be distributed to the joiners, each according to his demand if what is imported is (sufficient) to meet the entire demand, but, if not, it will be distributed by shares in portions, none having the right to receive more than his portion.

Article 6

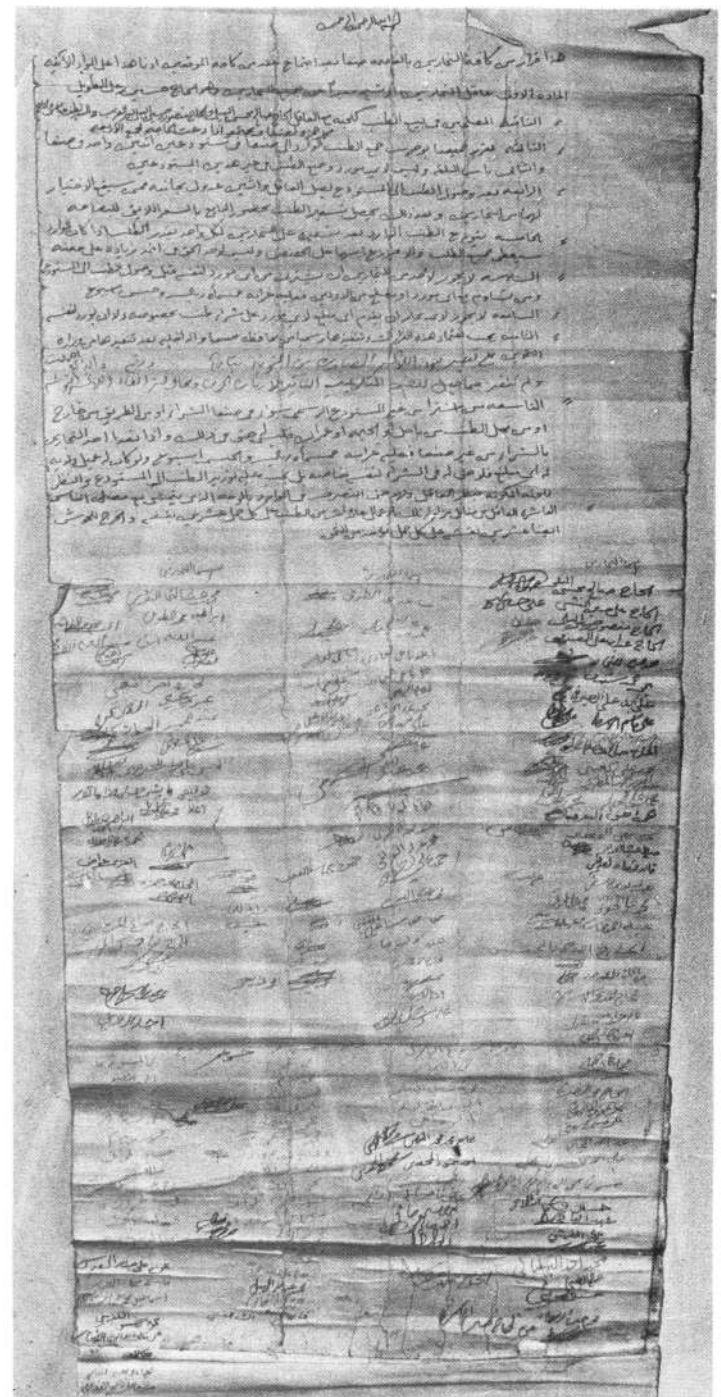
No joiner is permitted to purchase from any importer for himself before the arrival of the *ṭunub*-timber at the depot. Anyone who bargains with any importer or dealer of the first-(mentioned) is liable to be fined 500 *riyāls* and to a week's imprisonment.

Article 7

No joiner is permitted to advance any sum of money to any importer to purchase *ṭunub*-timber for himself exclusively or to import on his own account.

Article 8

These decisions must be observed and be officially put into execution by the district (*muḥāfaẓah*) of *Şan'ā'* and the Ministry



14.1 The joiners' agreement

of the Interior after they have been put into execution by the Ministry of Supply, as required by the clauses of the order (*lā'ihah*) issued by the Supply (Ministry), dated, no Anything which is neglected and not put into execution is one of the matters that allows the section intent to defraud, influence to upset the crafts and to attempt to render the order of the (Ministry of) Supply ineffective.

Article 9

Whosoever purchases from any (place) but the official depot, be the purchase in *Şan'ā'* or from the road outside (it), or from the *ṭunub*-timber place of Bājil, al-Ḥaymah or 'Amrān has no right to do so, and if any one of the joiners transgresses or by purchasing elsewhere than (in) *Şan'ā'* he is liable to a fine of 500 *riyāls* and to a week's imprisonment. Even if he should have an agent who has any sum of money of his he has no right to purchase for himself exclusively, but is obliged to import the *ṭunub*-timber to the depot. Supervision is the (duty of) the committee constituted under the superintendence of the *ʿaqil*, and they have the right to

dispose of the imports in the way consonant with the interest of the people.

Article 10

In return for undertaking these tasks the 'āqil receives duties on the ṭunub-timber (of) 20 buqshahs on every load, as also the yard charge (kharj) (of) 20 buqshahs on every load, deducted from the price.

The meeting mentioned in the brief introduction to the document may have been held in the Masjid Qubbat al-Mahdī which is now a favourite place for the joiners to meet. All the persons mentioned in Article 2 are joiners, but the last-named specialises in the manufacture of door-locks.

Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm

Hādihā qarār min kāffat al-najjārīn bi-'l-'āṣimah Şan'ā' ba'd ijtimā' 'uqida min kāffat al-muwaqqi'īn adnā hādihā 'ala 'l-marwādd al-āṭiyah.

1. Al-Māddat al-ūlā

'Āqil al-najjārīn al-murashshah mu'abbiran 'an jamī' al-najjārīn wa-huwa al-Ḥājī Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭawīl.

2. Al-Thānīyah

Al-muṣliḥīn fi bay' al-ṭunub ka-lajnah ma' al-'āqil al-Ḥājī Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin al-Baylī wa-'l-Ḥājī Maṣṣūr Ḥusayn al-Baylī li-Bīr al-'Azab wa-'l-Sayyid Luṭf 'Abbās wa-'l-Ḥājī Muḥammad Ḥamzah li-Şan'ā' wa-yajtami'ū idhā da'at al-ḥājah li-jam' al-arba'ah.

3. Al-Thālithah

Nuqarrir jamī'unā bi-wuṣūb jam' al-ṭunub al-wārid ilā Şan'ā' fi mustawda'ayn ithnayn wāḥid fi Şan'ā' wa-'l-ithnān Bāb al-Balaqah wa-laysa li-ayyi muwarrid waq' al-ṭunub fi ghayr hādihayn al-mustawda'ayn.

4. Al-Rābi'ah

Ba'd wuṣūl al-ṭunub ila 'l-mustawda' yaṣil al-'āqil wa-ithnayn 'udūl bi-jānib-ah mimman sa-yaqa' al-ikhtiyār lahumā min al-najjārīn wa-ba'd dhālika yaḥṣul tas'ir al-ṭunub bi-ḥuḍūr al-bāyi' bi-'l-si'r al-lā'iq li-'l-biḍā'ah

5. Al-Khāmisah

Yatawazza' al-ṭunub al-wārid ba'd tas'ir-ah 'ala 'l-najjārīn li-kull wāḥid bi-qadr al-ṭalab idhā kān al-wārid sa-yughatṭi jamī' al-ṭalab wa-illā fa-yuwazza' aṣhuman 'ala 'l-ḥiṣaṣ wa-laysa li-aḥad al-ḥaqq fi akhdh ziyādah 'alā ḥiṣṣati-hi.

6. Al-Sādisah

Lā yajūz li-aḥad min al-najjārīn an yishtarī min ayyi muwarrid li-naḥsi-hi qabl wuṣūl al-ṭunub ila 'l-mustawda' wa-man tasāwam ma'a ayy muwarrid aw muṣliḥ min al-awwālīn fa-'alayhi gharāmah khams mi'at riyāl wa-ḥabs usbū'.

7. Al-Sābi'ah

Lā yajūz li-ayyi najjāran yuqaddim ayyi mablagh li-ayyi muwarrid 'alā shirā' ṭunub bi-khuṣūṣi-hi wa-lā an yuwarrid li-naḥsi-hi.

8. Al-Thāminah

Yajib i'timād hādhihi al-qarārāt wa-tanfīdh-hā rasmiyyān min muḥāfaẓat Şan'ā' wa-'l-dākhiliyyah ba'da tanfīdh-hā min wizārat al-tamwīn 'alā tanfīdh bunūd al-lā'iḥat al-ṣādirah min al-tamwīn bi-tārīkh . . . wa-raqam . . . wa-'lladhi uhmilat wa-lam tunaffadh mimmā jā'ala li-'l-fi'at al-mutalā'ibah al-ta'thir li-irbāk al-ḥiraf wa-muḥāwalat ilghā' al-lā'iḥat al-tamwīniyyah.

9. Al-Tāsi'ah

Man ishtarā min ghayr al-mustawda' al-rasmī sawā'an fi Şan'ā' al-shirā' aw min al-ṭarīq min khārij aw min maḥall al-ṭunub min Bājil aw al-Ḥaymah aw 'Amrān fa-laysa lahu ḥaqq fi dhālika wa-idhā

ta'addā aḥad al-najjārīn bi-'l-shirā' min ghayr Şan'ā' fa-'alayhi gharāmah khams mi'at riyāl wa-'l-ḥabs usbū' wa-law kāna lahu 'amīl wa-ladayhi lahu ayyi mablagh fa-lā ḥaqq lahu fi-'l-shirā' li-naḥsi-hi khāṣṣatan bal yajibu 'alayhi tawrīd al-ṭunub ila 'l-mustawda' wa-'l-naẓar li-'l-lajnah al-mukawwanah bi-naẓar al-'āqil wa-lahum ḥaqq al-taṣarruf fi-'l-wārid bi-'l-wajh alladhi yitamashshā ma'a maṣlaḥat al-nās.

10. Al-'Āshirah

Li-'l-'āqil fi muqābil muzāwalat tilka al-a'māl 'ā'idat fi-'l-ṭunub 'alā kull ḥaml 'ishrīn buqshah wa-'l-kharj li-'l-ḥawsh ayḍan 'ishrīn buqshah 'alā kull ḥaml tu'khdh min al-thaman.

Social Classes

We conceive of the class system existing in Şan'ā', as groups of alliances interpreting it as a hierarchic order of such groups. To appreciate fully the identical interests of a class considered as an alliance formation the concept of class must be defined from the view point of the criteria given by the informants. Two principles determine the concept of class, the ideology of unilinear descent and society's estimation of the various occupations.³⁰ The ideology of unilinear descent must be seen from the following view point. In a patrilineal system of descent the claim to membership, with its legal implications depends on the genealogical context leading through the male line which becomes the decisive criterion of group membership. In other words, descent from eponymous male ancestor involves the formation of a group in which the shared consciousness of its members is based on a common descent, and thereby produces an effect of aloofness by which one is separated from those groups that do not come within this genealogical context. Hence it is expressly and repeatedly stated by those groups falling outside this context that they are *qalīl al-aṣl*, of inferior lineage, and this determines their social position. The second criterion of social aloofness consists in society's estimation of occupations. This latter is based, as we shall later explain in detail, on the distinction made among the Yemeni tribes, between those occupations the practice of which is reckoned honourable, and which are therefore engaged in by peasant craftsmen and those relegated to the socially inferior among the peasantry and those to engage in which impugns the tribesman's honour. On the basis of these two principles endogamy functions as a steering mechanism that limits the exchange in marriage, goods, wife, to circulation within the class, and, as a principle of rank, guarantees the purity of descent. Therefore endogamy is an identical interest of members of the social class.

Society in Şan'ā' is organized in four stable classes:³¹

1 *Sādah* (sing. *Sayyid*)

2 *Manāṣib* (sing. *Manṣūb*)

3 Bani 'l-Khums (in other parts of Yemen: *'anḍīl*, (pl., *anāḍīl*), *muzayyin* (pl. -ah))

4 *Akhḍām*

The Sādah claim and justify their privileged position by their descent from the Prophet. From this group come also many of the ulema, those versed in jurisprudence, whose knowledge on one hand, and membership of the Sādah class on the other, qualify them to perform important functions and occupy key positions in the administration. Many Sādah are also engaged in trade.

The term *Manāṣib* is to be understood as a synonym for the group whose members claim a 'tribal ancestry', as opposed to the

30 E. Glaser.

31 W. Dostal, 1974.

Bani 'l-Khums who are considered as being without ancestry. For this reason the word 'Arab' is frequently used instead of *Manāṣīb*.

The *Manāṣīb* are engaged in the following occupations—commerce, and as silversmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, and blacksmiths, tinsmiths, blade-polishers, dagger-haft makers, joiners, turners, water-pipe-makers, mattress-fillers, plangi-dyers, inscription painters, stonemasons, bricklayers, porters; tombstones are made by two families (Bayt Bādiyy and Bayt Uṣṭā).

Men among the *Manāṣīb* capable of bearing arms were compelled to do military service, if the town was attacked. In such a case an 'Āqil al-Ḥarb was elected who had to organize the defence.

To the Bani 'l-Khums group belong the shoemakers, dagger-sheath cover makers, belt makers, saddlers, tanners, brickmakers, barbers, bath attendants, cuppers or blood-letters, café proprietors, butchers, also the *qashshāmīn* (sing., *qashshām*), i.e. leek, onion and vegetable growers of the mosque gardens. In disputes within the groups of the *Manāṣīb* members of the Bani 'l-Khums act as mediators. In the common law of the urban population the killing of a member of the Bani 'l-Khums by a *Manṣūb* is reckoned as a discreditable act.

The *Akhḍām* are a numerically small group in *Ṣan'ā'* mostly employed as street cleaners. They may neither acquire houses nor purchase land. Entry into other occupations is forbidden them. In contrast to members of other classes they are not allowed to carry arms.

Apart from the typical dress of the *Sādah*, the dagger, the kind and the way it is worn constitute a social status symbol. There are three distinct types of dagger: *thūmah* (a), *jihāz* (b) and *sīkh* (c). The *thūmah* is regarded as the mark of rank of the *Sādah*, the *jihāz* or the *Manāṣīb* and the third type, *sīkh*, for the Bani 'l-Khums.

The social estimation of the occupations, already mentioned in the introductory observations to this section proves ethnologically important insofar as it coincides with the estimation of occupations by the tribes. Here a short digression is necessary to compare the material gathered in my researches among the Banī Ḥushaysh tribe of the mountainous district north east of *Ṣan'ā'*.³²

The Banī Ḥushaysh live in a community with two socially inferior groups: the Muzayyinah and Dawshāns. The legal basis of this community is constituted by the *jiwār* (protection)—relationships conferred on these groups by the tribe. This protection relationship guarantees them sojourn in the tribal territory, free practice of their occupations and safety of life and property. Of the Dawshāns there is only one family that wanders in Banī Ḥushaysh territory and keeps body and soul together acting as strolling singers, musicians and as casual workers.³³ The Muzayyinah live often in seclusion in their settlements. They engage in the following occupations: butchers, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, potters, cuppers or blood-letters and barbers. What is significant for us is that important crafts of the peasant economy such as those of joiner, smith, bricklayer and mason are limited to members of the tribe. As a rule some peasant families have for generations specialized in the crafts just mentioned, which they practise along with their farm work. These peasant-craftsmen together with the Muzayyinah create favourable conditions for internal self-sufficiency in essential goods in the peasant tribal community.

The occupations of the *Manāṣīb* of the urban population of *Ṣan'ā'* correspond, as far as their social evaluation is concerned, to those found among the peasant-craftsmen, while the occupations of the Bani 'l-Khums coincide with those of the Muzayyinah. In this respect the class system stands out clearly differentiated from the already known urban society of Tarīm in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt—to quote a South Arabian example. There the hierarchic organization of the population is as follows. 1) *Sādah*, 2) *Mashāyikh*, 3) *Qabā'il*, 4) *Masākīn ḥaḍar*, 5) *Masākīn ḡu'afā'* and 6) 'Abid.³⁴ The bulk of the Tarīm population consists of the *Masākīn ḥaḍar*

and *Masākīn ḡu'afā'* classes. Among the *Masākīn ḥaḍar*, besides the merchants, the following occupations are found—silversmiths, joiners, turners and tailors; the occupations of the *Masākīn ḡu'afā'* are by contrast: smiths, weavers, tanners, butchers, shoemakers, bricklayers, stonemasons, barbers, cuppers, blood-letters and the landless farm workers. As contrasted with the scale of social values of the occupations in *Ṣan'ā'*, the smiths, bricklayers and the stonemasons in Tarīm are deemed socially discriminating occupations. Contrary to Tarīm society influenced by rent-capitalism wide-spread in the Middle East, the class society in *Ṣan'ā'* corresponds with the social structure of the free peasant tribes. This coincidence discovered in social rating between tribal and urban society must clearly be taken into account in reflections on the development of urban society in *Ṣan'ā'*.

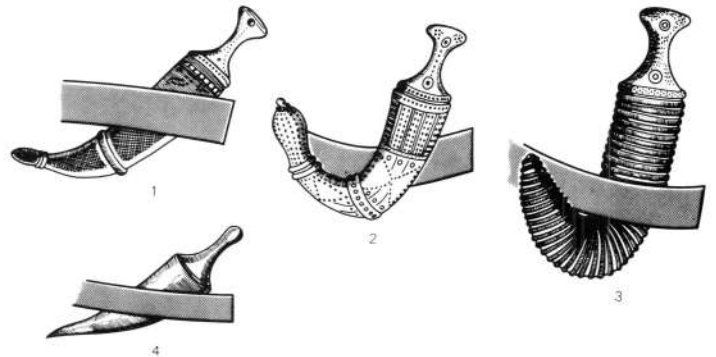


Fig. 14.1 The *jihāz* means the belt (*ḥizām*) with the *thūmah* or 'asīb, the dagger (*janbiyyah*), plus the ornaments and instruments that go with it (cf. p. 240). (Notes from Aḥmad al-Shāmī.)

1 *Thūmah*, worn by turban-wearers (*mu'ammamīn*) also called 'ālam al-bayāḍ, white world, i.e. *Sādah*, Quḍāh, merchants (*tujjār*). In Yarīm, Khubbān, etc., *tūzah* is said for *thūmah*. 2 'Asīb ('*iswab*) with silver ornamented dagger and scabbard. (The *sabīkī* is longer than the '*iswab*, but shorter than a Yemeni sword, and has no crook; it is worn by *Sādah*, *Mashāyikh* and chiefs.) 3 'Asīb. There are many varieties but this is the best known. It is worn by the 'ālam al-sawād, the black (properly blue) world, those who wear *ṣamā'id* and *aqbā'*, impregnated with indigo, *Mashāyikh*, peasants/cultivators or *Sādah*. 4 *Janbiyyah* or *thūmah*, worn by the *muzzayins*, *jazzārs* (butchers) and *muqahwis* (coffee-inn keepers).

Urban District Organization

Ṣan'ā' is organized in urban districts. An urban district can be described as a locality bound group of alliance formations (*jamā'at al-ḥarah*) consisting of leagues of families of different descent unrelated to one another. This means that with regard to identical range of interests no class differences appear. Urban district organization is founded on the principle of neighbourly understanding (*ḥukm al-jiwār*). Apart from the general interests of such local groups it can be established that mutual aid, *i'ānah*, lies in the centre of their range of interests. The members of an urban district are under an obligation to render mutual aid. This includes giving goods and money to members who have fallen on evil days (*mankūb*, pl., *-īn*) in cases of calamity, also gifts for weddings and for defraying funeral costs. This aid is not given direct but distributed through a central authority, the 'Āqil of the urban district.

The male enfranchised members (by legal rights or by military service) of an urban district elect the 'Āqil. It is quite possible—as can be seen from the roll of the urban district—for several urban districts to elect the same 'Āqil.

The following come within the competence of the 'Āqil:

- 1 Relations with the urban administration. He represents the interests of his district before the authority and also before other districts.
- 2 Mediation between disputing parties (*mutanāzi'in*) in his district.

32 Op. cit., 3. For distribution, see—Ed. Glaser, R. B. Serjeant, 1961.

33 Cf. W. Dostal, 1972: 13 passim, R. B. Serjeant, 1949, 1950, 1957.

34 Cf. R. B. Serjeant, 1950.

- 3 Detecting thieves and handing them over to the police. For this purpose and particularly for security control he always has the assistance of a Shaykh al-Layl. The latter either patrols the district himself or sends a watchman (*hāris*). Both are paid by the Municipality.
- 4 Collecting contributions for the neighbourhood's aid. If need be, the 'Aqil calls at every house in his district (*tanaqqal ilā kulli 'l-buyūt*).
- 5 Collecting the *zakāt* tax. The following taxes are collected: *zakāt al-māl* (property tax), *zakāt al-ḥablah* (tax on grapevines) and levy for Ramaḍān. (*zakāt al-fiṭrah* at the end of Ramaḍān). From the property and grape-vine tax he receives expenses amounting to 5% of the sum gathered.

The heads of the urban districts constitute a council (*majlis al-'uqqāl*) that meets only when circumstances require.

Since the urban district organization differs from that of the towns of Ḥaḍramawt, to quote a South Arabian example, it is necessary to give a sketch of the individual character of the urban district of Şan'ā'.

1 The size of an urban district varies and may in general be described as relatively small. Hence the tendency to merge with other districts (*majmū'ah*) if this appears advisable. Such mergers, however, need not be permanent. Mergers come into being when the members of several urban districts agree on one 'Aqil.

2 Because of the present situation the question whether the urban districts developed from isolated settlements of single tribal groups cannot be answered. Research has perhaps yielded some clues in support of this—members of a tribe tend to settle in a closed unit—yet the fact must not be overlooked that the composition of the inhabitants of a district now varies very much in accordance with their tribal origins. In connection with the problem of the founding of urban districts mosques might play a certain part, for frequently the urban districts are named after mosques situated in their area.

3 Membership of the urban district acquired by birth is not permanent; in contrast with the local laws of the Tarīm urban district organization the members of an urban district in Şan'ā' can move without the permission of the 'Aqil and settle in another district. To what extent an older local law is here concerned must for the present remain an open question, for in the tribal domain a member cannot leave his tribal district without authorization.

The following list of urban districts must be preceded by the observation that at present the number of urban districts is uncertain because of the rapid growth of the town. Therefore a distinction is made terminologically between the older urban districts (*hārāt*) and newly formed ones (*minṭaqah*). At the time of my last stay in 1975 54 *hārāt* and 12 *manāṭiq* could be counted.

The list is based on a compilation, '*Uqqāl hārāt wa-aswāq wa-fanādiq wa-maṭā'im* of 1.vii.1971 in Şan'ā', of the authority 'Maṣlaḥat li-'l-shu'ūn al-Baladiyyah wa-'l-qarawiyyah' of Maktab Baladiyyat Liwā Şan'ā'. This compilation had to be supplemented by oral statements of informants as it proved on checking to be incomplete. The additions are indicated thus *.

A <i>Hārāt</i>	Name of the 'Aqil
1 H. al-Bāshah	Aḥmad al-Hamdānī
2 H. al-Nuṣayr	
3 H. Ghurqat al-Qalīs	
4 H. al-Maydān	
5 H. al-Zumur	'Alī al-Jindārī
6 H. al-Filayḥī	Muḥammad al-Zalab
7 H. Ghuzl al-Bāsh	
8 H. Şarḥat Muṭayr	
9 H. Kubās	
10 H. Şalāḥ al-Dīn	Hādī Shā'ūsh
11 H. al-Maftūn	

12 H. Yāsir	
13 H. al-Madrasah	
14 H. Qibli al-Maydān	
15 H. al-Shahīdayn	Ḥamūd al-Maswarī
16 H. Maḥmūd	
17 H. Mūsā	Aḥmad Şalāḥ Shā'ūsh
18 H. al-Ḥumaydī	
19 H. Baḥr Rajraj	
20 H. al-Ḥasūsah	
21 H. al-Ṭawāshī	Ḥusayn al-Kadas
22 H. Dār al-Jāmi'	Aḥmad al-Akwā'
23 H. Dāwūd	
24 H. al-Qarābī	Aḥmad al-Hamdānī
25 H. Ibn al-Ḥusayn	
26 H. al-Kharā'ib	'Alī al-Jarādī
27 H. al-Jilā/Jalā	
28 H. Khuḍayr	'Alī al-Qāwalī
29 H. al-Kharījah	
30 H. Ṭalḥah	'Alī al-Maḥqirī
31 H. Ṭāwūs	
32 H. al-Jawāfāh	
33 H. Ma'ād	
34 H. al-'Alamī	Aḥmad al-Qaḥm
35 H. al-Ṭabarī	Muḥammad al-Qāḍī
36 H. al-Ḥurqān	
37 H. Samrah	
38 H. Mu'ammār	Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḥrī
39 H. al-Abhar	Aḥmad Hājir
40 H. al-Jadīd	
41 H. Barrūm (Abi 'l-Rūm)	
42 H. Bāb al-Nahrayn	'Abdullāh al-Na'āmī
43 H. Bāb al-Şabāḥ	
44 H. al-Sā'ilah	
45 H. al-Maṭīṭ	
46 H. Qubbat al-Mahdī	'Alī Yahyā al-Shahārī
47 H. Bustān al-Sulṭān	
48 H. al-Manşūrah	
49 H. 'Aqil*	
50 H. Jamāl al-Dīn*	
51 H. al-Wushalī*	* No names are given because of contradictory information
52 H. Şarḥat Ḥawā'ij*	
53 H. al-Kharāz*	
54 H. al-Quzālī*	

B <i>Manāṭiq</i>	Name of the 'Aqil
1 M. Khārij Bāb al-Ḥurriyah	Muḥammad 'Alī al-Shaybānī
2 M. Bāb al-Salām	
3 M. Shāri' al-Zubayrī	
4 M. al-Zumur	'Alī 'Umar
5 M. Bāb Sha'ūb	
6 M. Farwah	
7 M. Musayk	
8 M. al-Ṭarīq al-Mu'addī (min Sha'ūb ila 'l-Qiyādah)	The road leading from Sha'ūb to the Qiyādah (Military H.Q.)
9 M. Ṭarīq Şan'ā' ilā Ta'izz	Aḥmad 'Alī al-Ashmalī
The Şan'ā'-Ta'izz Road	
10 M. al-Şa'dī	
11 M. al-Şāfiyat al-Sharqiyyah	
12 M. ila 'l-Afrān	Ḥusayn al-Nihmī

Summary

The concept of the group of alliances, I believe, enables the social positions, rights and duties in which a person is involved—in the sense of an individual engaged in the market—to be shown

in its actual social frame of reference. In this commercial context there operate from the economic angle, different forms of commodity circulation as follows:

Family	Redistribution of income.
Kinship group	Reciprocal distribution of stuffs.
	Exchange of gifts.
Group of alliances bound to the Market	Distribution of means of production by an elected central authority.
Social class	Exchange of marriage payment for women.
Urban District	Distribution of reciprocal aid by an elected central authority.

We can clearly observe the transformation of individual distribution into one effected by a central authority in those group domains in which distribution independent of individual interests seems necessary for the common benefit of all group members.

Socio-economic Aspects of the Market Structure

The relations outlined in the preceding sections remain disconnected and unintelligible without a knowledge of the market structure. Consequently several points relevant to an assessment of the market economy will be singled out to arrive at a balanced exposition. The following pages deal with the quantitative proportions of the handicraft and commercial sectors; the technological level of the craftsmen; the organization of trade; the nature of the relations between the urban market and its rural hinterland and finally the features peculiar to the urban market.

The Quantitative Proportion of the Handicraft and Commercial Sectors

To describe the position more concretely a tabular summary is used of results based on research carried out in March 1971. Quantitatively considered they reflect a demand situation, though only in a general form.

The Commercial Sector

	Number of shops	% of the total of the group	% of the total of all business in the market*
1 <i>Foodstuffs and specialties</i>			
Cereals	31	5.88	1.843
Oils (<i>saman, salîṭ</i>)	27	5.12	31.330
Sugar and sweets	5	0.95	0.297
Sweets	4	0.76	0.238
Foodstuffs and miscellaneous	229	43.45	13.614
<i>Qishr</i>	11	2.09	0.654
<i>Qishr</i> and sundry	21	3.99	1.248
Dried Fruit	24	4.55	1.427
Dates	8	1.52	0.476
Dates and Sundry	6	1.14	0.356
Spices	12	2.26	0.713
Vegetables, Fruit	30	5.70	1.784
<i>Qāt</i>	95	18.03	5.648
Tobacco (local)	17	3.23	1.011
Chewing tobacco (local)	7	1.33	0.416
Total	527	100.00	31.330
2 <i>Clothing</i>			
Textiles	301	89.58	17.895
Woollens	22	6.55	1.308
Shoes (imported)	13	3.87	0.773
Total	336	100.00	19.976

3 <i>Household goods</i>			
Crockery	56	44.45	3.329
Technical equipment	30	23.81	1.784
Copperware and books	9	7.14	0.535
Pottery (local)	6	4.76	0.357
Bedclothes	1	0.79	0.059
Wood	5	3.97	0.297
Coal lignite	2	1.59	0.119
Petroleum	17	13.49	1.011
Total	126	100.00	7.491
4 <i>Various</i>			
Henna	6	22.22	0.357
Druggists	4	14.81	0.238
Second-hand goods	14	51.86	0.832
Paper	3	11.11	0.178
Total	27	100.00	1.605
Grand total	1016		60.404

Handicraft Sector

	No. of workshops	% of total of the group	% of total of businesses in the market*
1 <i>Metal working</i>			
Smiths	62	34.64	3.686
Tinsmiths	29	16.20	1.724
Coppersmiths	9	5.02	0.535
Dagger makers	47	26.26	2.794
Silversmiths	27	15.09	1.605
Goldsmiths	5	2.79	0.297
Total	179	100.00	10.641
2 <i>Wood working</i>			
Joiners	74	81.32	4.399
Locksmiths-joiners	4	4.39	0.399
Turners	9	9.89	0.535
Dagger sheath makers	2	2.20	0.119
Basket weavers	2	2.20	0.119
Total	91	100.00	5.410
3 <i>Textiles</i>			
Tailors	69	57.03	4.102
Cap makers	20	16.53	1.189
Mattress fillers	3	2.48	0.178
Plangi-dyers	2	1.65	0.119
Woollen dyers	1	0.82	0.059
Ropemakers	26	21.49	1.546
Total	121	100.00	7.193
4 <i>Leather workers</i>			
Shoemakers	44	42.72	2.616
Makers of rubber buckets	9	8.74	0.535
Saddlers	5	4.85	0.297
Dagger-sheath cover makers and belt makers	45	43.69	2.675
Total	103	100.00	6.123
5 <i>Various</i>			
Oil pressers	4	9.30	0.237
Bakers	1	2.32	0.059
Bookbinders	2	4.65	0.119
Barbers	24	55.82	1.427
Radio repair shops	10	23.26	0.595
Photographers	2	4.65	0.119
Total	43	100.00	2.556
Grand total	537		31.923

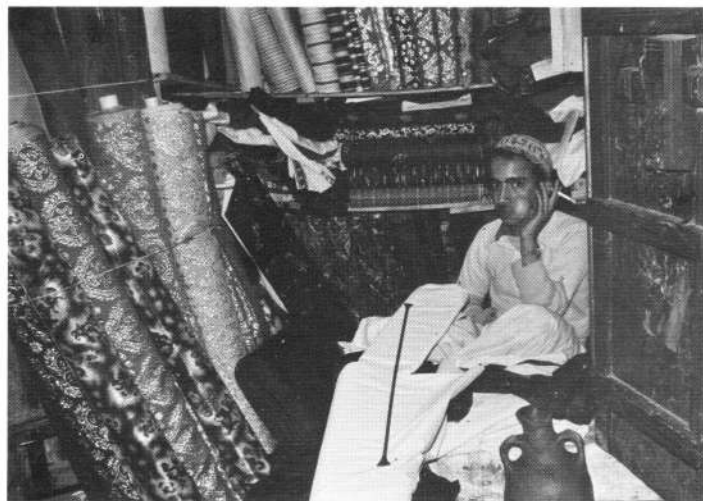
* the grand total of all workshops, businesses and service establishments = 1682 (March, 1971).

The number of businesses closed during the inquiry amounted to 74, but it was not established whether they were temporarily closed or consisted of handicraft and commercial concerns permanently closed down.

Service Businesses

	Number of shops	% of the total of the group	% of the total all businesses in the market*
Warehouses (<i>samsarah</i>)	38	29.46	2.259
Eating houses	50	38.76	2.973
Grills	7	5.42	0.416
Cafes	12	9.30	0.713
Soft drink purveyors	17	13.18	1.011
Writers	2	1.55	0.119
Money changers	3	2.33	0.178
Total	129	100.00	7.669
Grand total	1682		99.994

The first fact to be noted is that the commercial sector with 60.40% of the total of 1,682 businesses is proportionately the largest; contrasted with this the production sector amounts to only 31.93%. The proportion of service industries essential for the daily life of the market amounts to 7.67%. Thus the basic features of the market emerge. Our attention is now directed to considering to what extent typical characteristics of the demand position can be discovered. That means we must both examine the quotas within the handicraft and commercial sector and evaluate the quotas within the categories of these sectors. A breakdown of the quotas of the commercial sector indicates the following order based on a classification of 1,016 business premises—foodstuffs and stimulants (51.87%), clothing (33.07%), household goods (12.40%). The businesses entered under 'various', standing at 2.66%, are left for further consideration. In considering the foodstuffs and stimulants the percentage of *qāt*-shops is striking when compared with the understandably high proportion of provision shops (43.45%), particularly when they are compared with the extraordinary low quotas of businesses selling important foodstuffs such as oil, sugar or vegetables. This remarkably high proportion of the trade in *qāt* reflects the great demand for this stimulant and illuminates one of the most important economic difficulties of the country. The demand for *qāt* which, from a social point of view, bears those features known to us from the problem of alcoholism in Europe, leads to the result that the farmers restrict the cultivation of cereals in favour of *qāt* because it yields a higher profit coupled with a considerably smaller expenditure of labour. Resort to this mono-cultivation naturally involves increasing dependence of the tribal economy on the urban market, the consequences of which are at present not yet calculable.



14.2 Draper's shop selling imported dress materials.



14.3 Auctioneer selling a locally-made jacket.

In general the provision market is dominated by imported goods for the proportion of locally produced goods amounts to only 21.63%. The same applies to the clothing and household goods sector. With regard to the latter we must note from the viewpoint of cultural change the modest percentage of shops selling local pottery supplied by potters from Wādī Sirr and Khawlān.³⁵ They were ousted by metal utensils and plastic ware, as can be seen in the proportion of 44.45% of the shops stocking these new kinds of goods. We have also to look at the high proportion of shops selling industrial technical equipment (23.81%) as a consequence of the increasing change. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the quota of petrol stations should also be considered from the aspect of cultural change as I have no information about the proportion of these in earlier times.

The breakdown of the quotas for the handicraft sector reveals the following order in a total of 537 businesses—metal working (33.33%), textiles (22.53%), leather working (19.18%), wood working (16.95%), the remainder (8.01%) includes various occupations such as barbers, etc.

Of particular ethnological interest are those branches of handicraft connected with the manufacture of daggers. The proportion of these in the metal industry amounts to 26.26%, in leather working to 43.69%. These relatively high quotas are evidence of the extent to which people, even today, adhere to the tradition of wearing a dagger as a social status symbol. In the category of 'various' in the handicraft sector the proportion of radio repair shops (23.26%) is striking: it is, though, understandable when one remembers that the import of radios has been increasing by leaps and bounds since the setting up of the Republic.

35 Compare *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 301, passim.

Finally, we must look again at the service industries. The proportion (61.24%) of eating houses and purveyors of soft drinks to warehouses (*samsarah*) at 29.46% underlines the importance of this service to the market.

Handicraft Technology and Organization of Production

General Observations

The continually increasing import of machine-made goods has reduced many branches of handicraft to a situation that confronts them with the threat of possible loss of existence. It is a familiar case that, with the flooding in of machine-made goods, the demand for locally manufactured products falls. The extent of the threat to the existence of some occupations becomes evident when, for example, among imported goods are found products that prove to be machine made imitations of goods of initially Yemen pattern and origin, such as sickles (*sharīm*) produced in China.³⁶ The fact that, under such conditions, the indigenous craft still remains competitive, needs, I daresay, no further explanation. The first to be hit by this crisis are those craftsmen who, on the one hand, cannot undertake the changeover to modern techniques because of the high costs of procurement of the necessary machinery, yet on the other hand because of lack of technical knowledge cannot withstand the competition when confronted with imported supplies. Only a few joiners have



14.4 Carpenter at work.

succeeded in adapting themselves to the new situation and to increasing production by the acquisition of machinery. Unaffected by the threat are those branches of handicraft the products of which are not in competition with industrial goods to the same extent. Among those are saddlers, plangi-dyers, craftsmen concerned with dagger production and tinsmiths. Tailors also were able to carry on to some extent until about the time of my research, although faced with large imports of ready-made clothing. The reason is to be found, I suppose, in the attitude of the indigenous population in preferring mass-produced garments to tailor-made suiting. The same applies also to the cap makers. On the other hand the ropemakers have ceased producing rope and string and now confine themselves to manufacturing muzzles (*fidamah*, pl. *fadāyim*) and carrier nets (*shabakah*) made from imported nylon cord. The turners, who specialize in making pipe



14.5 Turner at his lathe.

stems and water-pipe tubes (*qaṣīb*), suffer from the spread of cigarette smoking. In this survey of the present state of handicrafts in Şan'ā' the situation of the silversmith must be briefly examined. Until 1949 the silversmith craft was largely in the hands of the Jews³⁷ and their work has not been adequately replaced (cf. p.397a). Of the 27 shopkeepers on the Sūq al-Fiḍḍah only six (22%) served a short apprenticeship with Jewish silversmiths; the rest limited themselves to dealing in silver jewellery; most of them are already engaged in different occupations. The standard of their technical ability is therefore very low, barely enough to carry out simpler repair work on old ornaments. In contrast to the silversmiths the few goldsmiths still make jewellery.

Technology

Technological development is reflected in the multiplicity of types of tool used in handicraft. To demonstrate more accurately the quality of handicraft equipment they are divided into four categories:³⁸ 1. tools made by the craftsmen themselves; 2. locally produced equipment; 3. imported tools and 4. imported equipment altered in function and form. The last category is evidence of the creative activity released in this economically poor region to meet certain technical requirements. Imported tools are particularly valuable in such a region and the economic position does not allow them to be cast aside when worn out. For example, chisels and other tools are forged from files. The analysis of the technical equipment of the craftsmen as can be seen from the list below, reveals a very varied distribution of the categories of tools:

	Smiths				Total
	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	
Number	16	1	3	1	21
%	76.20	4.76	14.28	4.76	100
	Daggermakers				Total
	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	
Number	1	2	7	0	10
%	10	20	70		100

regarding inventory numbers.

³⁷ E. Macro, 87, passim; see further E. Brauer: 233 passim, especially 239.

³⁸ For analysis of manual tools see W. Dostal, 1972, 26 passim.

³⁶ Bernisch Historisches Museum, Ethnographical Department. Inv. Nr. Es. 75.212.157. My thanks to Herr Dr. E. Kläy, Curator, for the information

Dagger-haft makers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	1	5	5	0	11
%	9.10	45.45	45.45		100

Dagger-blade polishers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported equipment	Total
Number	0	5	10	0	15
%		33.33	66.67		100

Joiners

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	0	10	11	2	23
%		43.48	47.83	8.69	100

Turners

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	0	12	6	2	20
%		60	30	10	100

Shoemakers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported equipment	Total
Number	0	6	2	0	8
%		75	25		100

Dagger-sheath cover makers and belt makers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported equipment	Total
Number	0	4	7	5	16
%		25	43.75	31.25	100

- a Tools made by the craftsmen themselves—smiths (76.20%), daggermakers (10%), dagger-haft manufacturers (9.10%).
- b Locally produced tools—shoemakers (75%), turners (60%), dagger-haft manufacturers (45.45%), joiners (43.48%), dagger blade polishers (33.33%), dagger sheath cover makers (25%), daggermakers (20%), smiths (4.76%).
- c Imported tools—daggermakers (70%), dagger blade polishers (66.67%), joiners (47.75%), dagger-haft manufacturers (45.45%), dagger sheath cover makers (43.75%), turners (30%), shoemakers (35%), smiths (14.28%).
- d Adapted imported equipment—dagger sheath cover makers (31.25%), turners (10%), joiners (8.69%), smiths (4.76%).

In this breakdown can be perceived the varying degree of dependence of the craftsmen investigated, with regard to the supply of tools. Only the smiths prove largely self-sufficient. The proportion of imported tools in a total of 124, in fact amounting to 41.13%, cannot be neglected in considering the dependence on imported equipment.

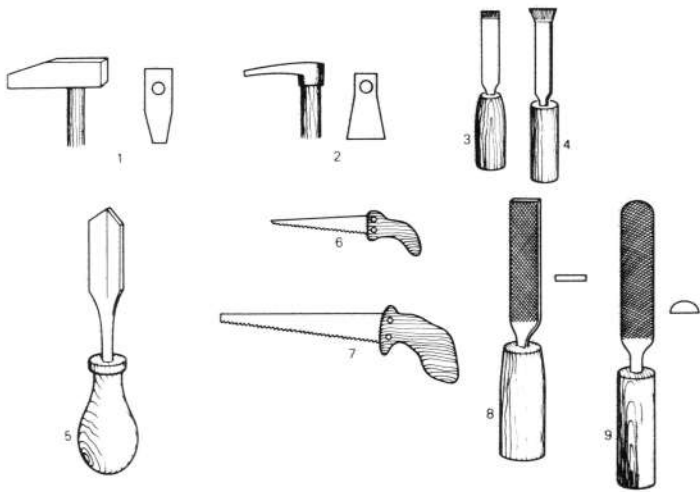
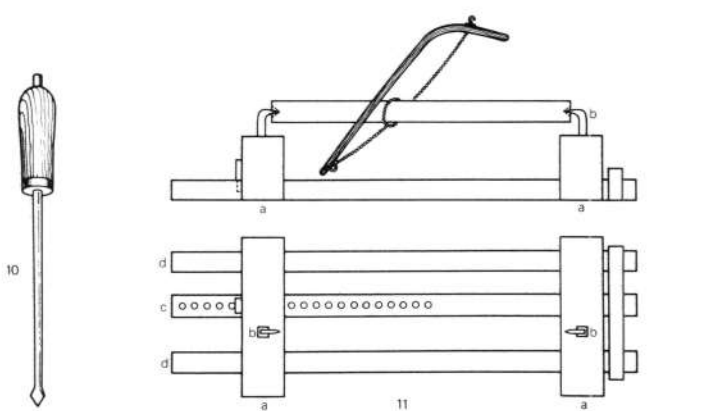


Fig. 14.2 Turners' Tools: 1 Adze, *matraqah*, pl. *matāriq*. Hammer head: 1.8cm, hammer face – peen: 3cm, 2cm, eye: w. 1.7cm, handle: 27cm. 2 Adze, *qaddūm*. Blade: 1.18cm; face: 6 × 3cm; cutting edge: 1.14cm, eye: w. 2cm, handle: 50cm. 3 Chisel, *minqār/manāqir*. Blade: 1.14cm; cutting edge: 1.6cm. 4 Chisel, *maqaddah/maqaddāt*. Blade: 1.9cm; cutting edge: 1.6cm. 5 Revolving knife, *hadīd*. Blade: a 1.18cm; br. 2.5cm, b 1.15cm; br. 2cm, c 1.12cm; br. 1.5cm, d 1.10cm; br. 1cm, e 1.12cm; br. 0.6cm. 6 Fretsaw, *maqsarah*, pl. *saghirah*; 1.20cm. 7 Foxtail saw, *maqsarah*; 1.48cm. 8 Flat file, *mabrad*, pl. *mabārid*; 1.32cm; br. 2.5cm. 9 Rasp, *mashramah*, pl. *mashārim*; 1.30cm; br. 3cm. 10 Drill, *makhdar*, pl. *makhādir*; a wooden handle: 1.20cm; w. 3cm, drill: 1.20cm; b wooden handle: 1.28cm; w. 2.5 cm, drill: 1.26cm; c wooden handle: 1.24cm; w. 3cm, drill: 1.20cm; d wooden handle: 1.18cm; w. 3cm, drill: 1.25cm; e wooden handle: 1.29cm; w. 3.3cm, drill: 33cm; f wooden handle: 1.25cm; w. 3cm, drill: w. 41cm. 11 Yemeni (pipe-turner) lathe, *makhrad*, pl. *makhārid* (properly *makhrat makhārit*). 1. 1.03m; br. 29cm; h. 25cm; a) *rukbah*, pl. *rukab* – wooden blocks 1.7cm; h. 8.5cm; b) *ghurāb* –



centre; c) *sayyār* – slider (centre); d) *Sā'id/sawā'id* – slider (outer). The ends of the lathe are two wooden blocks (*rukbah* pl. *rukab*) about 205 mm × 125 mm × 125 mm. At the bottom are three cut-outs for three wooden bars about 50 mm × 50 mm which run between the two blocks. Two of these, the outside ones, are fixed to one block and the centre one which has peg-holes drilled vertically through it, is fixed to the other. The outer bars (*sā'id* pl. *sawā'id*) are sliders while the centre one (*sayyār*) is used to set the spacing of the two centres. The centres (*ghurāb* (sing.)) are two right-angled brackets of metal set into the blocks at each end. On the operator's side of the centres is a bar (*tanab*) upon which the operator rests his tools as he turns the lathe. These are on the top surface of the blocks. The lathe is turned with a *qaws* (pl. *aqwās*) which the operator holds in his right hand while guiding the chisel with his left. The larger chisel (about 20 mm wide) is called *hadidah* or *qalam*, while the small chisel (about 7 mm wide) is the *makaddah*. The tool used for drilling the centre of the pipe is the *makhdar*.

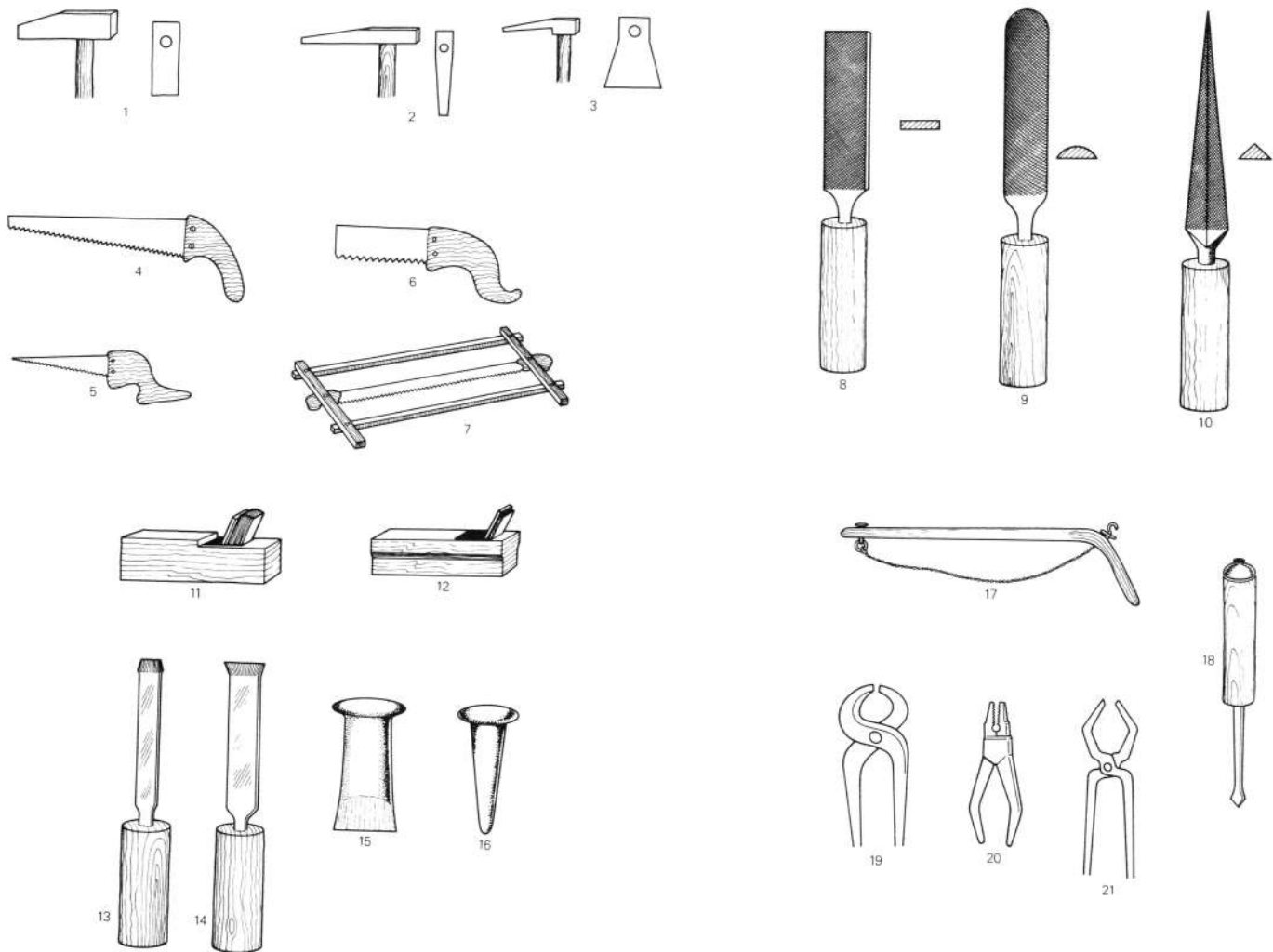


Fig. 14.3 Carpenters' Tools: 1 hammer, *matraqah/maṭāriq*; hammer head: 1.13cm, hammer-face – peen: 3cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 36cm. 2 hammer, *wisak/wasāyik*, possibly also *wayāsik*; hammer head: 1.16cm, hammer face: 1.5cm; peen: 0.5cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 30cm. 3 Adze, *qaddūm*; blade: 1.16cm; face: 5 × 3.5cm; cutting edge: 13cm, eye: w. 2m, handle: 56cm. 4 Foxtail saw, *maqsarah*, pl. *maqāsir*; 1.54cm. 5 Fretsaw, *maqsarah saḡīrah*; 1.1cm. 6 Broad saw, *takhrīqah*, pl. *takhrīq*; 1.31cm. 7 Frame saw, *minshār*, pl. *manāshīr*; 1.1.20cm; br. 60cm. 8 Flat file, *mabrad/mabārid*, *mudahāt*; 1.21cm; br. 2.3cm. 9 rasp, *mashramah/mashārim*; 1.27cm; br. 3cm. 10 Three-sided file, *mabrad mathlūth*; 1.13cm; br. 1.5cm. 11 Plane, *mamshaq/mamāshiq*; 1.21cm; br. 5.5cm. 12 Rabbet plane, *khāshir/khusūr*; 1.20cm; br. 4cm. 13 Chisel,

minqār/manāqīr; blade: 1.15cm; cutting edge: 1cm. 14 Chisel, *maqaddah/maqaddāt*; Blade: 1.10.5cm; cutting edge: 1.5cm. 15 Chisel, *furās/furūs*; a) 1.8cm; br. 3cm; b) 1.5cm; br. 4cm. 16 Round seal or stamp. 'Round cutter'. (It is then stamped with the ornament by a stamp called *mismār li-l-zahrah*.(R.W.)) *Zumbah/pl.-āt*; 1.6cm; w. 1cm. 17 Bow/curve for drill, *Qōs/quwās*, also *aqwās*; l. of the wooden bow: 68cm; l. of the leather cord: 75cm. 18 Drill, *makhdar*, pl. *makhādīr*: a) wooden handle: 1.34cm; w. 2cm, drill: 1.25cm; b) wooden handle: 1.37.5cm; w. 2cm, drill: 1.13cm; c) wooden handle: 1.31cm; w. 2.5cm, drill: 1.16cm; d) wooden handle: 1.24cm; w. 2cm, drill: 1.8.5cm. 19 Pliers, *kalbah*; 1.16cm. 20 Flat tongs, *zardiyyah*, pl. *zardiyyāt* 1.10cm. 21 Tongs, *tarbū'*, pl. *tarābī'*; 1.28cm.

Fig. 14.4 Cobbler's Tools. 1 Hammer, *matraqah*, pl. *maṭāriq* 'afīyyah; hammer head: 1.9cm, hammer face: 3.5cm; peen: 5cm, eye: w. 1.8cm, handle: 22cm. 2 Knife, *mafrad*, pl. *mafarid*; blade: 1.12.5cm; br. 2cm. 3 Shears, *maqass*, pl. *maqassāt*; 1.20cm. 4 Scraper, *kazān*, pl. *kazānah*; blade: 1.13cm; width of cutting edge: 15cm. 5 Scraper, *kazān*, pl. *kazānah*; blade: 1.10cm; width of cutting edge: 11cm. 6 Engraving tool, *mashfā*, pl. *mashāfi*; 1.7cm. 7 Awl, *makhzaq*, pl. *makhāziq*; 1.8cm. 8 Tongs, *kalbatayn*; tongs jaws: 1.9.5cm; tongs shanks: 1.15.5cm.

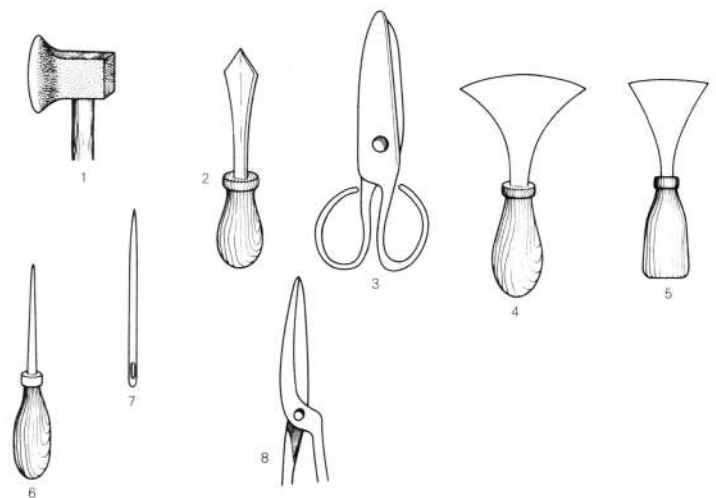


Fig. 14.5 Systematic ground plan of a smithy (forge) work-shop: A Working area, *sun'ah*; B Bellows & forge, *al-kir*; C Forge, *kānūn*; D Coal store, *al-maymanah*; E Iron store; F Stone water container, *hawd*.

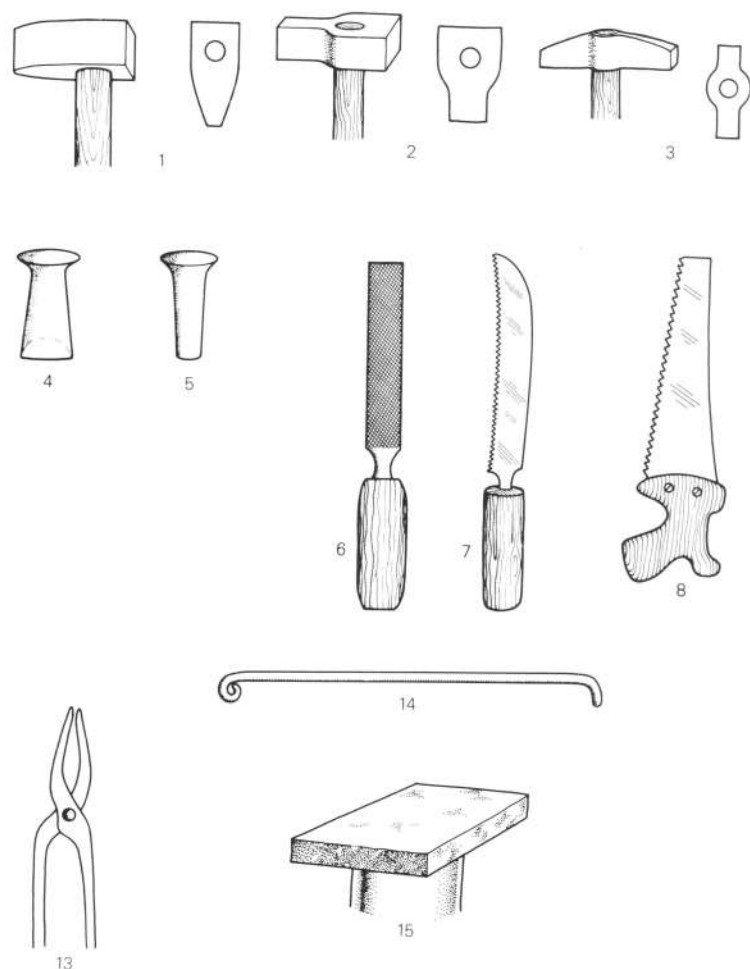
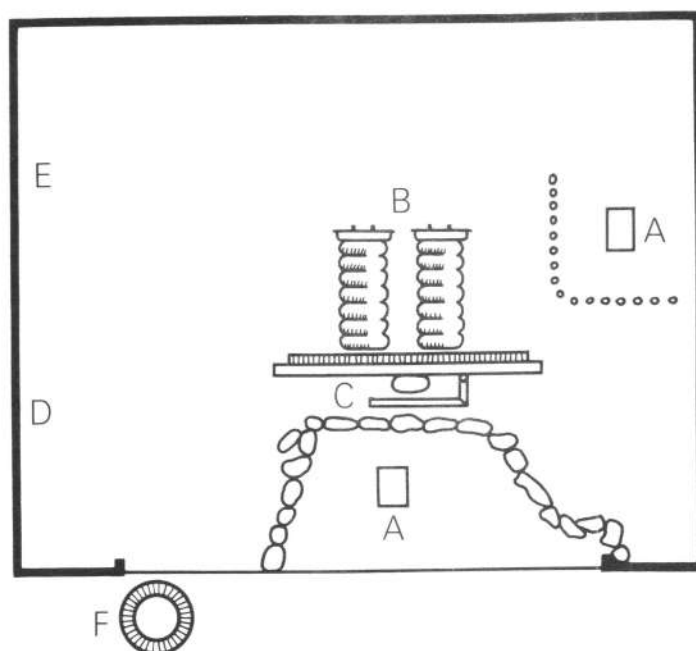


Fig. 14.6 Blacksmith Tools. 1 Sledge-hammer, *dast/disāt* (*dasd/dusūd*); hammer head: 1. 16cm, hammer face – peen: 4cm, 3cm, eye: w. 3cm, handle (*hirāwah*, pl. *harāwī*): 60cm. 2 Forging hammer, *mahadd/mahadād*; hammer head: 1. 14cm, hammer face – peen: 4 × 4cm, eye: w. 2.5cm, handle: 50cm. 3 Forging hammer, *matraqah*, pl. *matāriq*; hammer head: 14cm, hammer face: 3cm, peen: 1cm, eye: 1.5cm, handle: 40cm. 4 Cross-chisel for cold metal, *furās/furs/furas/furāsāt*; a) 1. 8.5cm; cutting edge: 2cm, b) 1. 6cm; cutting edge: 2.5cm. 5 Cross-chisel for hot metal, *sahj/sahjah/sa'j/sijān*; a) 1. 12cm; w. 3.5 – 2.5cm, b) 1. 10cm; w. 1.7 – 1.5cm, c) 1. 8cm; w. 2.5 – 0.5cm, d) 1. 7cm; w. 1.2 – 0.7cm. 6 Flat file, *mabrad/mabārid*; 1. 28cm. 7 One or single-edged file, *mashramah/mashārim*; 1. 22cm. 8 Back saw, *minshār/manāshir*; length of saw-blade: 49cm. 9 Forge tongs, used for holding the forge, *tarbū/tarābī*; a) tongs jaws: 1. 13cm; tongs arms: 1. 51cm, b) tongs jaws: 1. 8cm; tongs arms: 1. 48cm. 10 Bent tongs, used for holding objects like axeheads through the

hole, *mahnī/mahānī*; tongs jaws: 1. 8cm; tongs arms: 1. 38cm. 11 Blacksmith's straight tongs, *makā'abah/makā'ib*; tongs jaws: 1. 2.7cm; tongs arms: 1. 43cm. 12 Blacksmith's small tongs, *bāsimah/bāsimāt* or *bawāsīm*; tongs jaws: 1. 7cm; tongs arms: 1. 38cm. 13 Forge tongs, *milqāt/malāqit*; tongs jaws: 1. 4.6cm; tongs arms: 1. 56cm. 14 Poker, *kullāb*; 1. 63cm. 15 Anvil, *suflah/sufāl*; h. 20cm; circumference 15 × 16cm. 16 Bellows and Forge, *kīr* (pl. *kīyār*); a) protective shield *surf/suruf*: 1. 1.5cm, h. 60cm, br. 15cm; b) mud wall/*waqa'/'waqa'āt*; c) *hanāyah*: w. 60cm; *hanāyah* seems to be the word for the exit-hole of air from the bellows, although, on this point no-one was very clear. Air then passes into one *kumm* (pl. *kamām al-akmām*) of the *mahraj* (pl. *mahārij*) and out of the other into a hole in the wall called *raqa'ah*, the wall being called *waqa'*. d) wooden board, *qamariyyah/qamariyyāt*; e) handle, *yadd*; f) wooden piece, *shawbakān*; g) leather tongue, *maṭwafah/maṭwāhif*; h) hole in wall, *raqa'ah*; i) forge, *kānūn*. (R.W.)

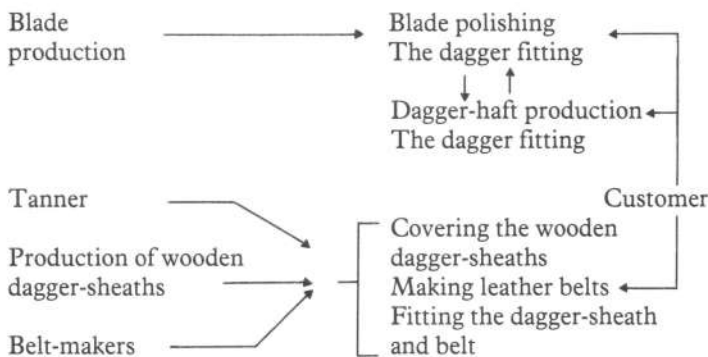
The Organization of Production

Specialization within individual crafts must now be examined. The research has revealed a high degree of specialization in the crafts of smith and joiner only. Special branches among blacksmiths are: the *sakkāk*, smiths who manufacture only window and door fittings; the *abbāl*, whose production is limited to agricultural implements (*'iblah* is the process of re-sharpening or renewing a used agricultural instrument) and the *ḥaddād al-niṣāl*, the daggermakers. Specialization appears less pronounced among joiners, among whom we find makers of dagger-sheaths (*najjār al-iswab*), wooden locksmiths (*najjār al-maghālīq*) and joiners who make only wooden combs (*mushṭ*, *mushuṭ*) and bird cages (*birj*).

Among tailors specialization appears only insofar as individuals have concentrated on making fleece coats (*kark*), jackets (*kūt*, pl. *akwāt*) or shirts (*shamīs*, *shumās*).

An additional specialization can be observed in the adaptation to new materials among shoemakers, as some have changed over to making water buckets (*dalū*) out of rubber tyres. Let us demonstrate how production is organised by taking the example of a complex process of production—dagger-making—and of a simple process—dyeing a veil.

Schematic representation of the organization for manufacturing a dagger.



As may be gathered from the schematic representation of the process of producing a dagger, the manufacture of the blade proceeds independently of the sheath. Below we shall attempt to describe the essential stages of production.

A Dagger-making

1 Dagger-maker

Widening the blade
Forging the point
Reducing the upper end of the blade in order to shape the tang
Hammering the tang short
Forging the blade
Forging the shaft
Filing the edge while red hot
Shaping the cold blade

ḥaddād al-niṣāl
yiṭba'
yiṭass

yifruṣ
yisawwī
yīḍrub
yiṭba' al-'amūd
yibrid
yijhaz
ṣaqqāl, *ṣaqqālīn*

2 Blade polishers

The blade is fastened to a wooden support base (*ṣuruf*, *aṣrāf*) with a leather thong
Smoothing the blade, into which oil (*saḥīṭ*) is previously rubbed with a stone (*ḥamāzī*)

yidawwis

Polishing

a) with the polishing steel of the type *arkah*
b) with the polishing steel of the type *laqṭah*
c) with the polishing steel of the type *sudān*

yiṣqul
yi' arrik
yilqaṭ
yisawdan
ṣallāb, *ṣallābīn*

3 Dagger haft makers

For material a horn imported from Kenya is used

zurāfah

For finer finishing the object is fastened to a specially constructed wooden support base (*tarbū'*)

Sawing out the shape of the haft

yiqṭa' bi-'l-minshār
yinajjir bi-'l-qaddūm

Fine working of the haft with the reamer

Fine working: filing the object fastened to the *tarbū'*

yīṣlub bi-'l-mabrid

Ornamenting the haft:

Burning in holes

yuwassi' bi-'l-minqār

Hammering in small nails

yīṭraq al-mismār
yibrid al-mismār

Filing off nail heads

With the same technique a small coin or

a piece of coral (*mirjān*) can be inserted

Soldering of the haft joint

yilḥam al-mabsam

(*mabsam*, *mabāsīm*)

B Making the dagger sheaths

1 Dagger sheath joiners

najjār al-'iswab

A strongish board (about 5cm) is used as material and later sawn up

Laying the pattern (*qālib*, *qawālib*) and marking in the shape

yikhṭaṭ al-'asīb
'ala 'l-qālib

Sawing out the shape

yifrid bi-'l-maṣṣarah

Fine working with the big reamer

yikharrīṭ bi-'l-qaddūm

Boring the holes for the wooden pegs

yikhzuq bi-'l-makhdar

Sawing the material in pieces

yishuqq

Hollowing out the inner surface with a small reamer (*ghurāb*, *ghurābāt*)

yihfur bi-'l-ghurāb
yismir al-'asīb

Fastening both parts with wooden pegs

yibrid bi-'l-mabrid



14.6 Forging the dagger blade.



14.7 Polishing the dagger blade.



14.8 Burning a hole for a decorative nail on the dagger handle.

2 Dagger-sheath cover makers

For covering material calf leather is used; a mixture of flour and sugar serves as adhesive (*gharā*)

Glueing a piece on the upper part of the sheath

Rasping out a piece of leather fitting the size of the sheath

Glueing the leather

Drying (2 hours)

Cutting to shape the leather strips

intended for sewing (*sayr*, *siyūr/suyūr*)

Perforating the glued-on leather at the edges

Sewing with the prepared leather strips

Three different techniques are used for decoration:

a Imprinting

kharrāz, *kharrāzīn*

yighrī al-mabsam

yiqshar bi-l-kazān

yighrī al-jild

yības

yiquṣṣ al-siyūr

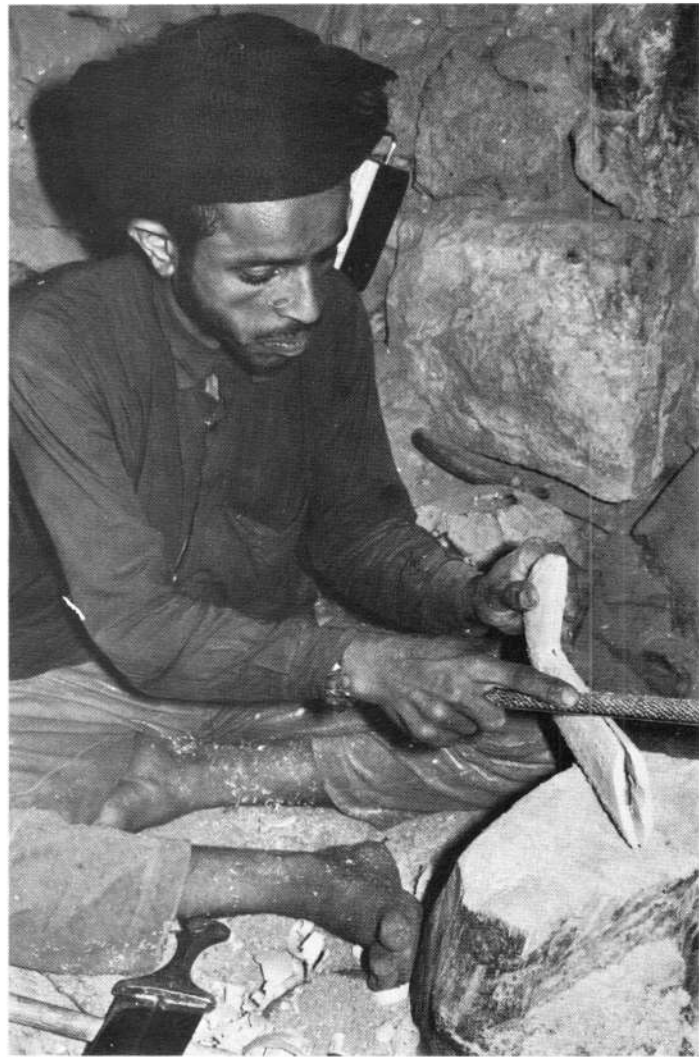
yikhzuq

yīḥabbis

ya‘ajjil



14.9 Working on the dagger handle.



14.10 Filing the dagger sheath sections which are held together with wooden pegs.

a dotted pattern (linear) with a toothed wheel

b Laying small lengths of wood on the dagger sheath, covering the sheath with leather, pressing the leather with graving tool to produce an embossed effect

c Scoring the decorative pattern with a needle

ya‘ammid

yikhaṭṭ bi-l-bīz



14.11 Marking out the shape of the dagger sheath.



14.13 Offering a dagger for sale in Sūq al-Mibsāṭah, the old Clothes Market.



14.12 Mounting the leather covered wooden dagger sheath.

3 Belt-makers

sarrāj (pl. -īn)

The belt consist of a lining of sacking/hessian (*shuwāl*) and the covering material (*bazz*). The lining is cut out (*yismaṭ*) and sewn (*yikhayyif*) to the material. A second kind of belt was also noted, in which embroidered material is sewn on.³⁹

As an example of a simple process of production may be cited a craft typical of Şan‘ā’, the craft of the plangi-dyer (*şabbāgh*, pl., *īn*). This process—a technique in which those parts of the material not subjected to the actual dyeing are tied off so that they do not absorb dye, in order to obtain a certain pattern—is employed for making veils (*maghmūq*, *maghāmīq*). The dyers start with white cotton material which they dye black and red. This material is supplied direct by the manufacturer. Mineral and vegetable dyes are employed. The dyers procure the minerals themselves; the vegetable material they buy in the market. For the red dye a mixture of *shabb* (alum), *fuwwah* (madder) and *hurud* (turmeric, Indian saffron) is used; for the red dye they prepare a mixture of *awsaj* (yellowish dye) and *kurkum* (saffron, curcuma).

The dyeing process

Tying off	<i>yisbuṭ</i>
Dyeing with red dye; circular patterns in red are created	<i>yışbagh</i>
Removing the binding	<i>yaqshir</i>
Tying off the places that are to stay red and white	
Dyeing with black dye	
Removing the binding	
Steeping the dyed cloth in a stone receptacle filled with water and fulling it	<i>yidsa‘</i>
Beating the cloth with a wooden mallet to make it supple	<i>yakhbuṭ malbis</i>

³⁹ Interesting details to be found viz. A. Klein.

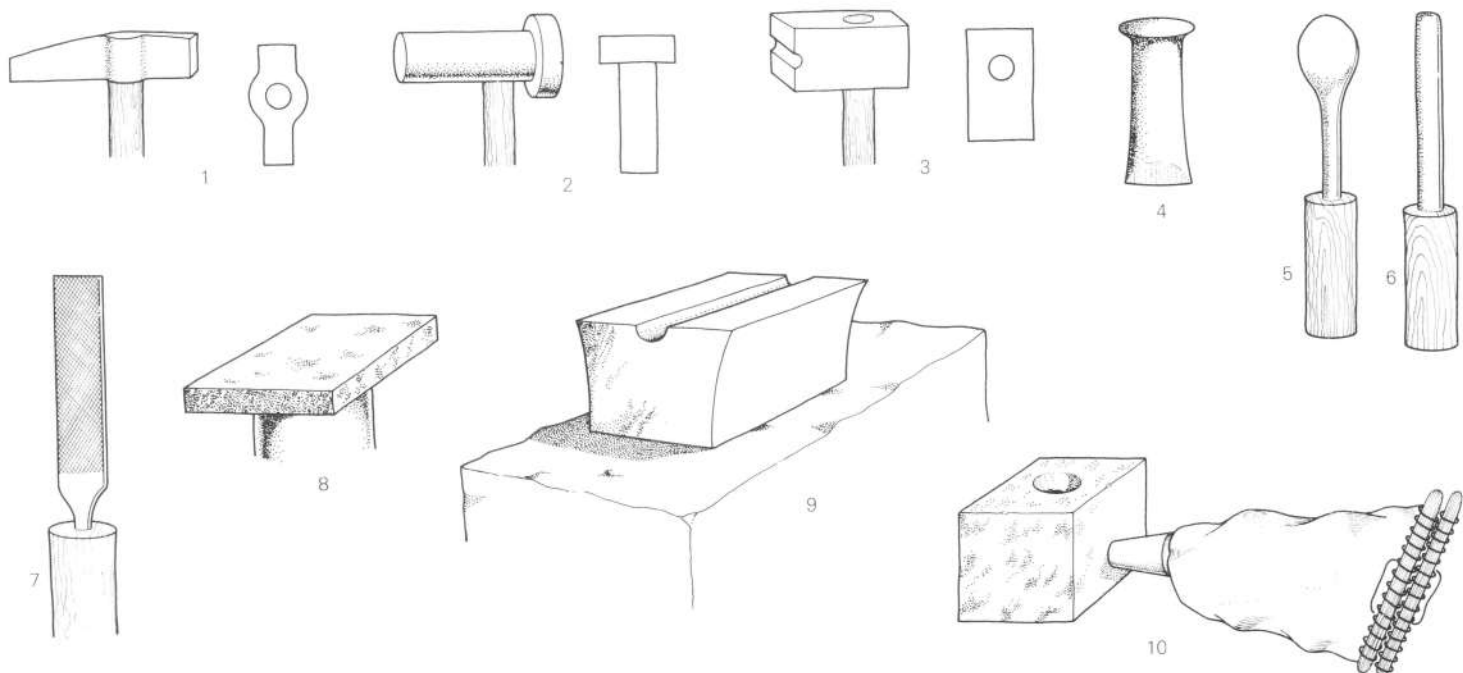


Fig. 14.7 Dagger Forge Tools. 1 Forge hammer, *matraqah/matāriq*; hammer head: 1. 16cm, hammer face: 2cm; peen: 1cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 20cm. 2 Round hammer, *masbat/masābit*; hammer head: 1. 13cm; w. 4cm, hammer face: 4 × 4cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 34cm. 3 Swaging hammer, *maiba'ah/matābi'*; hammer head: 1. 4cm, hammer face: 5 × 3cm; peen: 4 × 4cm, depth of swaging die: 0.9cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 16cm. 4 Cross-chisel for hot metal, *furās/furs*, etc.; 1. 11cm; length of cutting edge: 2cm. 5 Polishing iron, *maqshāt/maqāshāt*;

1. 7cm; length of cutting edge: 2cm, handle: 15cm, w. 2cm. 6 Polishing iron, *maqshāt/maqāshāt*; 1. 8cm; length of cutting edge: 1cm, handle: 12cm, w. 2.5cm. 7 Flat file, *mabrad/mabārid*; 1. 27cm. 8 Anvil, *Suflah/sufāl*; h. 30cm; circumference: 16 × 16cm. 9 Swage anvil, *matba'ah*; h. 11cm; circumference: 7.5 × 8cm. 10 Leather forge bellows, *minfakh/manāfikh*; 1. 40cm.

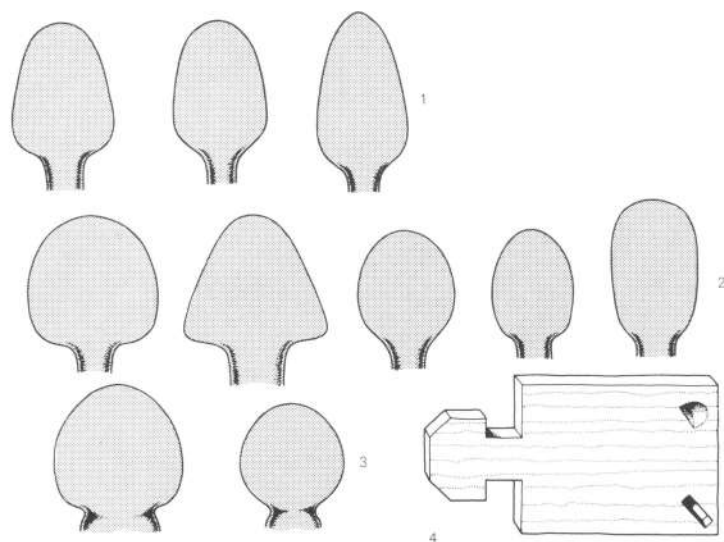


Fig. 14.8 Tools of Dagger Blade Polishers. Polishing stone, *'adhāqīl 'adhāqīyyāt*. Polishing iron, *masqalah/masāqil*. 1 *sūdān* a) 1. 5cm; br. 3.8cm, b) 1. 5cm; br. 3.3–1.5cm, c) 1. 6cm; br. 3–1cm; 2 *'arkah* a) 1. 4.5cm; br. 4cm, b) 1. 4.5cm; br. 4.5–1cm, c) 1. 3.5cm; br. 3–1.3cm, d) 1. 4cm; br. 2.5–1cm, e) 1. 5cm; br. 2.5–1.5cm; 3 *laqtah* a) 1. 4cm; br. 4–1.5cm, b) 1. 3cm; br. 3.5–1.5cm; 4 wooden work-block, *surf/asrāf*; 1. 34cm; br. 18.5cm.

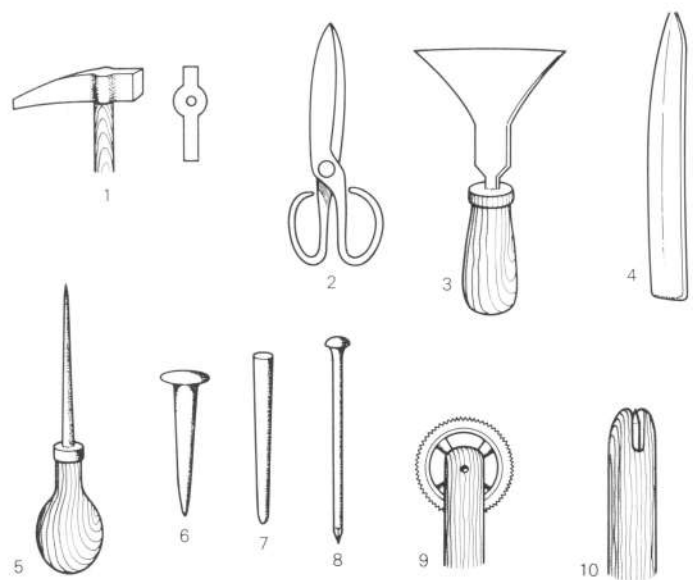


Fig. 14.9 Tools of the Dagger Sheath Coverers: 1 Hammer, *matraqah*, pl. *matāriq*; hammer head: 1. 11cm, hammer face: 3cm; peen: 1cm, eye: 1. 1.5cm, handle: 20cm. 2 Shears, *maqass/maqassāt*; 1. 19cm. 3 Scraper, *kazān*, pl. *kazānah*; Blade: 1. 4.5cm; width of cutting edge: 6cm. 4 Knife, *hadidah/hadīd*; 1. 15cm; br. 3cm. 5 Engraving tool, *biz*, pl. *abyāz*; a) 1. 8cm, b) 1. 6cm, c) 1. 5cm, d) 1. 3cm. 6 Die, stamp, *mabsham*, pl. *mabāshim*; 1. 5cm. 7 Round cutter to make a metal blank, *zumbah*, pl. *-āt*; a) 1. 7cm, b) 1. 18cm. 8 Die, stamp, *mismār li-'l-zahrah*; 1. 5-8cm. 9 Small cog wheel, *'ajalah/'ajal li-'l-naqsh*, a) single: w. 5cm, b) double: w. 4.5cm. 10 Carving tool, *mahatt/mahattāt*; 1. 15cm; br. 4cm. Brush, *burūsh*, 1. 20cm; br. 5cm. Working basis/foundation, a) *zambah*, of lead: w. 15cm, b) *balaq*, of stone: 1. 24cm; br. 20cm.

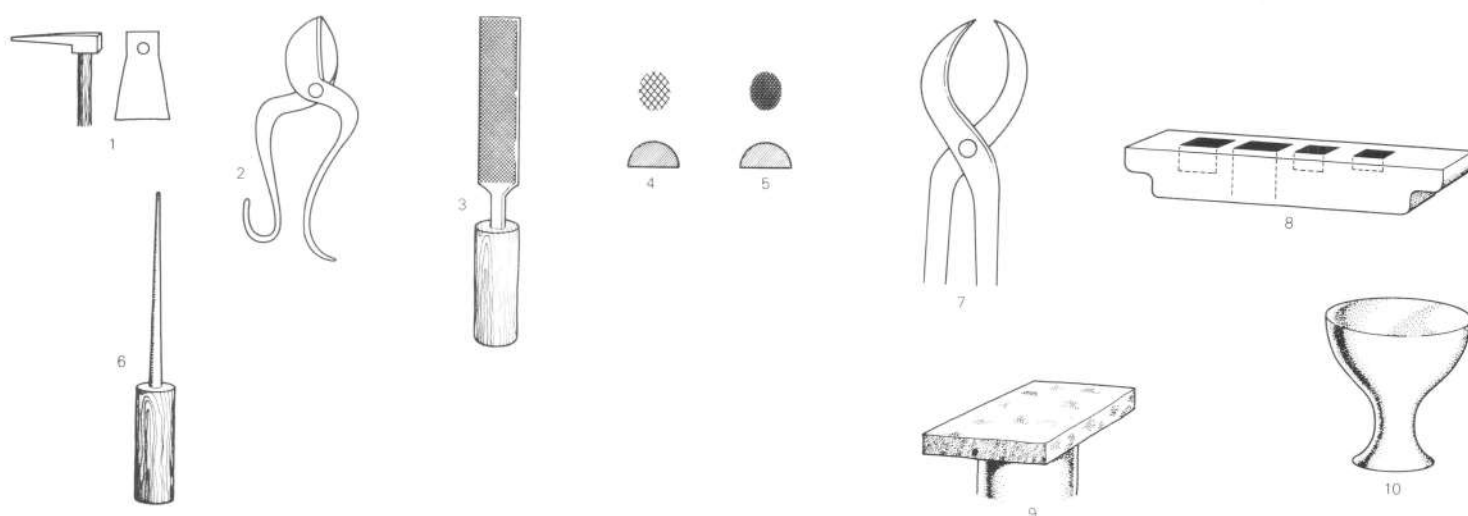


Fig. 14.10 Dagger Handle Manufacturing Tools Hammer, *matraqah/matāriq*; hammer head: 1. 12cm, hammer face: 4cm; peen: 2cm, eye: 2cm, handle: 24cm. 1 Adze, *qaddūm*; 1. 15.5cm; br. 4cm, eye: w. 2cm; handle: 40cm. 2 Metal shears/scissors, *jāz/jizān*; cutting edge: 1. 2.2cm; 1. 2.6cm, shank: 1. 15.5cm. 3 Flat file, *khashabī/khashabiyyāt*; 1. 33cm; br. 2cm. 4 Semi-circular file, *mazhar or mazahhar haḍīdī*; 1. 30cm; br. 2cm. 5 Semi-circular file, *dāshī* or

dāshiyyāt haḍīdī; 1. 30cm; br. 2cm. 6 Branding pin (also an instrument used in building (*Diwān al-mubayyatāt*, 161)), *minqār/manāqir*; 1. 10cm. 7 Tongs, *kalbatayn*; jaws: 1. 5cm; shanks: 1. 48cm. 8 Wooden working base, *tarbū'/tarābī'*; 1. 81cm; br. 6cm; h. 5cm. 9 Anvil, *suflah/sufal*; h. 20cm; circumference: 19 × 17cm. 10 Copper clasp knife handle, *miqād/mawāqīd*; h. 30cm; w. 20cm.



14.14 Plangi-dyer undoing a dyed thread. In the background, to the left, is a traditional black face veil with white and red roundels.

The Organization of Trade

Of the total of 1682 businesses in the market area 1016 are engaged in trade, corresponding to a proportion of 60.40%. Of these 741 shops in all (72.93%) stock imported goods. The adverse trade balance between the years 1969-1973 shows an ever-growing deficit as between imports and exports.⁴⁰ The increasing trend of imports led to a change of the traditional trade, insofar as only certain newly established trading companies monopolized the imports. As many of these trading companies are located in Hodeidah, the country's main harbour, the import trade in Ṣan'ā' is dependent on these external companies and their relations to the local government of the Hodeidah district.

	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Imports	166.6	174.6	204.4	411.1
Exports	19.6	13.5	24.7	25.3
Deficit	143.3	161.1	169.7	385.8
Increase of trade deficit	100.	109.4	122.	262.

Figures in millions of *riyāls*

The Ṣan'ā' Chamber of Commerce (Ghurfat al-Tijārah) has provided data distinguishing seven categories based on financial criteria, namely the annual contribution (*ishtirāk*) a merchant has to pay to the Chamber of Commerce. The division is based on the distinction between the merchant (*tājir*) and the retailer (*kassār*). As a rendering into European terms appears impossible because of the heterogenous trade structure, the Arabic designations only are given below:

Category	Contribution in <i>riyāls</i>
<i>tājir kabīr</i>	1,000
<i>tājir mutawassiṭ</i>	500
<i>tājir taḥt al-mutawassiṭ</i>	250

40 Yemen Arab Republic, *The Three Years Programme*, 91.

tājir ṣaghīr	150
kassār kabīr	50
kassār mutawassiṭ	30
kassār ṣaghīr	20

The above includes only merchants who pay this contribution, but there are also the following categories of merchant who play an important part in the life of the market:

wakīl/wukālā'	wholesale commission agent
dallāl/dallālīn	retail commission agent
muḥarrij/muḥarrijīn	auCTIONEER of retail goods
mufarrish/mufarrishīn	peripatetic trader

The last mentioned category of *mufarrishīn*, also includes the peasants in the market because they offer their goods for sale spread out on the ground. Sometimes the *mufarrish* is also called *bāsiṭ* (pl., -īn).

The fact that a distinction between two groups of traders exists—the merchants linked to the Chamber of Commerce and those not linked in this way—needs explanation. This classification becomes intelligible if we see it in connection with two different market systems. The first group is to be coordinated with the urban market system; it could have developed from the specific needs of urban society. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the costs of the watch organization, with which we shall deal later, are borne by this group. These merchants contrast with the unorganized traders whose function corresponds to that of the middlemen (*muṣliḥ*, *muṣāliḥ*) operating in the rural weekly markets. This group of traders forms an important pattern of urban trade insofar as it follows the traditional rules, which, in fact, are broken today. If the traditional customs are observed, delivery of goods is effected through such middlemen as have naturally specialized in dealing in certain goods. From this trade custom it follows that we have to reckon with a market system similar to that of the rural weekly market. In the present commercial sector of the commercial market it will be conceded that two market systems exist—the system of trade that is carried on by the merchants organized in the Chamber of Commerce and the market system corresponding to that of the rural weekly markets. It is to be assumed that the latter system is probably the older.

It is suggested therefore that the urban market developed as follows. From a market system similar to that of the rural weekly market a market system developed with organized trade that could best satisfy an urban society's demand for consumer goods. The merchants organized in sectional markets from a group of associates. This becomes remarkably clear in the Chamber of Commerce—the common interest of which, alongside the regulation of the supply of goods, lies in the safety of these goods stored in the shops. If on the other hand the correctness of the assumption be conceded that the group of unorganized traders belongs to the older system, then it can be explained why the traders in this group, even today, perform such important functions in the commercial sector. To indicate the nature of this latter group something must first be said about certain aspects of the rural weekly market.⁴¹

The fact that the chief products of the peasant economy are handled through intermediaries gains an importance. The Shaykh al-Sūq, responsible for order and security in the market, nominates four men as *muṣāliḥ*, the intermediaries. These men are confirmed in their functions as *muṣāliḥ* by vote of the tribal members of the district in which the market lies. They are mostly tribal members with commercial experience well informed about the actual state of supply and demand and therefore able to influence and regulate prices. One can distinguish between two kinds of intermediary—the *muṣāliḥ* and *kayyāl*. The men acting as *muṣāliḥ* are free tribal members, for the *kayyāl* a member of the socially inferior *muzayyinah* is preferred. The competence of the

three *muṣāliḥ* is exactly defined—the sale of cattle, sheep-and-goats and wood. The *kayyāl* mediates exclusively in the sale of grain. All other products such as vegetables, grapes, cattle fodder etc., are offered for sale direct by the peasant. This function of intermediaries in maintaining order is doubtless rooted in the tendency of the tribal community to avoid, from the outset, disputes having an economic basis. This means that the institution of intermediaries can be explained by the attitude of tribal law.

Let this short digression conclude discussion of the evidence for a supposedly older system in the urban market as, for the time being, we can produce no further facts to confirm or refute this assumption. In the presentation of the class system I have referred to the correspondence of the urban class order in Şan'ā' with that of the tribes. If the assumption be accepted as feasible then the continuing influence of the weekly rural market on the urban market is yet another indication of the correspondence between the two class orders—urban and tribal.

The Organization of the Merchant Class

In the Council of the Chamber of Commerce (Ghurfat al-Tijārah) the merchant class is clearly demarcated from the other occupational groups operating in the market. The Chamber of Commerce, whose articles came into force in the year 1963,⁴² is the organization which succeeded the Assembly of Merchants (Majlis al-Tijārah) that functioned in pre-Republican times. It is based on the traditional *Aswāq* organization insofar as the members of the Chamber are elected from among the Shaykhs of the market sector. Every two years the merchants meet to elect representatives to the Chamber. These then nominate from among themselves the President of the Chamber. This office is usually held by members of respected families such as Bayt Ṣalāḥ or Bayt Daḥmān; today the Chamber is presided over by Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Watārī whose family enjoys great respect.

Besides the representation of the interests of the merchants the following functions are part of the work of the Chamber.

- 1 Supervision of balance of prices (*muta'adil al-as'ār*) of foreign goods by an official paid by the Chamber.
- 2 Collecting the *zakāt* tax by the Amīn al-Şundūq. The tax receipts are remitted to the Government. One tenth of the total amount is retained for payment of the staff. The amount of the tax receipts is estimated at approximately 1,700,000 *riyāls*.
- 3 Election and payment of the Shaykh al-Layl, who bears the responsibility for the policing of the commercial sector at night.

In consequence of the specialization of many traders in certain goods the merchant class proves sharply differentiated. From this factor there developed communication systems⁴³ by which, for example, price agreements between two merchants are not divulged to a third party: it concerns the custom of communication by gesture and of a secret language specific to a group. Communication by gesture is called *al-ḥakī bi-'l-yad*. With their hands under a piece of cloth both partners come to an understanding about the price by means of finger movements. Each finger or part of a finger stands for a certain number, as can be seen from the illustrations. Simultaneously, rejection or agreement are signalled by the eyes.

Concerning the secret language, *al-lughah al-iṣtilāḥiyyah*, I was unable, for understandable reasons, to obtain any information.

41 W. Dostal, 1974: 12 *passim*.

42 Yemen Arab Republic, *Tashrī'āt*, 651, *passim*.

43 Perhaps this will be of the types described by R. B. Serjeant, 'Cant in contemporary south Arabic dialect', *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, London, 1948, 299-314.



1 One *riyāl*, or, one hundred *riyāls*, or, one thousand *riyāls*, etc.



2 Two *riyāls*, or, two hundred *riyāls*, or, two thousand *riyāls*, etc.



3 Three *riyāls*, etc., as previous.



4 Four *riyāls*, etc.



5 Five *riyāls*, etc.



7 Seven *riyāls*, etc. Grasping the little finger and third finger indicates plus two over five.



6 Six *riyāls*, etc. Grasping the little finger indicates one over five.



8 Eight *riyāls*, etc. Grasping the three end fingers indicates plus three over five.



9 Nine *riyāls*, etc. Grasping all four fingers, but not the thumb, indicates plus four over five.



10 Ten *riyāla*, etc. Placing the palm of the hand on the palm indicates ten.

Fig. 14.11 *Al-Hakī bi-'l-yad*
the *muṣliḥ*, dealer, middleman puts his hand under the sleeve (*kumm*), or a piece of cloth, with that of the purchaser or vendor, and the two communicate by touch without the bystanders being aware of the progress of the transaction.

The Policing System

As can be perceived by an observer, the policing system is exercised by means of watch posts (*maḥras*, *maḥāris*). On the map the policed area is clearly demarcated from the unprotected parts of the market, in which the workshops of the joiners, shoemakers and smiths are situated. These watch posts are built on the roofs of businesses and afford enough space for one man. They lie close enough together for the watchmen to communicate with one another.

This policing system is legally established in the veto prohibiting all shopkeepers from entering the market area after evening prayer and during the night. This regulation is already exemplified in pre-Islamic times in the market regulations of Timna'.⁴⁴ From the organizational point of view this system is based on the institution of Shaykh al-Layl and the watchman. The Shaykh al-Layl is elected and paid by the Chamber of Commerce. For this office the candidate must possess the following qualifications: he must count as trustworthy (*mawda'*) in the judgement of the merchants since goods are entrusted to his care; he must also be in a position to stand security (*ḍamānah*) for these goods. This latter requirement follows from the obligation of the Shaykh al-Layl to make good any loss caused by theft during the night. For this reason the financial resources of each candidate for this office are checked to ascertain to what extent he can assume such liabilities. In fact the Shaykh al-Layl cannot be sued for the full amount if the loss is excessively high. In such a case the Council of the Chamber of Commerce functioning as mediator decides that the Shaykh al-Layl has to pay in compensation only a sum equal to the daily turnover of the trader who has suffered the loss. As a rule candidates for this office, which is associated with high social prestige, come from such families as enjoy great respect in Ṣan'ā' society, as, for example: Bayt Qubbān, Bayt Qaṭṭā', Bayt al-Sallāl, Bayt al-Daḥmān, Bayt al-Dabāb and Bayt al-Ḥabārī. At present Yaḥyā Qubbān occupies this office. The Shaykh al-Layl receives a monthly remuneration of 500 *riyāls* paid by the Chamber of Commerce. This income is augmented by fees the merchants have to pay on goods imported into the market. These duties (*marjū'ah*) amount to 4 *riyāls* for a big truck load, 2 *riyāls* for a small truck load, 2 *buqshahs* for a sack of *qishr*.

The watchmen (*ḥāris*, *ḥarasah*), today about 120 strong, are recruited exclusively from among the porters (*ḥāmil*, *ḥamalah*). They receive no remuneration for their watch duties. This is included in payment for transport of goods (*ḥamūlah*). It is a question of an extension of the responsibility of the porters, who are likewise responsible for the safety of goods in transit—to the warehouse and from the warehouse to the business premises. For this reason only the porters are permitted to enter the warehouses (*samsarah*) during loading and unloading of goods: only on this condition can they assume the burden of responsibility.

This responsibility confers high social prestige on the porters, surpassed only by that of the watchmen. The porters are, without exception, free tribal members, and only such men are accepted as can provide security (*kāfil*). Members of the Bani 'l-Khums and the Muzayyinah are not admitted to this occupation. When a porter decides to enter the watch service, he usually gives the Shaykh al-Layl a small present (eggs, ghee). The watchmen are granted ten holidays (*ghiyāb*) on Islamic festivals. The Shaykh al-Layl must himself find substitutes for this period, whom he pays himself. For this he receives contributions from the merchants (*musā'adah li-shaykh al-layl min shān al-ḥirāsah*).

The watchmen choose an 'Aqil al-Ḥirāsah from among themselves. He acts as the representative of the Shaykh al-Layl and allots the watchmen's duty periods. Within the market area the watchmen now have at their disposal a room, situated in the



14.15 Sūq al-Ḥalaqah. In the centre, left of the hardware shop, is a covered well; top left is a cabin in brick for the night watchman.

Grain Market (Sūq al-Ḥabb), in which they can stay and make tea. While on patrol they are only armed with sticks. A captured thief is handed over to the police the next morning.



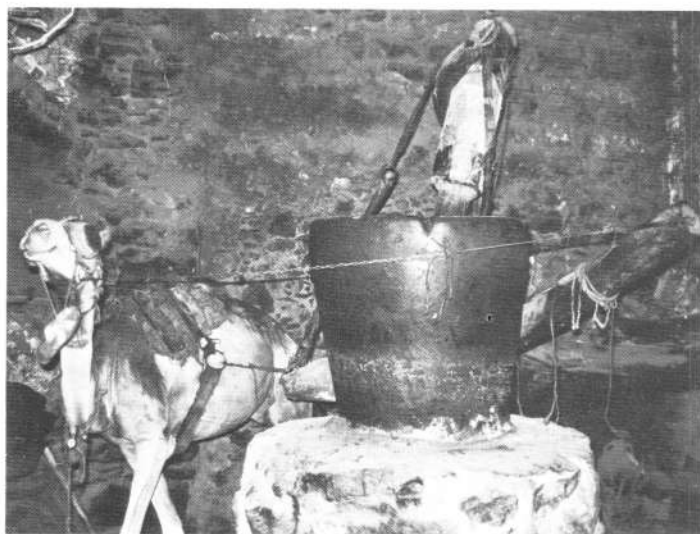
14.16 Samsarat al-Mizān. See pp. 186b, 284b seq.

The Economic Relations of the Urban Market to its Rural Hinterland

We are concerned in the first place, with the mechanism of the disposal of agricultural products on the urban market. For better understanding one must start with some observations on agricultural production in the hinterland of Ṣan'ā'. Valuable information on this point is provided by figures of the yield from the cultivation and the planting of the most important products as given to me by thirty-six authorities: according to them a field of half a hectare of *qāt* produces an annual yield of 9,000 to 13,000 *riyāls*, a vineyard of the same size about 3,600 *riyāls*, a half-hectare field of *dhurah* between 1,200 and 2,500 *riyāls*, of barley about 960 *riyāls*.

Caution must always be exercised with regard to statistics but it emerges that *qāt* and grapes (raisins) are the most important agricultural products. Among other products and crops impor-

44 M. Höfner, 58, passim. See p. 164b, seq., of this study.

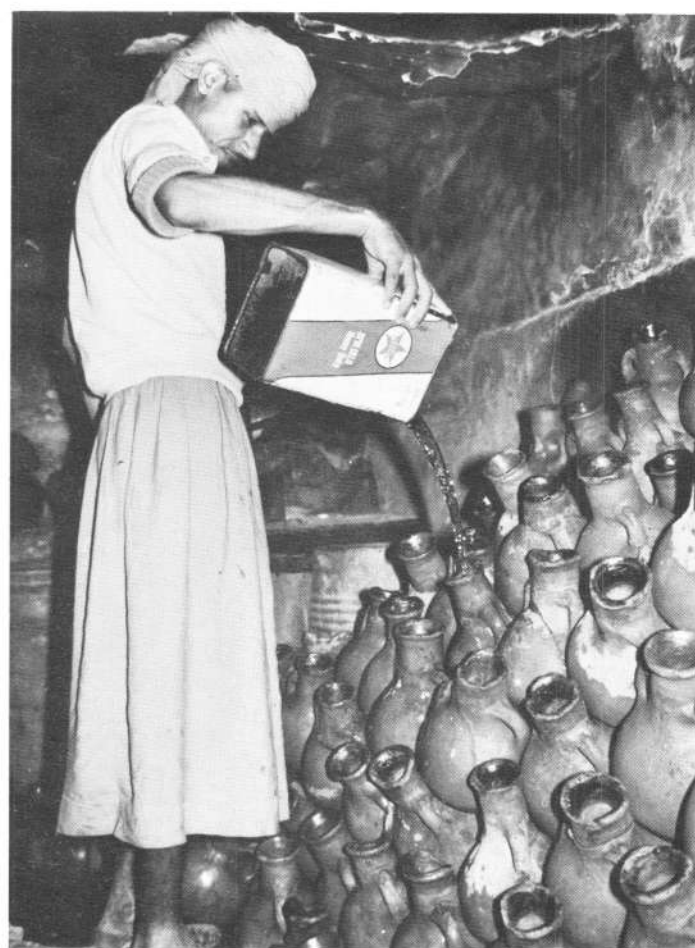


14.17 Press for the extraction of sesame oil.

tant as foodstuffs must be mentioned vegetables, various kinds of fruit, ghee and sesame for extracting oil, as also sheep-and-goats. The disposal of products follows the customs already mentioned as characteristic in the description of the rural weekly markets. The chief products, *qāt* and grapes (raisins) are handled through middlemen; all other products are offered directly on the market by the peasants (*yitasawwaq*), this means that the products are converted into money (*yitṣarraḥ*). Let us now consider the regulations on the sale of *qāt*. In *Ṣan'ā'* they consider three kinds of *qāt*, to be of the most excellent quality—Qaryah, Wādī and Ḍulā'i.⁴⁵ The description follows the origin, for example: Ḥarāzī, Ḥaymī, Sawdī, Ḥaddī, Khawlānī, Rijāmī, Sirrī etc. *Qāt* is offered for sale in three ways: (a) big bundles (*marbaṭ*, *marābiṭ*) (b) small bundles (*ribṭah*, *ribāṭ*, *ḥabbah*, *ḥabbāt*, the latter seemingly more of Ta'izz than a *Ṣan'ānī* term); (c) lots of 10 *ḥabbāt* wrapped in banana leaves, the bundle being known as *qarn*, pl., *qurūn*.

The traders specializing in the sale of *qāt* (*muḥawwīt*) are organized as wholesale commission agents (*wakīl*, *wukalā'*) and as retail traders (*mufawwid*, pl., *mufawwidīn*). The sale is organized as follows: the peasant delivers the goods to the *wakīl*. The *wakīl* receives a 10% share (*amūlāh*) of the proceeds of the sale. That means that the peasant receives a return on the *qāt* supplied by him only after the sale by the *wakīl*. This practice demands a relationship of mutual trust, which usually leads to the result that the peasants mostly enter into business relations with a *wakīl* well known to them. The *wakīl* sells the goods to the retailers, but can also offer it direct to the buyers. The retailer's margin amounts to 10%. The price fixed is by bargaining (*mughālāh*).

Today a partial change in the sale process is already becoming noticeable, as the peasants are changing over to offering their goods direct on the market. Thereby they save 10% commission to the *wakīl*, though instead they must put up with a considerable loss of time in the sale of the article. As already recorded grapes and raisins are the next most important agricultural products. In the north east hinterland of *Ṣan'ā'*, in the district of the Banī Ḥushaysh, 14 different kinds of grapes are grown. The following list gives an idea of the quantitative distribution of the individual kinds of grapes: it is based on the evidence of 6 random tests in a total of 1281 grape-vines.

14.18 Filling water jugs for the *qāt* market in Bayt al-Sharbah.

Type of grape	Number of grape-vines	% of Total
Rāziqī	780	60.89
'Āsimī	177	13.82
Aswad	128	9.99
Bayāḍ	84	6.56
'Irqī	63	4.92
Ḥātīmī	17	1.33
Jawfī	10	0.78
'Adhārī	9	0.70
Zaytūn	8	0.62
'Aṭrāf	5	0.39
Total	1281	100.00

Rāziqī grapes are preeminently suitable for raisins as are *Aswad* and *Bayāḍ* grapes, whereas the 'Āsimī grapes are taken fresh to the market. From the table of the numerical distribution of the types of grape it emerges that viticulture is predominantly concentrated on the production of raisins.

The process of converting into raisins is very simple. The peasant constructs rectangular wooden platforms (*'awshah*, *'awshāt*) in open spaces in the vineyards or near the houses. The grapes are either hung under the lattice work of this platform or strewn on it. In the latter case they must be covered with bushes to protect them from too intense a sun. After 50 or 60 days the grapes are dry. As a rule the peasants sell two-thirds of the raisins: the rest they keep to cover their own needs.

45 I. Tāhir, S. M. Yacoub & A. Akil, 26, passim.

The sale follows the procedure of the middleman. The latter sells the grapes or raisins with an addition of 10 *buqshahs* per *raṭl*. In contrast to the sale of *qāt*, in this case the peasant receives an agreed sum on delivery of goods to the middleman. Today it can be observed, exactly as in the case of the sale of *qāt*, that many peasants bring fresh grapes to the market themselves, a sign that they are beginning to transform the traditional sales procedures.

Until now only two examples have been given, describing the economic relations between town and country from the viewpoint of agricultural production, but these by no means exhaust all aspects of this relationship.

Hand made products play a fairly important part in the economy as well. For instance wicker-work for bread cushions (*makhbazah*) is to be mentioned, which the peasants' wives weave as a cottage industry.

The woven parts are delivered to the saddlers, who take over the finishing. In the urban market we find various other wicker-work produced as home industry besides the *makhbazah*. However, the proportion of products manufactured by home industry is very small. The economic significance is so slight that the proceeds can be described as casual earnings. Two sectors of peasant production prove of greater economic importance in relation to the urban market—pottery and agate polishing. To avoid any vagueness that might result from the concept of 'peasant production', it must be indicated that these two industries have a clear social ranking. Agate polishing is in the hands of free tribal members, whereas pottery making is carried on by the socially inferior *muzayyinah*. It is of some interest to outline the techniques of both these products as, to the best of my knowledge, no descriptions of them are yet available.

I will demonstrate the pottery techniques by the example of the local industry of al-Şurāb, lying in Wādī Sirr, and almost exclusively inhabited by potters. From al-Şurāb comes most pottery on sale in the market of Şan'ā'. It goes under the name of 'Sirri'. An essential characteristic of the pottery technique in al-Şurāb is the manufacturing process without the use of the potter's wheel. Here the process known as the paddle-anvil technique is employed, based on the following principle—the clay is flattened out, laid on a base and shaped on it with a mallet (*maṣfaḥaḥ*, pl., *maṣāfiḥ*).⁴⁶ This base (*manṭa'ah*, *manṭa'āt*) has the shape of a hemisphere and is made of clay.⁴⁷ It is a simple matrix process by which a considerable volume of production can be attained in a relatively short time. The daily production of an economic unit comprises 30 pots or 15 coffee pots. Following the division of labour between the sexes, the women prepare the clay and do the shaping, the men take on the decorating, burning and sale of the pottery.

On the production process:

A Preparing the clay

Cleaning the clay by mixing with water	<i>yīḥiru al-trāb</i>
Drying the clay (24 hours)	<i>yabas al-trāb</i>
Breaking up the clay with a stick (<i>malbis</i> , <i>malābis</i>)	<i>yalbīs al-ṭīn</i>
Sifting by means of two sieves of different sizes (<i>minkhul</i> , <i>manākhil</i>)	<i>yinkhul</i>
Thinning the clay by adding chopped straw or donkey dung	<i>yukhallīb</i>

B Shaping the clay

Flattening the lump of clay	<i>yīnṭa'</i>
Laying the clay on the base, shaping the side of the vessel, first with the hands, then with a mallet	<i>yīṣfaḥ</i>
Letting the shaped object dry	<i>yīḍaḥḥī fī-l-shams</i>
Shaping the edge	<i>yīṣfaḥ</i>



14.19 Basketwork bread mould, made by country women, being filled with chaff in Şan'ā'.



14.20 Pottery manufacture in Şurāb, Wādī Sirr. The woman spreads the clay into a flat cake which is later put over a hemispherical work top (paddle and anvil technique).

Levelling the edge with a metal ring (<i>mikhaṭṭ</i> , <i>mikhaṭṭāt</i>)	<i>yīqṭa' bi-l-mikhaṭṭ</i>
Shaping a belly (<i>ṭufi</i> , <i>ṭufai</i>)	<i>yūṭfi</i>
Laying the belly on the edge of the vessel and smoothing it	<i>yūfi</i>
Polishing the inner and outer surfaces of the vessel with a damp cloth	<i>yūfi bi-l-khirqah</i>
Drying (3 to 4 days)	<i>yabas</i>
C Decorating	
Breaking the red mineral dye in a small stone receptacle (<i>mawḥiz</i>) with a pestle (<i>yad</i>)	<i>yīṭruq al-ḥamīrah</i>
Painting red	<i>yīḥammir</i>
D Firing	
Firing in a kiln (<i>miḥraq</i> , <i>maḥārīq</i>) about 24 hours	<i>yīḥruq</i>

The pottery manufactured in al-Şurāb is assembled as in the illustration, so a closer description appears unnecessary. The potters sell their wares in all the weekly markets within their reach: only a part of the product is delivered to the urban market, as the demand has fallen sharply because of the introduction of household utensils made of new materials such as metal and plastic. This is evident from the modest share (only 4.76%) that

46 Bernisch Historisches Museum, Ethnographical Department. Inv. Nr. Do. 71.212.59.

47 Op. cit., Inv. Nr. Do. 71.212.61.

pottery has in the household utensils sector.

For the description of the technical process that is used by the agate polishers I depend on the notes that I took in 1971 during my stay in Asafi, a place in the Wādī Sīrr.

The raw agate stones (*‘aqiq*) come from the Ānis country, where they are collected by the agate polishers themselves or bought from the peasants living there.

Agate polishing is carried on only by men. Their technical equipment consists of: a twin hammer (*maṭraqah*), a holding stick (*lōk*)⁴⁸ on the end of which a stone is always fastened with a mixture of frankincense, clay and oil. Also four surfaces about 90cm high consisting of different kinds of stone.

Polishing a stone takes about 1 to 2 hours so that a day’s production reaches a maximum of 6 to 8 polished agate stones.

The production process

Heating the agate over a fire *Yidfā al-faṣṣ ‘ala ‘l-nār*
Polishing on a red limestone *yishqaf fi ‘l-shawābah*
(pl., *shawāb*, Rossi, *L’Arabo parlato*,
171, stones from Wādī Sīrr)

Polishing on white limestone *yishqaf fi ‘l-muqāribah*
Polishing on grey limestone *yishqaf fi ‘l-mudāsī*
Polishing on yellow limestone *yishqaf fi ‘l-tabāshīr*

Nowadays the agate polishers sell most of their production to the silversmiths in the urban market, also to the antique dealers established as a result of the stream of tourists. Tribesfolk mostly buy the stones direct from the agate polisher.

The Special Feature of Şan‘ā’ Market

This paragraph is concerned with what may be designated as ‘typical’ of the urban Market of Şan‘ā’. Two market systems now function intact in the central highlands of which Şan‘ā’ constitutes the urban centre: the network of rural weekly markets, which begins at al-Rawḍah, about 8km outside Şan‘ā’, and the Şan‘ā’ market itself. In view of the geographical coexistence of these two market systems it seems advisable to tackle the problem to be treated here from this position. This coexistence poses the question as to whether the specific conditions of the ecology of the central highlands exercise an influence on the market structure there. I shall deal with this question because only when it has been cleared up will it be possible to bring into prominence the distinctive socio-economic features with greater lucidity. For this reason I have decided to compare five of the weekly markets I studied in the highlands with the same number of weekly markets in the Tihāmāh studied by H. Escher, and finally to compare them with the Şan‘ā’ market. To do this I had to adopt H. Escher’s code of market classifications, which is adapted to the offer of goods in the Tihāmāh and therefore does not always correspond to that of the central highlands.⁴⁹ To make this comparison possible I could not avoid some inaccuracies.

Table 3 The weekly markets in the Tihāmāh

The first number in the columns of the actual weekly markets refers to the number of traders.
The second number to the percentage of the total of all traders in the weekly market concerned.

Weekly markets	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Categories of goods						
Cereals	6 20.68	21 50.00	47 32.41	28 40.00	24 48.00	126 37.50
Sugar	7 24.13	5 11.90	34 23.44	9 12.85	10 20.00	65 19.34

Oils	0 0	4 9.52	12 8.27	3 4.28	3 6.00	22 6.55
Vegetables	1 3.55	1 2.38	10 6.89	2 2.85	2 4.00	16 4.76
Spices	2 6.89	0 0	3 2.06	1 1.42	2 4.00	8 2.38
Stimulants	2 6.89	0 0	3 2.06	2 2.85	0 0	7 2.08
Textiles	0 0	3 7.14	3 2.06	0 0	0 0	6 1.79
Footwear	1 3.44	0 0	2 1.37	2 2.85	1 2.00	6 1.79
Household goods	0 0	2 4.76	2 1.37	4 5.71	0 0	8 2.38
Total:	19	36	116	51	42	264
Total of all traders in the market concerned	29	42	145	70	50	336

Names of the markets: I = Mawr; II = al-Ruṣfah; III = al-Rāfi‘i;
IV = Sūq al-Rabū‘; V = al-Qanamah

* 264 as a percentage of the total of 336

Table 4 The weekly markets of the central highlands

Weekly markets	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Categories of goods						
Cereals	11 4.26	1 0.46	0 0	0 0	15 7.89	27 3.23
Sugar	11 4.26	14 6.45	8 6.77	4 7.69	4 2.10	41 4.91
Oils	7 0.38	3 1.38	1 0.84	1 1.92	1 0.52	13 1.52
Vegetables	22 8.52	23 10.59	9 7.62	9 17.30	16 8.42	79 9.46
Spices	15 5.81	4 .184	7 5.93	4 7.69	4 2.10	34 4.07
Stimulants	33 12.79	26 11.98	22 18.64	8 15.38	6 3.15	95 11.38
Textiles	22 8.52	5 2.30	8 6.77	3 5.76	2 1.05	40 4.79
Footwear	6 2.32	1 0.46	0 0	1 1.91	0 0	8 0.96
Household goods	12 4.65	2 0.92	11 9.32	5 9.61	4 2.10	34 4.07
Total:	139	79	66	35	52	371
Total of all traders in the market concerned	258	217	118	52	190	835

Names of the markets: I = Baw‘ān; II = al-Dhahab; III = al-Saghārah;
IV = al-Rawḍah; V = Bayt al-Sayyid

* 371 as a percentage of the total of 835

Table 5 Percentage of the categories of goods of the total of all traders in the weekly markets and in the Şan‘ā’ Market

	Weekly markets of the Tihāmāh	Weekly markets of the Central Highlands	Şan‘ā’
Grain	37.50	3.23	3.05
Sugar	19.35	4.91	0.88
Oils	6.55	1.56	2.65
Vegetables	4.76	9.46	2.95
Spices	2.38	4.07	1.18
Stimulants	2.08	11.38	14.84
Textiles	1.79	4.79	31.78
Footwear	1.79	0.96	1.27
Household goods	2.38	4.07	6.10
Total	78.57 %	44.43 %	64.70 %

48 Op. cit., Inv. Nr. Do. 71.212.65,66.

49 H. Escher, 101.

Explanation:⁵⁰

Cereals:	dhurah, dukhn, maize, wheat, rice, flour, ħulbah, sesame
Sugar:	salt, biscuits, sweetcakes, sweets, honey, sugar, cane syrup
Fats:	ghee, sesame oil, local oil, local ghee, foreign oils
Vegetables:	pulses, onions, potatoes, eggplants, lady's fingers, tomatoes
Spices:	pepper, ginger, dried fish, local spices, foreign spices
Stimulants:	coffee, qishr, tea, tobacco, cigarettes, qāt, snuff, shammah (burtuqān)
Textiles:	clothes, blankets, sewing notions, zippers, hats
Shoes:	sandals, leather and plastic belts, leather products, plastic shoes and slippers
House wares:	baskets, mats, ropes, strings, plastic ropes, empty sacks, hats, pots, plates, waterpipes, aluminium wares: cooking pots, pans, plastic canisters, buckets, cups, glasses, feeding bottles (plastic), china ware

We begin with the comparison of the weekly market on the basis of the classified material in Table 3. The Tihāmah markets have two striking peculiarities: 1) the numerical preponderance of the categories of goods selected for the comparison with 78.57% of the total supply of goods on the markets; 2) the high percentage of cereals within the categories of goods recorded, standing at more than one third. With regard to the weekly markets of the central highlands the following facts stand out prominently: 1) the numerically small proportion of the selected categories of goods (only 44.43%) and 2) the strikingly high proportion of stimulants (11.38%). The interpretation of these varied characteristics can, of course, be only hypothetical since the present position of research makes more precise statements impossible. In the comparative tables the variety of the ecological zones clearly shows, on the one hand, the coastal plains of the Tihāmah with its oasis culture, on the other, the central highlands with an agriculture blessed by rainfall, and, today, supplemented by pump irrigation. Without wishing to underestimate the influence of environmental factors, we shall produce evidence that, in connection with the characteristics shown by the tables, certain socio-cultural requirements are also formative factors. Therefore, to explain the strikingly high percentage of cereals on the markets of the Tihāmah, in addition to the favourable environmental conditions for productive cereal cultivation, it must be taken into account that the peasants dispose of cereals in the market to be able to meet their debts. Even if the economic unit concerned must forego essential means of existence, a large part of the harvest yield must be taken to the market. In this percentage recorded of cereals can be seen the effort of the peasants to free themselves from dependence on the traders, who operate as moneylenders so as to prevent the peasants gaining control of the means of production.

A completely different picture meets us in the highlands. Compared with the weekly markets in the Tihāmah, the proportion of the categories of goods at 44.43% recorded in the table looks modest: this means, however, that other goods on the highland markets such as meat, cattle fodder etc., enrich the supply to a greater extent. In the highlands there is a shortage of cattle fodder that could make intensive cattle rearing possible. With their lucerne crops the peasants can feed only their few cattle and donkeys, and it must be borne in mind that the shortage of cattle fodder does not permit feeding in the barn, which is replaced by hand feeding. Accordingly cattle naturally have a high exchange value, whereas the supply of meat for the farming population is assured by imports of cattle that are slaughtered in the weekly markets. With regard to the remarkably high percentage of stimulants, among which *qāt* claims the bulk, certain socio-cultural needs come into play, of the causes of which we have no knowledge at present. We still do not know why the consumption of *qāt* is being increasingly integrated into social life; presumably the causes for this could be found in the conflict between the traditional and the new order of values. In my opinion the high proportion of stimulants on the markets of the highlands is to be viewed in connection with the low quota of

⁵⁰ Op. cit., 100.

cereals (4.34%). It clearly reflects the state of cereal cultivation in this region. The retrogressive tendency of cereal cultivation in favour of planting *qāt*—which has already been discussed in the previous paragraph—implies that cereals are being increasingly withdrawn from the markets, for the cultivation of cereals is assuming the character of production for the household. So cereals circulate on the level of exchange between groups of relatives and between the households of a settlement. By contrast yields from the cultivation of vegetables and spices are excluded from this circulation just described. This feature is rooted in the dissimilar intensity of cultivation of vegetables and spices as compared with cereals. Varying from region to region within tribal territory, these agricultural products acquire another quality of marketability in contrast to cereals—from which the relatively high percentage in which they are to be found on the markets of the highlands can be understood.

Finally, regarding the comparison of the markets of the highlands with Şan‘ā’ market, the statistics in Table 3 seem to imply that they belong to the same ecological zone, apart from some divergences in certain categories of goods such as textiles. The high quota of the textile trade is explained by the natural quantitatively larger requirements of the urban population in the way of clothing. Where the smaller percentage of vegetable and spice merchants is concerned the urban garden cultivation must be taken into account, the products of which partly circulate outside the market. These explanations, like the conclusions on the influence of similar environmental factors must not mislead us into ignoring an essential difference. By this I mean the differing proportion of categories of goods in relation to the total supply of goods on the market: weekly markets - 44.43%, urban market - 64.70%. If it is goods on the weekly markets important to the peasants (meat, cattle, fodder) that make up the preponderant part, in the urban market the balance is supplied by handicraft products. This relevant differentiation forms the starting point for the discussion of the individuality of the Şan‘ā’ market. In the comparison that follows the accent is therefore placed on the structural outgrowths of the rural weekly markets and the urban market.

For our purpose it is important first to establish in what respect the two market systems differ structurally from each other.

1 In the urban market handicraft production assumes an importance lacking in the rural weekly markets. Only occasionally do some craftsmen offer their products at the latter. This is understandable if we consider the customs in tribal territory, in accordance with which tribal members, in the capacity of principals, deal direct with the craftsmen in their territory, who in turn supply direct. In connection with handicraft production a peculiarity must be borne in mind with far-reaching consequences for the importance of the urban market, namely the fact that the production of arms is concentrated there. If one can believe the information of my authorities, arms production is the monopoly of the urban craftsmen. Should this assumption prove true, we should have to reckon with the economic dependence—to be still more closely defined—and also with definite political dependence of the tribes on the urban centre.

2 The organization in handicraft and merchant sectors in the urban market bears the imprint of a pronounced differentiation. The sectional organization of the market is, however, much less pronounced in the structure of the weekly markets.

3 At the urban market imported goods predominate, whereas, at the weekly markets, domestic products are extremely important.

4 The institutions important for urban market life, such as the money depository, warehouses, wholesale organizations, are lacking in the weekly markets, which are co-ordinated with intra-tribal and inter-tribal exchange of commodities.

5 Finally, the urban market is distinguished from the weekly markets by the level of the buildings and by the siting of the market with the market centre proper and peripheral markets.

The features common to both market systems must, of course, also be considered. They all originate—except in the geographical separation of residential and market zones proper—in the nature of Yemeni society.

- 1 The institution of the Shaykh al-Sūq.
- 2 The institution of intermediaries (*muṣliḥ*, *dallāl*) in business transactions.
- 3 The *ḥarām* (inviolable) status of the market. Its social function

is to be seen in the fact that thereby involvement in conflict is said to be prevented. During my stay in *Ṣan‘ā’* Market I observed no real quarrels except during Ramaḍān. With regard to quarrels during Ramaḍān one must realise that people become more irritable because of the complete reversal of their customary way of life.

I have described some characteristics that fit naturally into the frame of reference of what can be designated as an urban market, but some go beyond this frame of reference, among which I mean resemblances to the weekly market systems. It is this very relationship that deserves our special consideration when contemplating the development of urban society of *Ṣan‘ā’*.

Appendix 1

The Warehouses (samāsir)

Market centre	
S. al-Qūzī	
S. al-Imām al-Mahdī	
S. Yaḥyā b. Qāsim	
S. ‘Alī al-Tīnah	
S. al-Manṣūrī	
S. ‘Alī b. al-Shāwī	
S. Sūq al-Minqālāh	
S. al-Zubayrī	
S. Muḥammad Luṭf al-Dhirayrah	
S. Yaḥyā al-Na‘āmī	
S. Wardah	
S. al-Baw‘ānī	
S. al-Mutarrib	
S. al-Qāt	
S. al-Sawd	(Charcoal store, today a cafe)
S. al-Muqaṭrān	Sūq Bāb al-Yaman
S. Aḥmad al-‘Awādī	
S. ‘Aṭiyyah	
S. ‘Alī al-Shāmī	
S. al-‘Umārī	
S. Wardah	Sūq al-Baqar
S. Sa‘ādah	Sūq al-Zumur
S. al-Dawmarī	
S. al-Ḥidayyid	
S. Bayt al-Jindārī	
S. al-Ṭāyifī	

The following warehouses are situated in the Market centre (*makhzan*):

Makhzan al-Salīṭ
Makhzan al-Ḥabb

Appendix 2

The Most Important Wells in the Market

Sūq Bāb al-Yaman	: Sabīl Aḥmad al-Suwaydī donated 1343/1924-5
Sūq al-Naḥārāh	: one well donated by al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn al-Ahjirī
Sūq al-Ḥinnā	: one well donated 1349/1930-31
Sūq al-Ḥalaqah	: Sabīl Sayyid Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad Ghumḍān donated 1337/1918-19
Sūq al-Jabbānah	: Sabīl Bayt ‘Amr donated 1369/1941 by al-Ḥājj ‘Alī ‘Amr
Sūq al-Baqar	: Sabīl Aḥmad al-‘Irayḥī
Sūq Ḥārat al-Madar	: Sabīl al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Madar
Sūq al-Salab	: Sabīl Ḥusayn al-‘Umayrī
Sūq al-Bazz	: Sabīl al-Qirsh Sabīl Bayt al-Qaṭṭa‘ Sabīl al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Sayrānī
Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā	: Sabīl Dagħbas donated by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sinayḍār
Sūq al-Qāt	: Sabīl Ḥusayn b. Qāsim al-Yamānī donated 1358/1939-40
Sūq al-Ḥabb	: Sabīl al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Ba‘thar Sabīl al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Sawsānī One well
Sūq al-Fiḍḍah	: Sabīl Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭa‘ donated 1348/1929-30 Sabīl al-Ḍawrānī donated by al-Ḥājj ‘Alī al-Maḥfādī
Sūq al-Qamarī	: Sabīl constructed by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Sayrafi (<i>Masājid Ṣan‘ā’</i> , 86)

Chapter 15

The Buildings of the Sūq/Market

The sūq has the lowest buildings of any part of Ṣan'ā', most of them single-storeyed. Rising out of this area of low roofs, however, are the great blocks of the largest buildings in the city, the public warehouses, the *samsarahs* which tower above the shops. In addition to these two types of buildings there is a number of other types scattered through the sūq, tea shops, eating places and inns or hostelrys, communal apartment buildings, watchtowers, drinking basins, sesame mills and workshops for craftsmen. This chapter deals not only with these types of building, but also refers to a type of public 'building' not specifically connected with the sūq, but serving it as well as the rest of the city. This is the large well with a long ramp down which animals walk as they draw water to the top.

(A) The Sūq, its Shops and Workshops

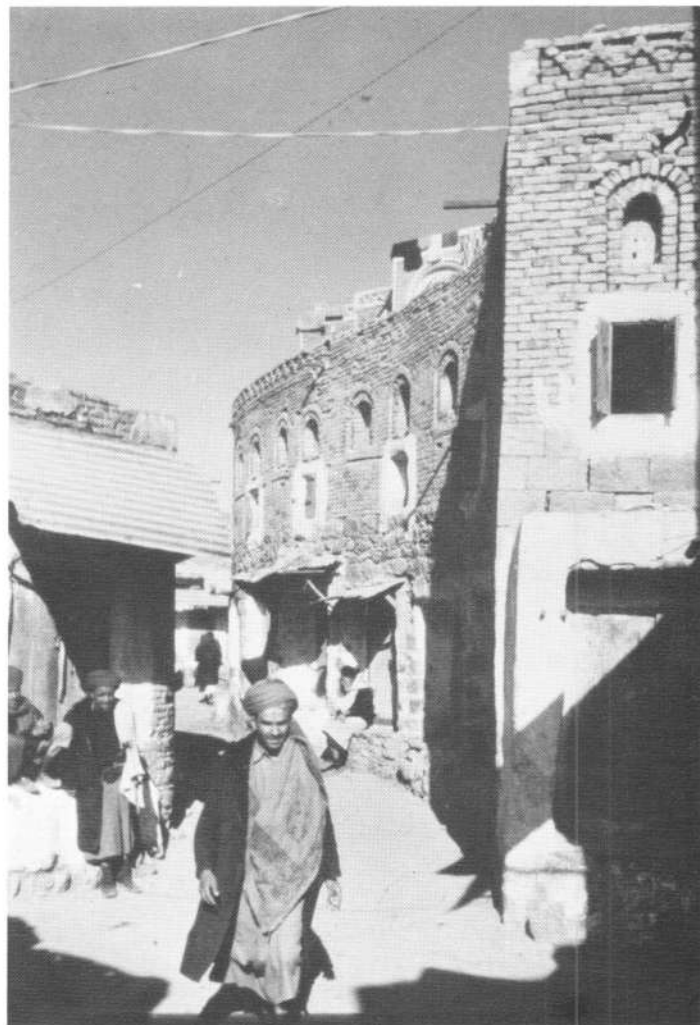
The alleyways between the shops are narrow, seldom more than three metres wide, though in places they open into clearings in which public drinking basins may be situated. Each Quarter has an open space (*li-kull ḥārah ṣarḥah*), for air, children to play in, etc., but it is not a sūq. Coming through from Ḥarat al-Abhar to Ḥarat al-Jāmi' there is a *ṣarḥah* with the tallest house in Ṣan'ā' belonging to the merchant family al-Sinaydār.

The shops are seldom more than three metres square, sometimes as small as one metre by one and a half metres. They are raised on a masonry plinth 50cm or more high which often projects in the form of one or two steps. The structure of the shop is usually in brick, plastered and painted white. Wooden doors close the front of the shop, which has a wooden counter, a wooden cupboard on one side to contain the water-pipe for smoking (see pl. 15.15) and sometimes a set of built-in drawers for money on the other side. Separate chests of drawers in which goods such as spices are kept are called *mi'ṭarah*. We were told of fine examples made with inlay of bone actually manufactured in the Yemen at one time. The remainder of the space is lined with shelves. Only in the larger shops is there a door leading to a store-room at the rear.

Workshops for many crafts take the same form. For example, the crafts of dagger-mounting, belt-making, shoe-making, silver and goldsmithery are carried on in the small floor areas in the shops between the counter and the shelves. Crafts such as forging metal, making plaster tracery windows, etc., have workshops of the same size and type without the counter and shelves.

The age of the buildings in the sūq is difficult to establish. On

architectural grounds parts of it are ancient. The construction of the stonework, laced with large wooden baulks, of part of the Carpentry Market (Sūq al-Minjārah), the Shoemakers' Market (Sūq al-Minqālah) and the Blacksmiths' Market (Sūq al-Miḥdādah) seems some of the oldest stone and timber construction surviving in Ṣan'ā'. It is accepted as such by some



15.1 The sūq. A typical street in the area around the sūq, the upper rooms are lodgings rented out by the Waqf.



15.2 Sūq al-Milḥ. The ancient salt market with the entrance to the mosques of Janāḥ and al-Madḥhab in the background.

local scholars.¹ Pieces of pre-Islamic stone such as column drums can be seen lying about in parts of the sūq, sometimes incorporated into a structure.

(B) Samsarahs

The caravanserai in the Yemen is generally called *samsarah*, but the word may be no more than a few centuries old, and as early an author as Ibn Rustah (3rd/9th century) says that Ṣan'ā' has many *khāns*,² a word still used sometimes even in the present century. Travelling in the days before the motor car the wayfarer would find, besides the *samsarahs*, the *miqhāyah*—mostly in the Tihāmah or its low foothills—little more than a large shelter on poles with charpoy beds, cool in the hot weather, and a cabin or two for the proprietor and his family. In the northern mountains he would be able to use the *daymah*, often a pious foundation, a hut constructed on stone arches, with flat stones to roof it, often in a



15.3 Ṣan'ā', Sūq al-'Irj. Here donkeys no longer fit for work are provided with fodder from a special *waqf* and by gifts from the fodder dealers there.

primitive dome form. It would have a plaster-cemented cistern for water close at hand. The *samsarah* constructed round a central court is more suited to the mountains and districts where security at night is a problem.

The transport of goods and persons over long distances in the Yemen was well organized as may be seen from the regulations in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. The distances between city and city were exactly measured out in terms of time taken to move from point to point,³ and in the days of caravans the stages were so well arranged that from the last stop before Ṣan'ā', the donkeys, being quicker, would arrive there before noon, and the camels about 'aṣr time.

Niebuhr,⁴ on his way from Mocha to Ṣan'ā', stayed at inns known as *maṭraḥ*, which simply appear to have been houses, but after al-Qā'idah, north of Ta'izz, his party came to the *samsarah* he calls Mharras.

Depuis Mharras jusqu'à Sana on trouve presque à chaque journée, et même à des demi-journées de chemin une grosse Simserā bâtie de briques cuites. Ces édifices ont été bâtis ainsi que les Chans ou Karwanseras en Turquie, par des personnes riches pour la commodité des voyageurs. Mais ces Simserās ne fournissent pas même les aïances, qu'on trouve dans une Hôtellerie en Europe. Un voyageur qui ne peut se contenter de Caffé, de Ris, de Pain, et de Beurre doit se munir d'autres provisions, car se sont là les seules qu'on puisse se procurer à ces auberges. Au reste on peut compter d'y être dans une parfaite sûreté. Il n'y a à chacun de ces édifices qu'une seule porte, on la ferme régulièrement tous les soirs, et lorsqu'on est prêt de la rouvrir le matin, c'est la coutume dans quelques endroits d'en donner avis aux voyageurs auparavant, afin que chacun puisse examiner s'il a rien perdu.

One of the very large establishments marked on Niebuhr's map is the Samsarat Mājil al-Qubbatayn between Nakhlat al-Ḥamrā' and Ṣan'ā' on the Ṣan'ā'-Ta'izz route prior to the construction of the present motor road. This is evidently medieval, with stone cornicing, and it is recorded that the Imām al-Mu'ayyad (ob. 1053/1643-4) repaired Samsarat al-Qubbatayn after al-Ḥājī Aḥmad al-Asadī had destroyed it, and built the paved stepped road (*mudarraḥ*) to Shahārah.⁵ There are great cisterns full of water, a *siqāyah*, and drinking troughs for animals, but since 1972 the *samsarah* itself is said to have been demolished for building stone.

On the northern road from Ṣan'ā' is Samsarat Ma'mar of which it is suggested that it was built by Queen 'Arwā—this place is probably Ibn al-Mujāwir's⁶ Marmal, three *farsakhs* from Ṣan'ā', and it is here that Imām Yaḥyā assembled his supporters before entering Ṣan'ā' in late 1918 when the Turks left the Yemen after World War I. Between it and Ṣan'ā' is a stone *miqhāyah*, described as a *maṭraḥ*, built by Sinān Pasha during the first Ottoman occupation, for it seems the Turks could not reach 'Amrān from Ṣan'ā' in one day.⁷

In Wādī Ḍahr is the well-known Samsarat al-Miqahwī where tribes, and I think the Imām's own guards, the 'Ukfah, used to stay before visiting Imām Yaḥyā at Dār al-Ḥajar there.

In Ṣan'ā' the *samsarahs* are *waqf* property. One of the pious benefactions of Aḥmad, son of the Imām al-Manṣūr, who died in 1006/1597 at Ṣa'dah, was to set up the Jāmi' Mosque of al-Rawḍah. He made a *waqf* to it whereby it would be maintained,

1 Qāḍī 'Alī Abu 'l-Rijāl, Deputy Minister of Public Works, for example, who also thinks that the Spicery Market (*Sūq al-Mi'ṭarah*) and the sūq of the water-pipes (*madā'ah*) for smoking are ancient.

2 *Al-A'laq al-naḥṣah*, 112. Cf. Stern's Khān of Ali Zarkee, p. 112 above. Al-Rāzī, op. cit., speaks of *bayt nuzūl* which may be a sort of *samsarah*, the latter word being unknown to him.

3 Zabārah, *Nashr al-'arf*, gives these distances when he inserts a geographical note on a town or village.

4 *Description*, I, 314.

5 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 16 a.

6 *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 202. Cf. al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh*, 82, Ḍīn (the *qiblah* of Ṣan'ā') is Jabal Marmal.

7 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 31 a.

part of which was the Samsarah of the Grape Market (Sūq al-'Inab)⁸ etc. Among his benefactions was Samsarat al-Azraqayn⁹ which he constructed following a recommendation from his wife, Bint al-Mu'āfā, the *samsarah* of Raydah, and others.

When the Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il enlarged the Jāmi' Mosque of a place called al-Ḥuşayn in 1068/1657-8, he ordered a great cistern (*birkah*) and lavatories (*maṭāhīr*) to be made. He set up also a *siqāyah* near the Jāmi' for drinking as well as a *samsarah* in the Market which he made a *waqf* to the Jāmi' Mosque, after God had made, at his hands, the springs (*ghuyūl*) running to the Jāmi' abundant.¹⁰

The most famous of all the *samsarahs* however, this also being founded in the great days of al-Mutawakkil, was Samsarat Muḥammad b. (al-)Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, sometimes called Samsarat Muḥammad b. Aḥsan. It was a renowned Amīr of the house of al-Qāsim, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan,¹¹ who, some time between 1054/1644 and his death in 1079/1668, built this¹² 'Samsarah named after him, the like of which has never been built in Şan'ā', nor in the Yemen is there anything resembling it in the height of its elevation and spaciousness, for it includes storeys (*ṭabaqāt*) containing about one hundred and twenty-two¹³ rooms (*manzil*), and each storey is of a fashion (*kayfiyyah*) different from the other. It became one of the highest castles (*quṣūr*) in Şan'ā', the merchants flocking to it and taking quarters (? *khuṭūṭ*)¹⁴ in its appurtenances (*marāfiq*). It is typical of the age that this Amīr also built mosques, schools, houses, including a large house near al-Madrasat al-Sharafiyyah, and dug *ghayls* (probably underground channels). No less a personage than the celebrated Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr (ob. 1182/1768)¹⁵ used to be visited in the *khān* known as Samsarat Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim in the Sūq al-Bazz or Cloth Market at Şan'ā'. Today there is a *sabīl* to the east of it.

It is said that this *samsarah* used to be considered the 'bank' of Şan'ā'. The *amīn* of the 'bank' was al-Ḥājj 'Abdullāh b. Sinhūb with whom the tribesman would deposit his money (*al-qabīlī yīṭraḥ 'ind-ah al-fulūs*). To the *amīn* of the 'bank' a kind of service-fee (*fā'idah*) used to be paid, 'a known percentage, a quarter French *qirsh* in one hundred (*fi 'l-mi'ah shay' ma'lūm, fi 'l-mi'ah rub' qirsh Farānī*). When the tribes that rallied to Imām Aḥmad after the murder of Imām Yaḥyā besieged, took and looted¹⁶ Şan'ā', some people thought that the Samsarah would be spared, but it suffered the same fate as the rest of Şan'ā', and many people were actually killed inside it. Some wealthy families lost a great deal of their property there, including, it is said, the Sinaydār family, a member of which, al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, was accounted in Ottoman times 'the greatest of the Şan'ā' merchants'.¹⁷

This 'banking' in reverse, where the depositor pays the banker for holding his money for him, seems an ancient practice. Khazraji¹⁸ chronicles the demise of a *faqīh* in 723/1323 with whom alone were most of the deposits (*wadā'i*) of the people of his district, the *faqīh* being known for his trustworthiness (*amānah*), and again the Zaydī Imām's bands killed a *faqīh* in the Mashriq of the Yemen with whom was much money belonging to

the people deposited, about the end of the same century. Since men of religion were not molested they are suitable recipients for the deposit of valuables, and the Prophet himself on removing from Mecca left his cousin 'Alī behind to deal with deposits held by him on behalf of others. Whether the Sinhūbī merchants or others merely kept money stored or whether they used it in commerce is not known to us.

The *samsarah* even in the 12th/18th century, as one can see from *Qānūn Şan'ā'*,¹⁹ functioned as a warehouse though this does not preclude its also being a hostelry or inn for merchants and their goods to lodge in during their stay in Şan'ā'. Nowadays they are being used less and less for lodging except perhaps for folk with country produce. It has been pointed out that the largest cluster of *samsarahs* lies between the Jāmi' Mosque and the Sūq al-Baqar or Cattle Market. In Yarim today the *bakḥkhār*,²⁰ store or go-down, seems to be the term used for the *samsarah* in the sense of a warehouse.

The *samsarī* rented, as he still does, the *samsarah* from the Waqf, being known as the holder (*qabbāḍ al-samsarah*). Since *samsarahs* are generally known by the name of their tenant proprietor it is difficult to trace their history, though ultimately reference to *waqf* documents could probably answer this question. Like the *miqahwī* and the *muzayyin*, his is one of the despised occupations—this of course does not mean that it was unprofitable. One says contemptuously of somebody one considers as bad as another evil person, '*Dhī bi-'l-majannah min dhī bi-'l-samsarah*',²¹ The one (buried) in the cemetery is just the same as one in the *samsarah*. That is to say his forbears (*salaf*) were just as bad as he, their successor (*khalaf*), is. The stigma probably comes through the fact that all three serve others. Country Jews used to deride the somewhat hesitant hospitality of the Şan'ānī Jew, with the saying, '*Hayyā' ibn 'ammī, at-tī 'inda-nā aw la 'l-samsarah adfā lak?*' Come cousin, will you come to my house, or (do you find) the *samsarah* warmer for you?'²² Similarly Muslims not from Şan'ā' tend to think disparagingly of the hospitality of Şan'ā' folk. This sentiment is expressed in one of Qāḍī Ismā'il's proverbs from Dhamār, '*Şāḥib Şan'ā' yākul wa-lā yūkil*, The Şan'ānī eats but does not make (others) eat'. He is entertained when outside the city, but he does not entertain in Şan'ā' anyone who has entertained him.

Whether the Jews had *samsarahs* of their own or not we cannot at present say, but al-Khafanjī, the noted colloquial poet of the first half of the 12th/18th century in his famous *Dialogue between Bīr al-'Azab and al-Rawḍah*,²³ has Bīr al-'Azab boast, 'I have a bath (*ḥammām*), market with a lane (*sikkah*), a *samsarah* belonging to the Bāniyān, and a *m jrad*.' To this al-Rawḍah makes riposte, 'O you lacking in honour (*yā nāqīṣah*) . . . you are a perpetual road to the Jews . . . What is this profession (*mihrah*) of yours of *samsarahs*?'

The large warehouses (*samsarah*, pl., *samāsīr*) were, as stated above, until recent times, not only stores but also hostelries or inns. The ground floor housed animals, with in some cases rows of small storerooms around the perimeter. Double or triple volumes often rose through the building above the central animal

⁸ It is in Ḥārat al-Jāmi' area, and is also called Samsarat Yaḥyā b. Qāsim al-Ghawḍānī today.

⁹ The Werdecker-Glaser map shows two places with this name, one south of al-Rawḍah and the other just south of al-Ma'mar.

A *waqf* to the Maṣjid al-'Alamī was a third of the rent of the famous Samsarat al-Bīṭār, known now as the Samsarat al-Sayyid Ḥusayn—if the rent of the third or else it might be the remaining (*al-tawfiyah*) two thirds—amounted to fifteen *qirsh* a month. The *miswaddah* of this *waqf* dedication was written in Ramaḍān 1137/1726, *Maṣājid Şan'ā'*, 85.

¹⁰ Al-Jarmūzi, *Sirah*, 225.

¹¹ Cf. *al-Badr al-tālī*, II, 159, for his biography.

¹² Al-Jarmūzi, op. cit., 557.

¹³ The figure 20 is restored but probably correct, there being a hole in the Ms. at this point.

¹⁴ Sing., *khuṭṭ*, Dozy, *Supplément*.

¹⁵ *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 510.

¹⁶ A favourite article to loot (in Ḥaḍramawt as well as in the Yemen) is house

doors. In the 1st/7th century the poet Jarīr (*al-Naqā'id*, ed. A. A. Bevan, Leiden, 1905, 445) describing a mounted raid of Tamīm, says that they 'left not a door of Şan'ā'. More recently Crown-prince Aḥmad fighting in Jabal Baraṭ, came upon ornamented doors the Baraṭ tribes had looted, when they raided Bīr al-'Azab in the mid 13th/19th century, from the house of al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil (ob. 1835 A.D.) still set in the houses there. He ordered them to be removed and returned to Şan'ā' (Aḥmad al-Shāmī, *Imām al-Yaman, Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn* Beirut, 1965, 78). See also *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 13 a.

¹⁷ Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 324.

¹⁸ *Al-'Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyah*, II, 14 and 221.

¹⁹ Sections 26, v, and 4, x.

²⁰ Cf. Landberg, *Hadramout*, 243-4, 527, *magasin*.

²¹ Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished collection.

²² *Jemenica*, 168, no. 1307.

²³ *Maṣājid Şan'ā'*, 74; *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 195, with considerable variations in readings.



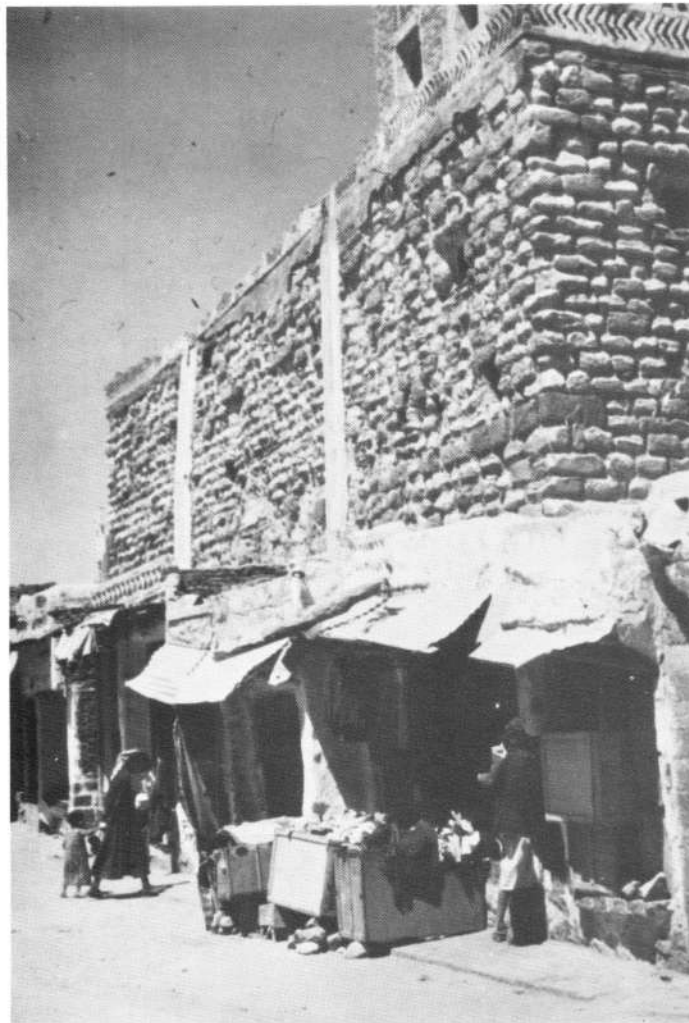
Fig. 15.1 Samsarat al-Baw'ani in Süq al-Mibsāṭah. Ground floor plans and sections through the building.

Key to all figures

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a animal stalls | b bathroom | br boiler | c court |
| cu court upper level | ch changing room | d <i>diwān</i> | e entrance hall |
| eu entrance hall upper level | f warm room | fr furnace room | g grinding mills |
| gh <i>ghayl</i> —water level | h excrement room | hr hot room | j grain and fruit store |
| k kitchen | l lobby | lt laundry terrace | lb lavatory/bathroom |
| m <i>mafrāj</i> | mn minaret | n <i>mihrāb</i> | nw washing floor |
| o loading and mounting animals | or restaurant/eating place | p passage | pl pool |
| plr cold pool room | q public ablution area | r room—general use and sleeping | rr reception room and business |
| rl library | s store | sh sheep pens | sp shop |
| t terrace | tm tomb | tr treasury | u shaft |
| v rain water cistern | vm man in charge | w well | wb water cooling box |
| wr well ramp | x <i>minbar</i> | y women's room and wardrobe | z <i>manṣar</i> |



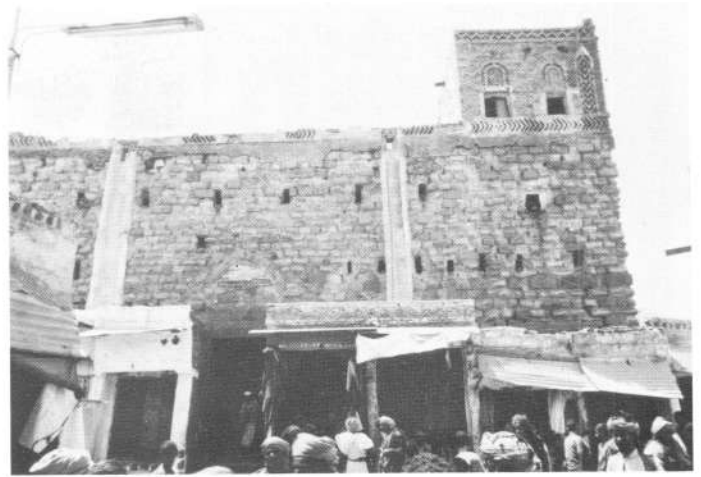
15.4 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. View from one of the open spaces in the sūq. The upper storey remains along the eastern side but has fallen on the southern, front facade.



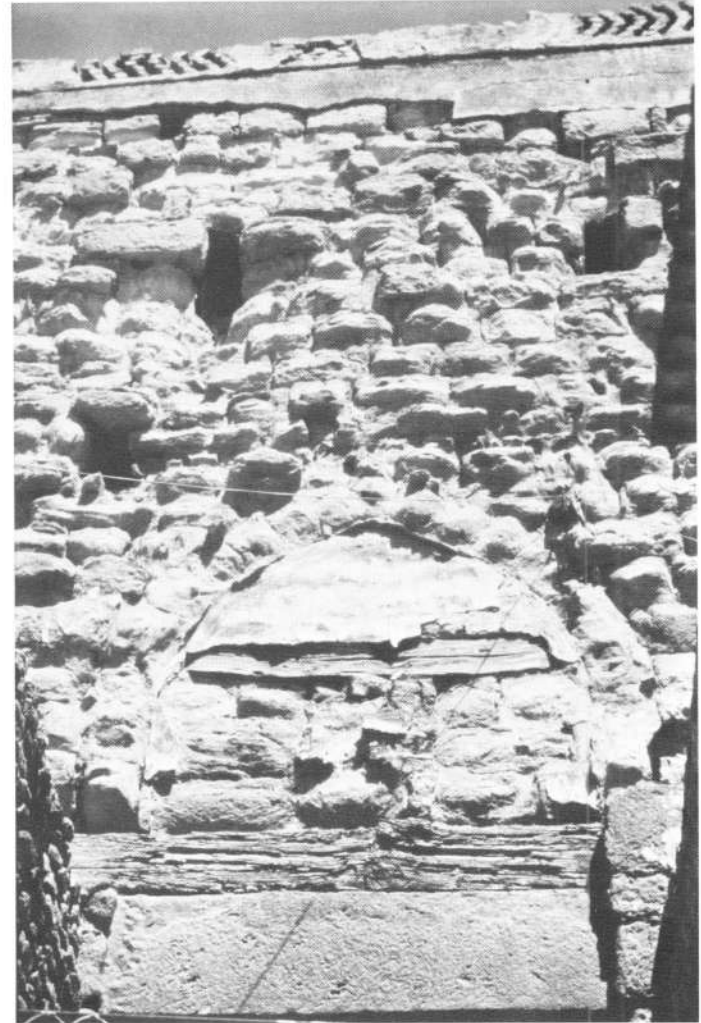
15.5 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. The front, with shops built abutting it.

stables, and these were ringed by balconies from which opened further rows of storerooms. Usually a separate staircase giving access to these storerooms was provided related to each high volume. The staircases continued through the roof of these lower areas, the roofs being pierced with openings to provide top light on the activities below.

Emerging at roof level, the visitor found himself in a courtyard



15.6 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. The front facade showing the entrance.

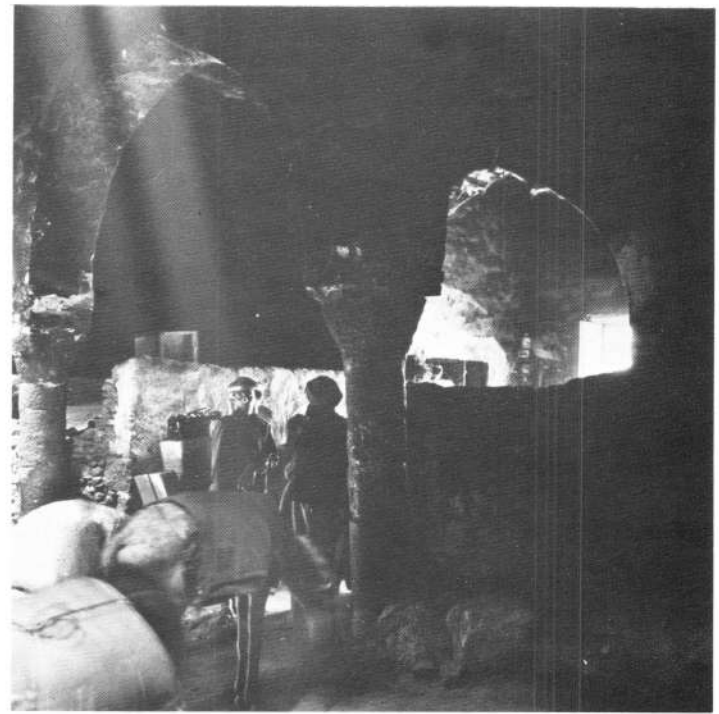


15.7 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. The worn stonework above the entrance door, containing a two-centred relieving arch.

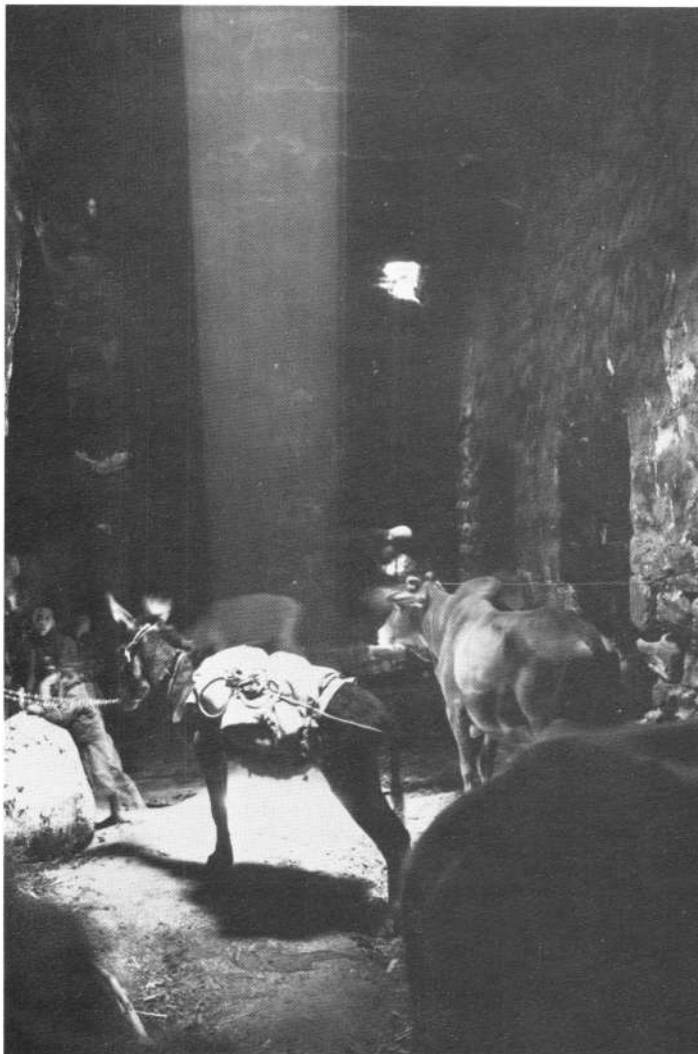
(over each high volume below), open to the sky and surrounded by living quarters for travelling merchants and their servants. These courtyards were sometimes given an appearance of some elegance by surrounding them with arcades (pl.15.11). Water reservoirs, bathrooms and lavatories were usually provided at this level. Occasionally domed rooms ornamented the skyline; these appear to have been used by the manager of the warehouse, or perhaps rented to wealthy merchants.



15.8 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. The entrance passage with sitting benches on either side.



15.10 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. The interior of the stable at its centre.



15.9 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. The interior of the stable inside the entrance.



15.11 Samsarat al-Baw'ānī. A view across the courtyard above the stable.

(i) Samsarat al-Baw'ānī²⁴

This hostelry is in Sūq al-Mibsāṭah, after which comes Sūq al-Bazz, the Cloth Market. It is believed to be the oldest market in Ṣan'ā', and architectural evidence certainly supports the legend that this is the oldest *samsarah* surviving in Ṣan'ā' in something like its original state. It differs from the other large *samsarahs* in being simpler in several ways (fig.15.1, pl.15.4-11). A typical *samsarah* hostelry—it has a *masmar* a platform described as *makān al-riqdah* upon which lodgers sit to talk or sleep, a *marwan* or donkey trough, and a *harr* in which firewood was kept, though this usually means a stable. The ground floor is entirely devoted to animal stables, except for the two raised masonry platforms for sleeping and storing goods. A room at the entrance is used for the guard of the warehouse, who controls the entry and removal of all goods and animals, and charges dues.

This lower level is extremely high, and crossed by a lofty arcade with pointed arches. It is dimly lit by means of two small

24 Lit., the Samsarah of the Baw'ānī(man). Baw'ān is a wadi which the Hudaydah road crosses, west of Ṣan'ā'.

openings in the ceiling, through which shafts of sunlight enter the dusty interior (pl.15.9). A staircase on either side leads up to the large open courtyard above, with a deep arcaded loggia on the north side and a colonnade on the east. The loggia seems to have been used as a large sheltered store. On the eastern and northern sides there are further storerooms, possibly sometimes used for sleeping accommodation.

At the rear of the warehouse, and entered from a street on the northern side, there is a completely separate area of accommodation on the ground floor, shops and workrooms (for gypsum-plaster window-tracery makers) with a staircase leading up to the loggia just described. An intermediate level, possible because of the great height of the stables, appears to be devoted to storerooms.

Over the whole of the northern and eastern sides of the building there is a higher storey, which contained rooms used for sleeping accommodation or storage.

The construction of the southern, and half of the eastern and

western, walls of this building is of ancient much-weathered stonework braced with huge baulks of timber. A perishable sandstone seems to have been used, which may accentuate the appearance of great age. The stonework extends to the top of the first storey above the upper courtyard. The whole of the back (northern) part of the building has been re-erected in a smooth ashlar up to courtyard level. Above, there are two storeys in baked brick, whereas on the southern and half of the eastern sides only the top-most storey is in brick. The arches of the oldest parts are simple four-centred arches, those of the brick and stone rebuildings semicircular. The decoration on this rebuilt brickwork section closely resembles that of the better houses.

(ii) Samsarat al-Majjah

More typical of the remaining large *samsarahs* is this fine building, described as a store for trade goods (*makhzan li-l-tijarah*), and reputedly in use for more than three hundred years (fig.15.3, pl.15.12-21). It is next to Samsarat Muḥammad Ḥashim al-Manṣūrī.

On the street facade it has a number of shops flanking an entrance which is slightly off-centre. A wide passage leads into the building past the guard's room, in which he often smokes a water-pipe—enclosed in a wooden cupboard while he is watching the loading and unloading of goods (pl.15.15). The passage opens into a high central stable area, with a roof supported by a central row of three columns, made of pre-Islamic fragments (pl.15.16).

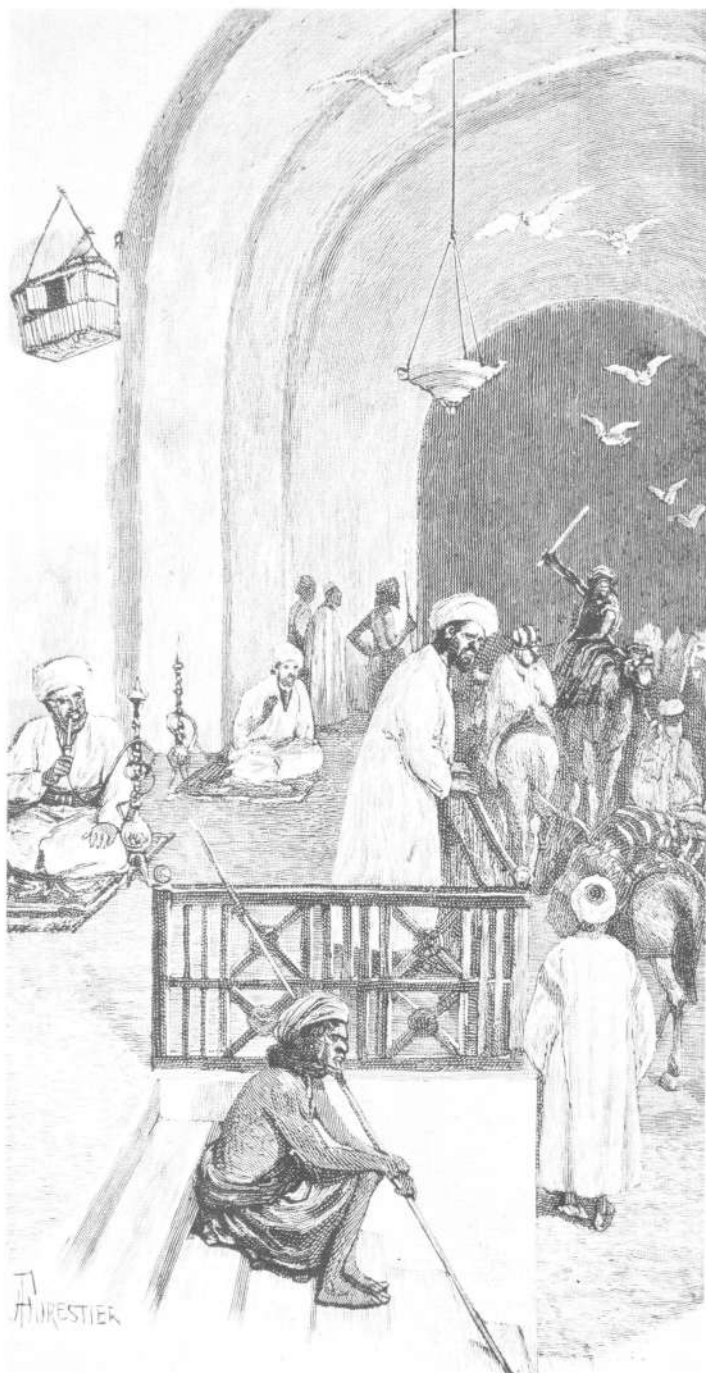


Fig. 15.2 *Samsarah* or *khān* at Yarīm (from Walter B. Harris, *Journey through the Yemen* (1893)).



15.12 Samsarat al-Majjah. View of the sectional model through the entrance.

It is surrounded on four sides by storerooms on two levels, those on the mezzanine reached by ascending a flight of steps at the far end. Top lights in the ceiling allow shafts of sunlight to illuminate the interior.

Opposite the entrance passage a broad doorway opens into another stable, larger and higher than the first (pl.15.17). The ceiling is carried on a colonnade which is repeated on three levels around the sides, so that it also supports access balconies to the storerooms, and there are two tall free-standing columns in the centre built up from stone drums. A second staircase at the far end gives access to the two upper levels of storerooms.

Emerging from the staircases onto the roofs of the stable-storeroom areas, the visitor discovers that the same pattern is repeated as occurs below. There are again two central spaces, now open to the sky (pl.15.18-15.21). One is built on three levels, and the other on two, and each is surrounded by rooms which were, until a few years ago, used almost entirely for living accommodation for travelling merchants and their servants. Today the old traditional patterns of trade are rapidly vanishing; the top floors of the big warehouses are hardly used and crumbling through neglect.

The building is constructed of stone up to the top of the stable

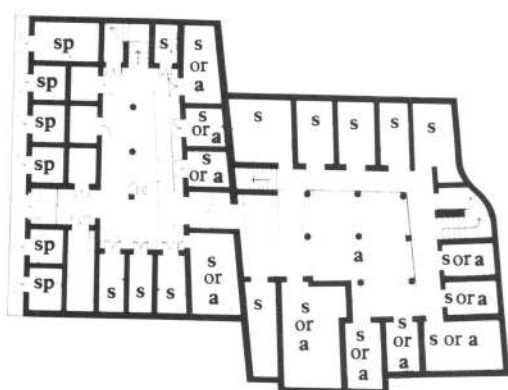
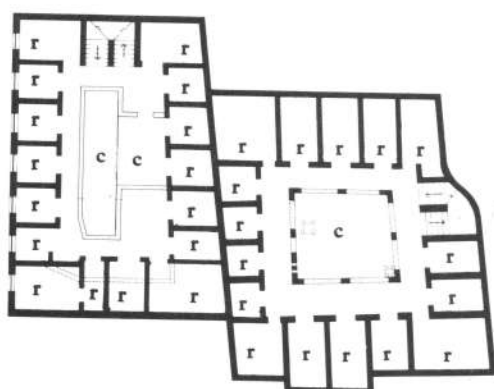
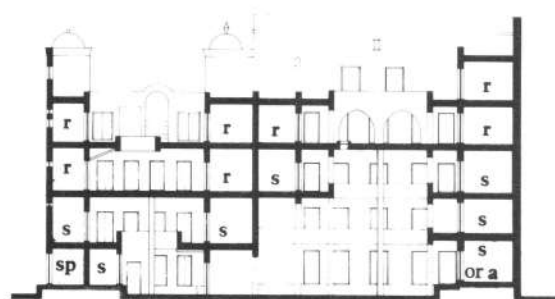
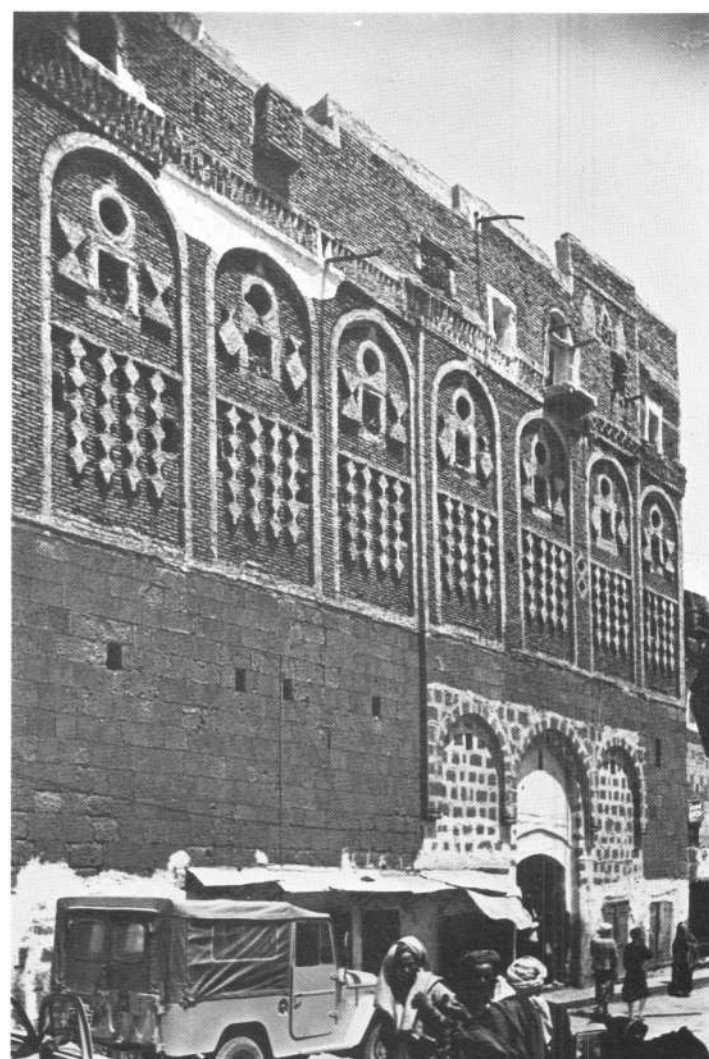


Fig. 15.3 Samsarat al-Majjah. Plans at ground level and third floor level. Section through entrance and two courtyards and stables.

volumes, with baked brickwork above. The large blank areas of brickwork have been moulded into a series of fine patterns, which are incorporated into the large arches that frame the first row of habitable rooms on the roof (pl. 15.14).

(iii) Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan

This is the largest warehouse in Ṣan'ā', but, as already stated, was sacked in 1948. Since then it has been closed, so that it has not been possible to enter it for study. However, a good deal can be learnt from outside and from photographs. The building, above one and a half times the size of Samsarat al-Majjah, had also two stables with two courtyards over them, one behind the other. It was



15.13 Samsarat al-Majjah. General view of the facade.

entered through a narrow façade from the Sūq of the Money-changers. The style of the building resembles closely that of Samsarat al-Majjah, but the decoration is derivative and less fine and therefore possibly from a more recent date.

(iv) Other *Samāsir*

Two of the largest warehouses in Ṣan'ā', Samsarat Muḥammad Ḥāshim Maṣṣūr, said to be jadd al-Imām Yaḥyā, his grandfather, and Samsarat al-Naḥās, the Brass Warehouse, have spacious central volumes rising through three floors, surrounded by arcades which allow access to storerooms. There are similarly courtyards and habitable rooms on the roof. They are both built of flush ashlar stonework to a high level, and appear more recent in date than the warehouses described above.

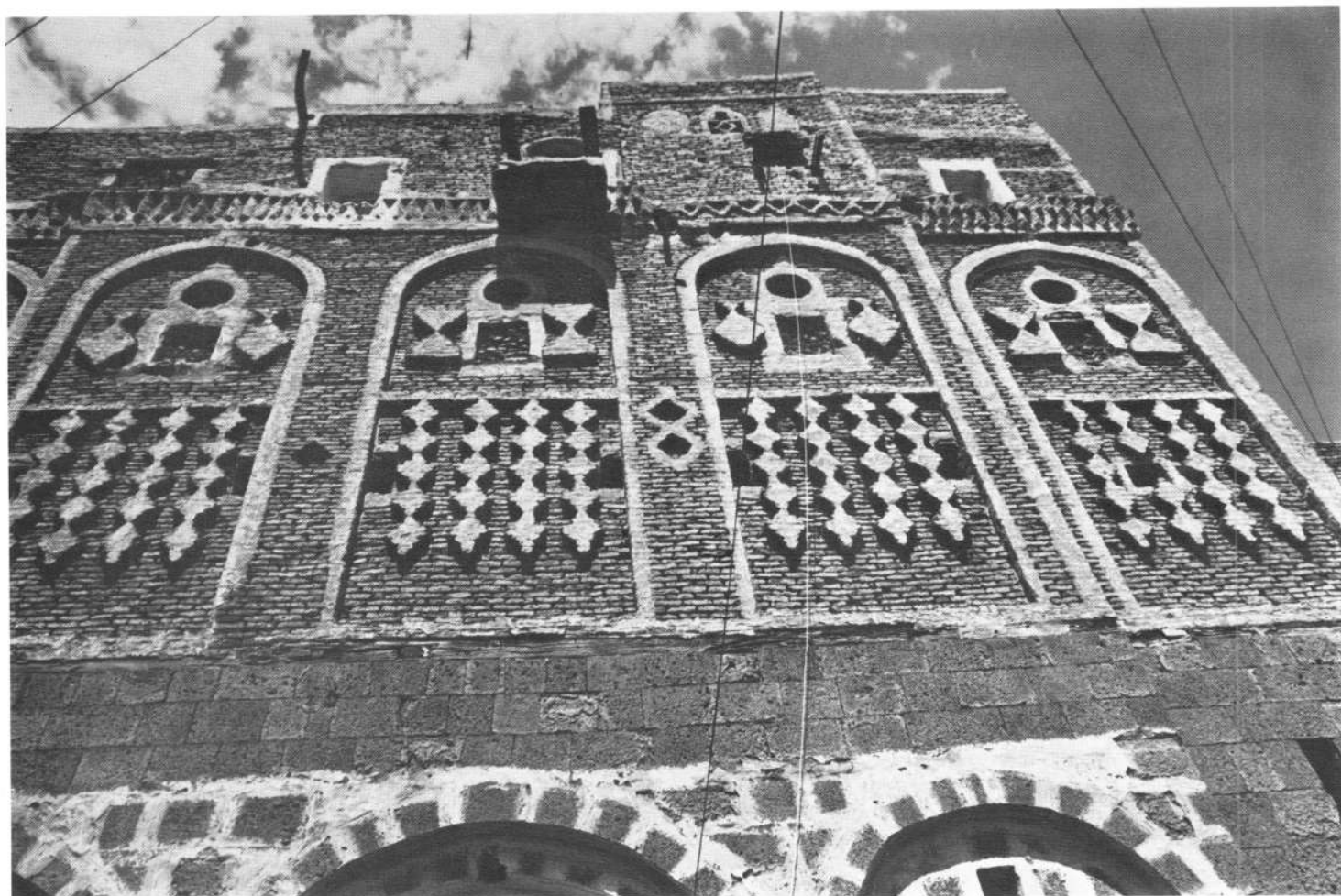
Some of the smaller warehouses contain ancient stonework. Samsarat Yaḥyā Thābit has the same form as the two just mentioned (pl. 15.22). It is a *waqf* property and legend says it goes back to the time of Aḥmad Sayf Dhī Yazan. Samsarat al-Ḥawāyij (the Spice Warehouse), said to be older than Sūq al-Mizān, has a small interior courtyard extending to the ground (fig. 15.3, pls. 15.23-26). Al-Ḥajari²⁵ mentions a Ṣarḥat Ḥawāyij. Samsarat al-Ṣayrafi,²⁶ Samsarat al-'Amrānī, Samsarat Wardah/Wirdah,²⁷ Samsarat Yaḥyā b. Qāsim, etc., are smaller warehouses which seem to belong to the type of Samsarat al-Baw'ānī.

There is a considerable number of other warehouses, not merely in the area of the Sūq of the old city, but in other main shopping areas, such as Bāb Shu'ub, Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ, al-Bawniyah

²⁵ *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 58.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

²⁷ This name appears to be given several *samsarāhs* not all in the same part of Ṣan'ā'.



15.14 Samsarat al-Majjah. Upper levels of front facade.



15.15 Samsarat al-Majjah. Guard's lodge at entrance.

and al-Qā'.

Only the smaller ones are still used as stables and for overnight accommodation. The largest warehouses are now devoted to the storage of goods alone.

(C) Warehouses for Controlled Commodities

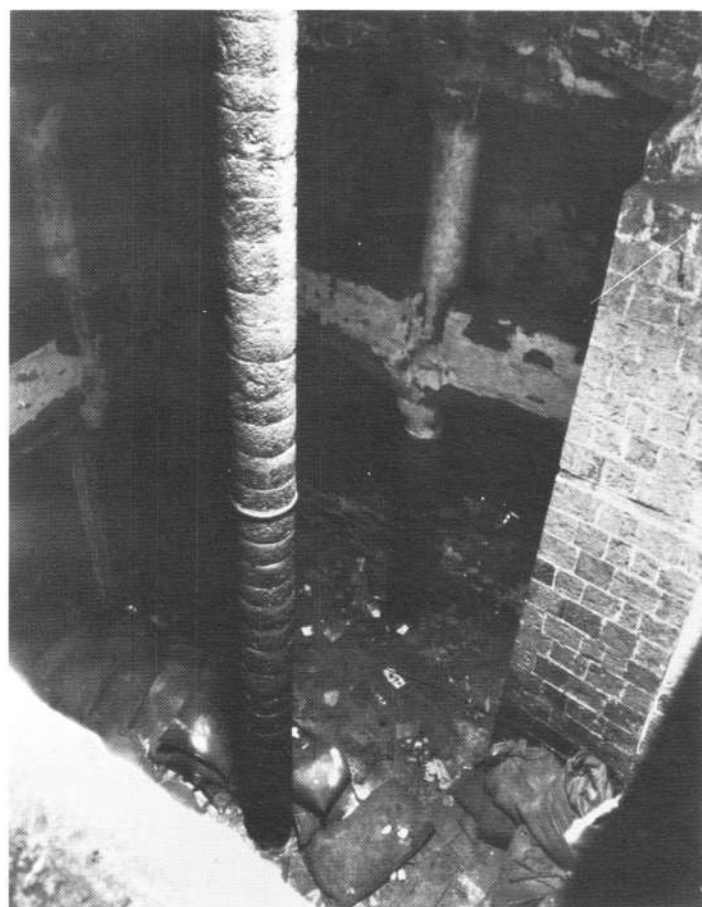
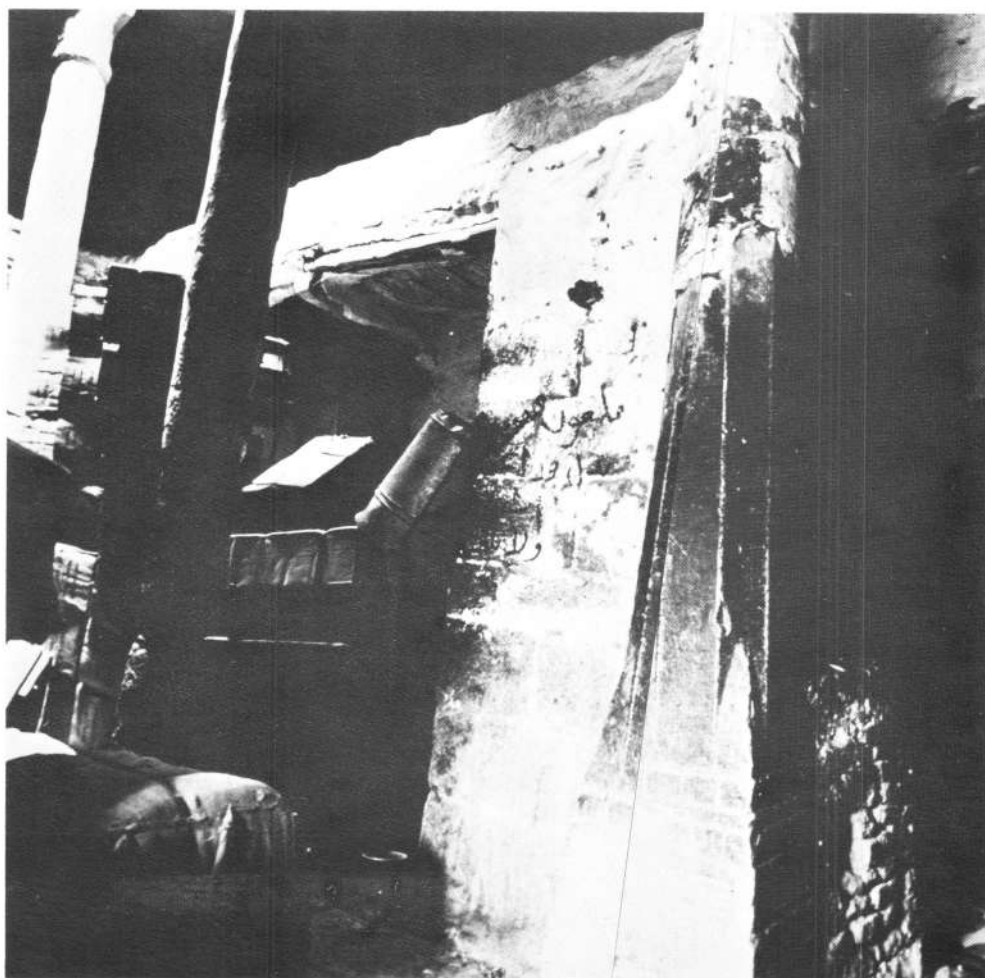
Although the same Arabic word is used for them (*samsarah*, pl. *samāsir*), there is a number of warehouses which are markedly different in design and use. These are the warehouses for weighing and controlling particular commodities.

There are three of these in the old Sūq of Ṣan'ā', one controlling coffee, and two controlling raisins.

(i) Samsarat al-Mizān

Sometimes called Samsarat al-Qishr (The Coffee-Husk Samsarah) this is described as the most famous in Ṣan'ā'. At one time all merchandise entering Ṣan'ā' used to be weighed here and the Mizān al-Dawlah, the Government Scales, was located here—the movement of merchandise between the Samsarat al-Mizān and the warehouses is to be found in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. Even now some weighing is done here, but only of coffee, whether berry (*bunn*) or *qishr* (husk). Facing the entrance is Sūq al-Ṭa'am, the Grain Market, with an arched building said to be three hundred years old, but on architectural grounds, probably to be considered a structure of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn period—though of course the actual location of the Grain Market here is likely to be as old as the Samsarat al-Mizān. In Sūq al-Ṭa'am are the *kayyāl*s who measure out the grain.

15.16 Samsarat al-Majjah. First stable, now used as a warehouse.



15.17 Samsarat al-Majjah. Inner stable from above, with staircase on left.



15.18 Samsarat al-Majjah. Upper courtyard above the first stable, looking north. Now delapidated.



15.19 Samsarat al-Majjah. Upper courtyards. Looking across the area above the inner stable from the first courtyard. Now delapidated.



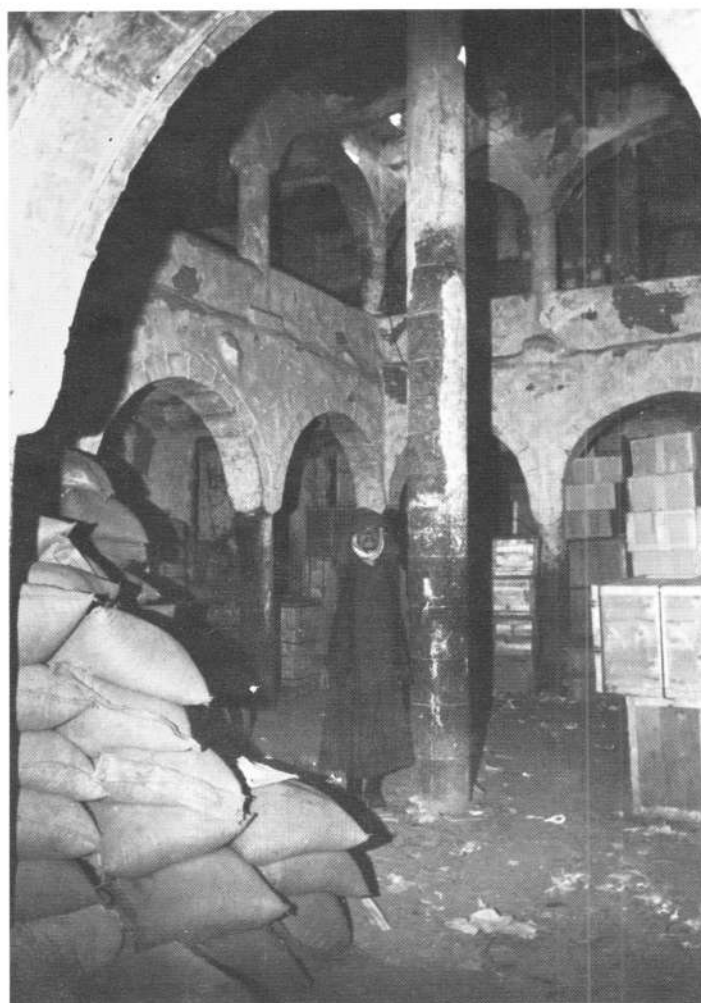
15.20 Samsarat al-Majjah. Upper courtyards above the first stable, looking south. Now delapidated.



15.21 Samsarat al-Majjah. Upper living courtyard with an arcaded gallery providing access to temporary accommodation, above the inner stable.

It is suggested that this *samsarah* is at least six centuries old.²⁸ It is a *waqf* property of the Masjid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, not Saladin the Ayyūbid as some people suppose, but the Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (ob. 793/1391).²⁹ It is constructed of black *ḥabash* stone and blocks of the same stone are used for the

28 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl and Qāḍī Husayn al-Sayāghī would concur in this dating, but Qāḍī ‘Alī Abu ‘l-Rijāl believes the present building dates from the time of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan in the 10th/17th century. There is always the possibility that the location of a Government Scales here is considerably older than



15.22 Samsarat Yaḥyā Thābit. The stable, surrounded by storerooms. Now used as a warehouse.



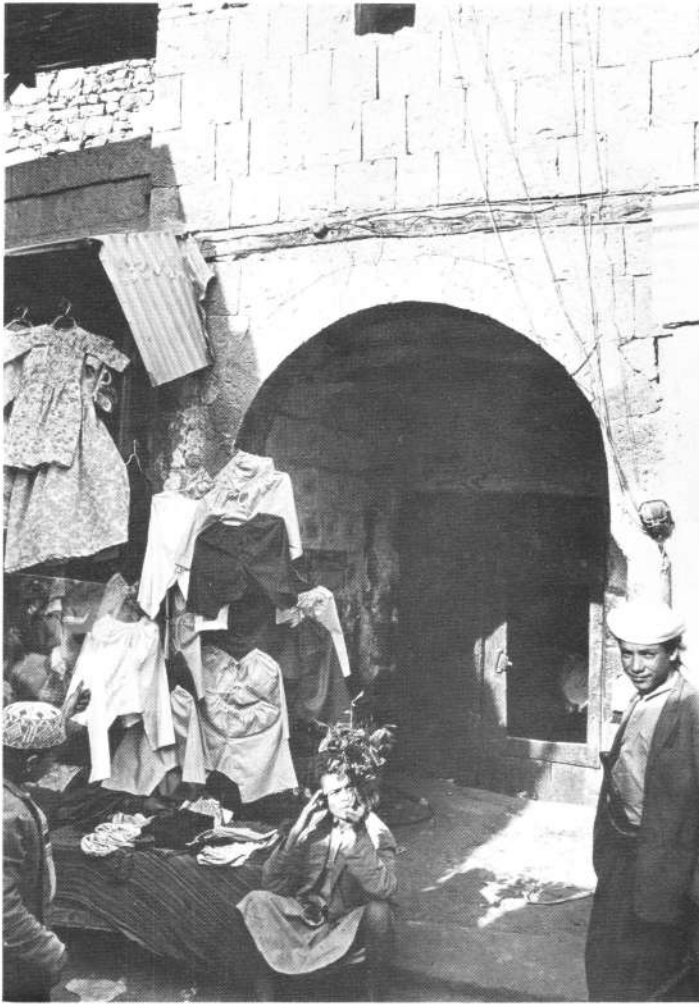
15.23 Samsarat al-Ḥawā‘ij. The suq outside the entrance.

pavement. This looks like pre-Islamic building material re-used, and there are ancient columns and a fragment of a Ḥimyarite inscription set in the wall near the entrance-door.

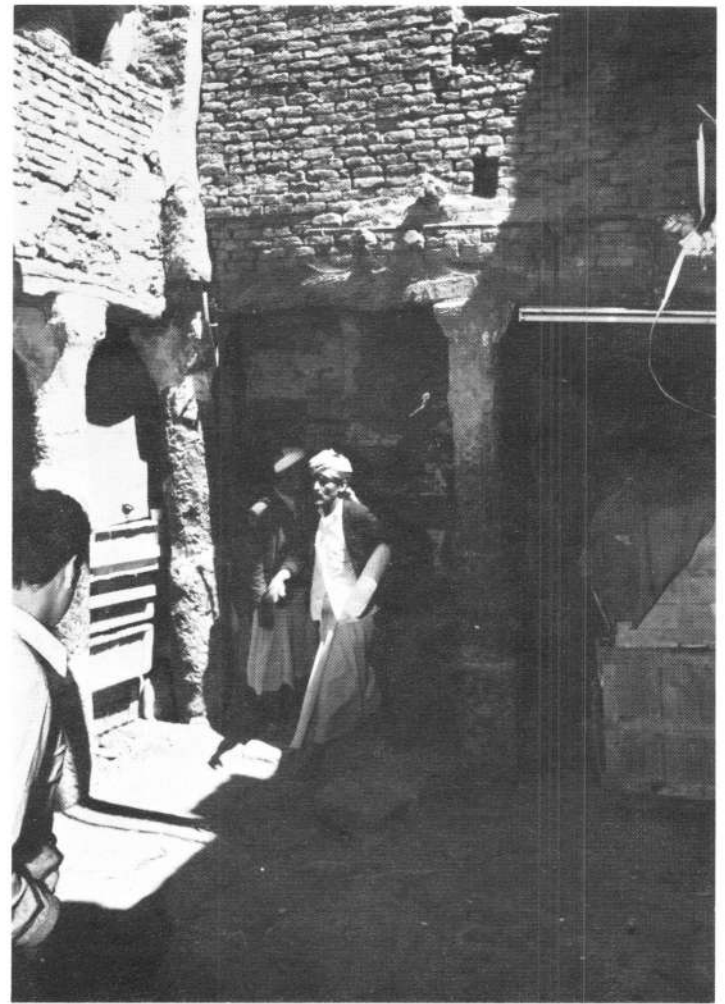
The Samsarat al-Mizān consists of a large courtyard approximately nine metres square, open to the sky, and

the present building itself.

29 Cf. *Masājid Ṣan‘ā’*, 61. Aymān Fu‘ād Sayyid, *Maṣādir tārikh al-Yaman*, 409, gives a list of biographical notices on this Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.



15.24 Samsarat al-Hawā'ij. The entrance, showing the small inner door within the large doors.



15.26 Samsarat al-Hawā'ij. Lowest level, with a colonnade surrounding the court made from polygonal fragments of ancient columns.



15.25 Samsarat al-Hawā'ij. View down from the roof.

surrounded by a single-storeyed arcade, behind which are the storerooms for coffee berry and husk. The Scales are situated in the northern arcade directly opposite the main entrance which is on the southern side (fig.15.4b, pls.15.29-32). The arcades have highly original carved capitals, all different—which in itself suggests a certain antiquity. A second entrance on the east which opens onto the Silversmiths' Market (Sūq al-Mikhālās) is no longer used (pl.15.27). The bags of coffee and *qishr* are kept in the warehouse stores. There are two loading platforms built of stone

adjacent to the Scales upon which porters may rest sacks while awaiting their turn. At the southern entrance, on the left as one enters, is a small raised drinking basin (*siqāyah*) which has a small cistern (*hawḍ*) for the spill-over. This is next to the Ottoman Maḥall al-Mirī, or point where the Government duty was collected, but it seems only used as a store now; it is built into the arches also on the left side as one enters. On the right is where the guard (*hāris*), sits—described as *al-bawwāb al-mustalim haqq al-samsarah*, the doorman who receives what is due to the *samsarah*. It is his business to oversee all that is leaving the building and inform the owner of the bags what is going out so as to avoid theft (*masraqah*). On each bag (*shuwāl*, pls., *shuwāl/shuwālāt*) he receives a *nuṣṣ riyāl* fee.

The weights (*waznah*), which look like cannon-balls though they are not, are a large weight of 55 *raṭls* and a small one of 7 *raṭls*. The *waqiyyah* it was confirmed is the same as the Maria Theresa dollar ('*ibārah 'an al-Farānṣī*'), and the *raṭl* was stated to be 17 *waqiyyahs*. This was said to have been established in the time of (*ma'a 'ahd*) al-Shaykh al-Ḥaymī mentioned in the text (*al-naṣṣ*), i.e., in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. The Shaykh of the Samsarah in 1972 was Ḥusayn al-Zirājī, but there was also another Shaykh called Aḥmad al-Muḥāqirī. The Shaykh deals with all the weighing, etc. This post is in no sense hereditary, and the Shaykh in fact can be unseated and another Shaykh chosen in his place. The place is open (European time) from 7 to 12 a.m. and from 2 to 7 p.m.

In the centre of the northern side there is a wide staircase leading to the upper level, which has a further set of storerooms and some living rooms surrounding the flat roof above the arcades. This level has also a range of lavatories on the southern side. The small rooms are known as *makhāzin* (stores) or *dakākin* (shops).

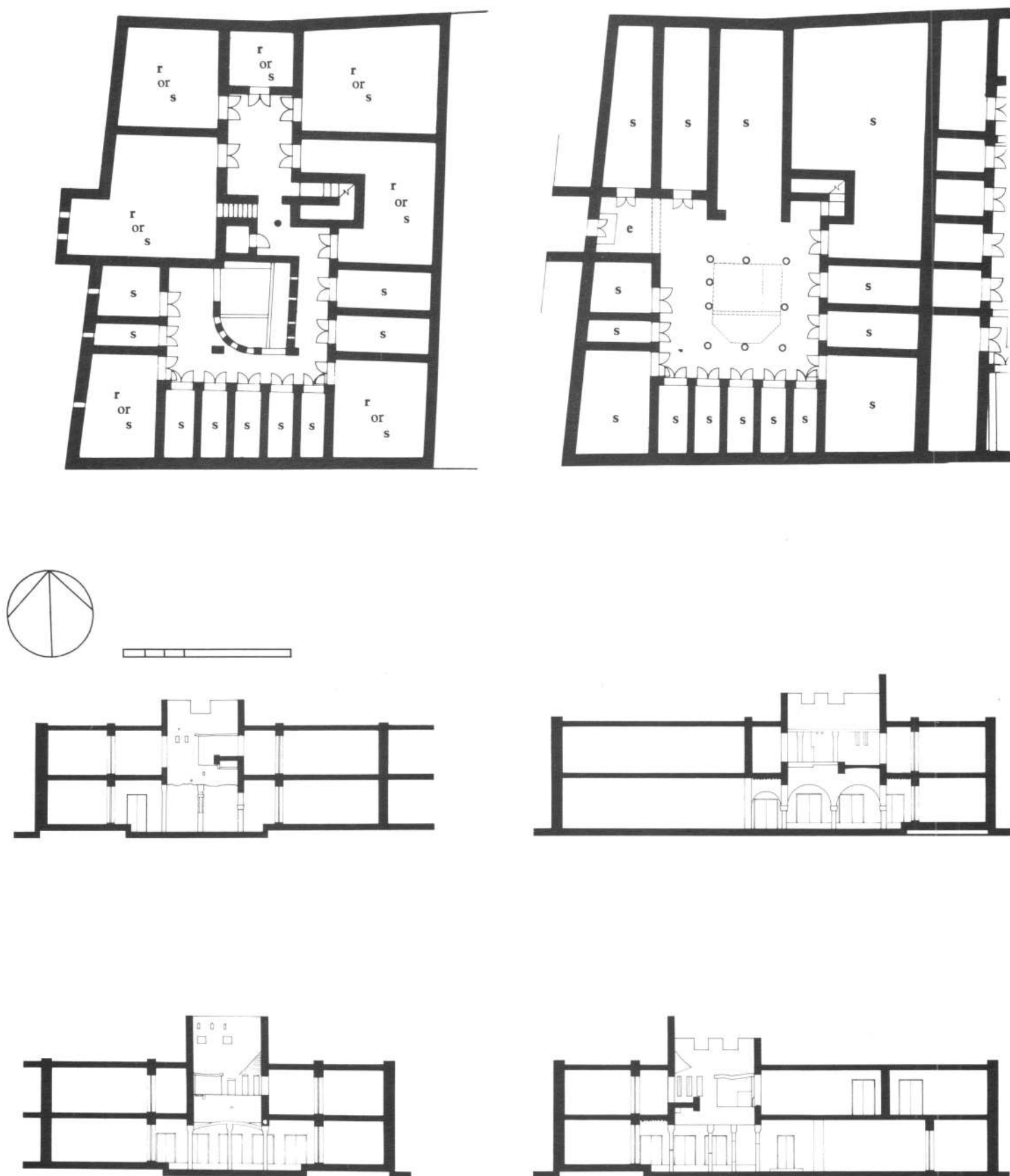


Fig. 15.4a Samsarat al-Hawā'ij. Plans of ground, first and second floor levels and sections (adjoining building shown opposite).

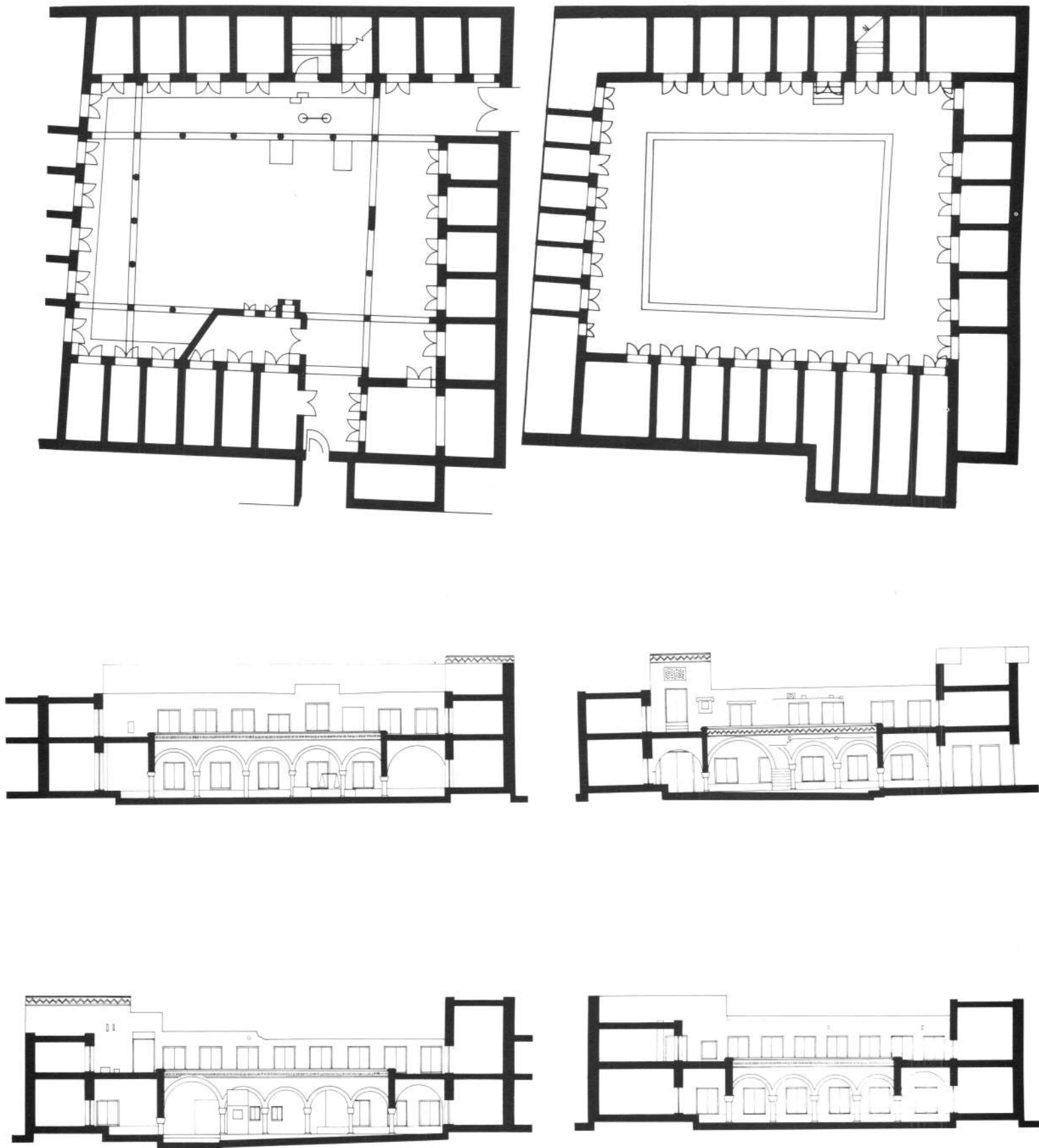
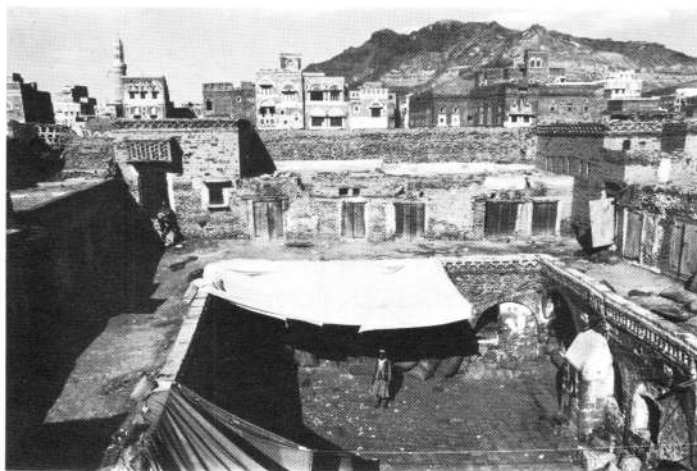


Fig. 15.4b Samsarat al-Mizān. Plans of ground and first floor levels and sections.



15.27 Samsarat al-Mizān (The Scales). The entrance on the eastern side.



15.28 Samsarat al-Mizān. View from above looking east. The awnings provide shade in hot weather.

In summer awnings are stretched across part of the courtyard so that the porters do not have to work under intolerable conditions.

30 Other *samsarahs* we saw were Samsarat al-Halaqah at the side of Sūq al-Milḥ, Samsarat Dār al-Jāmi‘, near the Jāmi‘ Mosque, now used as a carpenters’ workshop, Samsarat al-Dhirayrah run by Muḥammad al-Dhirayrah, affording accommodation to travellers from the country (*muṣāfirin jāyin min al-balāwid*), Samsarat al-Hidayyid (cf. *Masājid Şan‘ā’*, 137), Samsarat al-Qūzi, Samsarat Ḥusayn Qāyid, Samsarat al-Dawmarī, Samsarat ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jindārī, Samsarat Dalāh, Samsarat ‘Abdullāh al-Saminah. By the *samsarah* of ‘Alī Ḥusayn al-Buṭnī whom we met, is a lane that contained the old Sūq al-Baqar

(ii) The Samsarat al-Zabīb and the Jumruk al-Zabīb

This is also called Samsarat Yaḥyā b. Qāsim al-Ghawdānī, or Sūq al-‘Inab and is in Ḥārat al-Jāmi‘. These two buildings have the same open courtyard as the preceding building, but without upper storerooms. They were rebuilt during the present century, the eastern one with a fine arched gateway. Only a few stones survive from earlier buildings.³⁰

(D) Open-air Storage Yards

The same Arabic term, *samsarah*, is used to describe open-air storage yards. These are generally found on the outskirts of the sūq. Some are used for storing wood, some house the animals (camels) in the open air and provide small storerooms on the periphery for goods (pl.15.37). The present Samsarat al-Mutawakkil is one of the largest.

(E) Tea-shops, Eating Places and Inns/Hostelries

Within the sūq and throughout the rest of the town are establishments known as *samsarahs*. They fall into two categories, those in which tea and Yemen coffee are served and *qāt* is chewed during the daytime, the same couches serving as beds for sleeping at night, and those following the basic traditional pattern of *samsarah* accommodation for travellers’ animals, and also providing tea and food; this type has private rooms for sleeping.

(i) Tea-shops and Eating Places

A number of teashops and eating places exist which do not have provision for, or allow, *qāt* chewing; there are therefore no couches, and sleeping is not permitted at night. These go by the ordinary Arabic term *maṭ‘am* (pl., *maṭā‘im*). Others, roughly an equal number, provide hot beverages and pipes for smoking; a few also prepare food. Instead of squatting on benches or sitting on chairs at tables, western-style, the patrons squat or recline on blanket-covered mattresses on strung wooden beds (*qa‘adah*) or couches. The same quarters are converted for sleeping after the evening prayer. Premises of this type usually have a single open interior, sometimes crossed by masonry arches which support the roof. The couches are crowded close together throughout the space. The owner sits on a plastered brick platform near the entrance. There he has a masonry stove for heating water and providing hot coals for the water-pipes.

(ii) Inns/Hostelries

Typical inns are illustrated in figs.15.5 and 15.6. They have in common rows of habitable rooms on an upper level overlooking a central court on which patrons relax and drink or eat..

Samsarat al-Khān, also called Samsarat al-Muzayyin, is in Ḥārat al-Şulayḥī, which earlier in the days of the Ottoman Turkish Empire was called Sūq al-Naşārā or the Christians’ Market because Greeks and Italians like the Caprotti brothers used to live about this area. The proprietor when we first visited it in 1972 was either Muḥammad al-Hamāsī or Aḥmad al-Muqaddhī. It has two entrances, from the south and west respectively (fig.15.5, pls.15.38-46). It has a *siqāyah* next to the street entrance on the south. The western door is used for travellers’ animals and small quantities of goods, which are housed in a small courtyard overlooked by the galleries giving access to the patrons’ rooms, or in storerooms underneath the galleries. The eastern door opens onto the main east-west street through the old city and is flanked by shops. It provides access for the public through the restaurant to the rooms above. There is a kitchen on the eastern side of the

or Cattle Market—but where we found donkeys being sold (1972)—Buṭnah is in the Shahārah district and there is much traffic in cattle there. At Samsarat Ḥajafah in Şhārī Sūq al-Baqar we found cows for slaughter being kept. A green mark is made on their shoulders to show that they are approved fit for slaughter. There was also Samsarat Masjid Ḥajar, a *wagf* to this mosque it seems (founded in the first half of the 11th/17th century), but the mosque itself was demolished in the unfortunate and ill-conceived alterations to the Sharārah and Bāb al-Sabaḥah area in which it lay, after the 1962 coup.



15.29 Samsarat al-Mizān. General view from the southern entrance.

restaurant, serving hot beverages and preparing food carried in stone pots (*ḥarad/maqlā*)³¹ for serving from the masonry counter near the entrance; there are holes in this counter into which the stone pots are placed, where they are kept hot by burning coals inserted under them through openings in the side of the counter (pl.15.40). This is an ancient Mediterranean arrangement, well preserved, to take a case in point, in Pompeii and earlier archaeological sites, and persisting in the Middle East down to the present day. Behind the counter there are shelves made of slats into which condiments and garnishes are placed. On the opposite side of the restaurant there is a hole in the wall behind which lies a small basin of fresh water for the use of patrons. Adjoining it is a well under the staircase. There are three dining rooms opening off the courtyard masonry benches. When meals are not being served these rooms are used for drinking hot beverages and for playing dominoes or games with counters. The courtyard is also provided with some masonry seats, as is the entrance, and patrons sit in these areas as well, the courtyard being shaded with awnings in hot weather.

A wall penetrated by a door separates this courtyard from the service courtyard of the inn. From this opens a large storeroom on the southern side.

A staircase in the south west corner leads up to the sleeping rooms, bathroom and owner's apartment. The latter is over the entrance, and has its own courtyard at the head of the stairs, overlooking the restaurant court through two arches. From it a private corridor leads to the bathroom and lavatory on the east.

Patrons walk to their rooms along arcaded galleries flanking the courtyards. That on the northern side is reached from the head of the stairs by crossing a bridge with handrails made of low



15.30 Samsarat al-Mizān. View into the courtyard from deep shade of the western arcade.

plastered arcades. The rooms are small and plain, lit only through tiny windows on the courtyard side, or through the doorway. At the eastern end of the northern gallery a door gives access to the bathroom and lavatory.

31 The *madhalah* (pl., *madāhil*) are *awānī al-ḥarad*, as in p.544b.



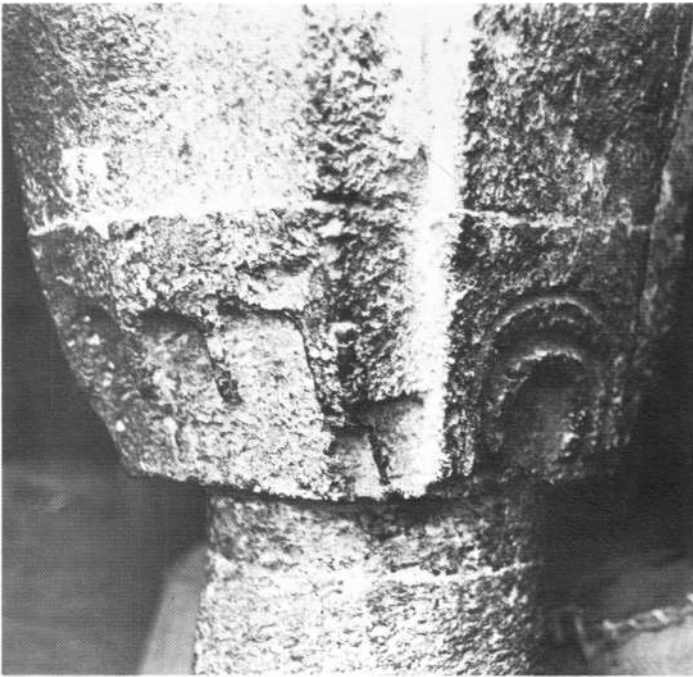
15.31 Samsarat al-Mizān. The north-eastern area of the courtyard, with the scale for weighing grain under the arcade in the corner.



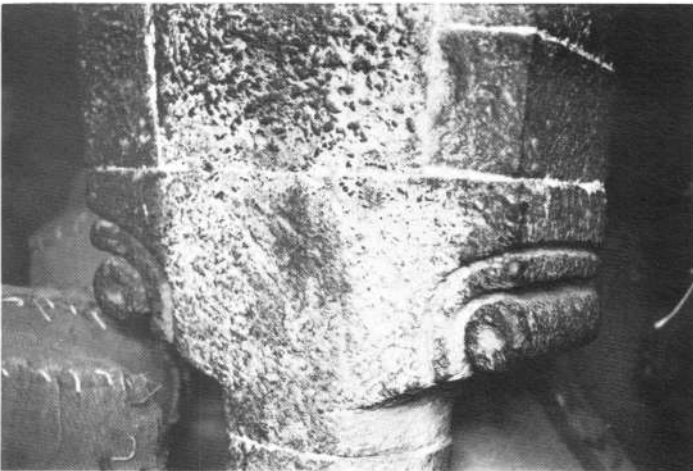
15.32 Samsarat al-Mizān. The scales, with weights of 55 raṭls and 7 raṭls.



15.33 Samsarat al-Mizān. A column capital.



15.34 Samsarat al-Mizān. A column capital.



15.35 Samsarat al-Mizān. A column capital.



15.36 Samsarat al-Mizān. The upper level looking west.



15.37 An open *samsarah* in the south east of the city.

(F) Communal Apartment Buildings

Among foundations owned and maintained by the Ministry of Awqāf, which manages mosque properties, there is a number of communal lodging houses in the sūq. These provide accommodation for poorer shopkeepers and their families, and for workers in the sūq. They are two or three storeys high, sometimes incorporating shops on the ground floor (pls.15.1 and 19.52). The inhabitants use a communal stair, and communal lavatories. Their apartments merely consist of one or two rooms.

Similar buildings for students from outside Ṣan'ā' called *muhājirīn* are provided in most of the teaching mosques, frequently along the street and flanking the doorway through which the mosque is entered (pls.15.55, 19.36, figs.15.9 and 19.4).

(G) Watchtowers

Rising above the general low level of the sūq is a number of the small brick watchtowers (*miḥrās*, pl. *maḥārīs*) in which the watchmen of the Market take up their position (pl.7 and 15.48).

(H) Sesame Mills

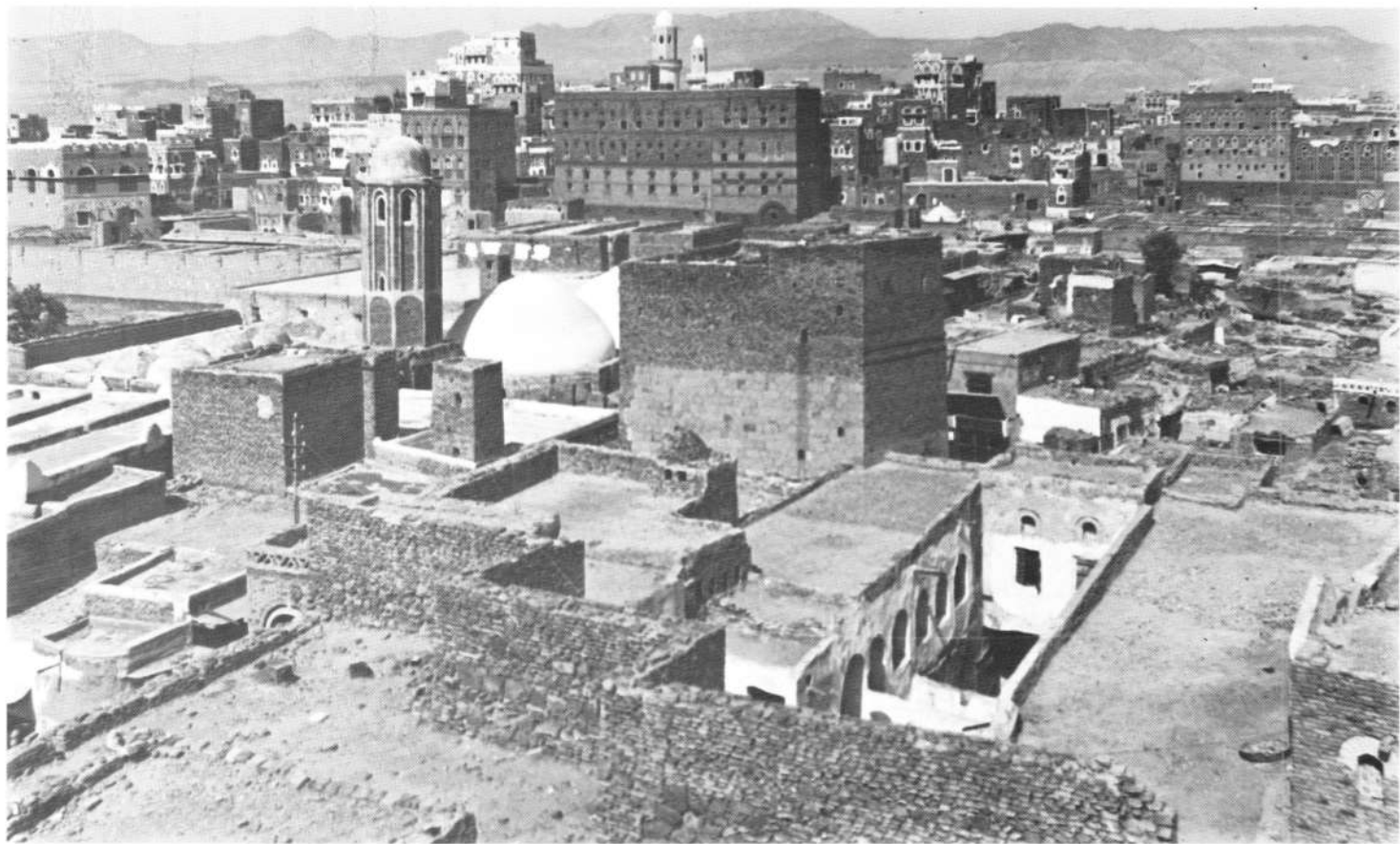
A number of sesame (*simsim*) mills (*ma'ṣarah*, pl., *ma'āṣir*)³² are situated around the periphery of the Sūq. In the north *khardal* (*brassica campestris*) is a much used oil-seed. Each has one or two camels turning one or two mills (fig.15.7, pls.15.49 and 15.50). The building is usually a large single-storeyed barn, crossed with wide masonry arches to strengthen the roof. Sometimes there is a second room on one side used as a stable for the camels, and possibly a cow, sheep and goats. Masonry platforms flank the entrance and the mills. These are used for storing bags of sesame seed and vessels for oil, and for sitting and sleeping.

The mill is a raised stone mortar over a metre high and wide. In it sits a heavy wooden pestle with a stone base. To this is bound an elaborate harness which maintains the pestle in a nearly vertical position while the forces necessary to turn it are transferred horizontally onto the neck of the camel. The animal wears blinkers (usually metal bowls) so that it will not suffer from giddiness, and moves in a relentless circle as grain is poured into top of the mortar and the oil is extracted from a lip on one side.

(I) Drinking Basins

Drinking basins, numerous in the sūq and throughout the city, are provided as charitable foundations by pious citizens and maintained by the Ministry of Awqāf. They are properly termed *sabīl* (pl., *subul*), but in Ṣan'ā' the word *siqāyah* (pron. *sigāyah*) is more commonly used. They vary from small basins set behind

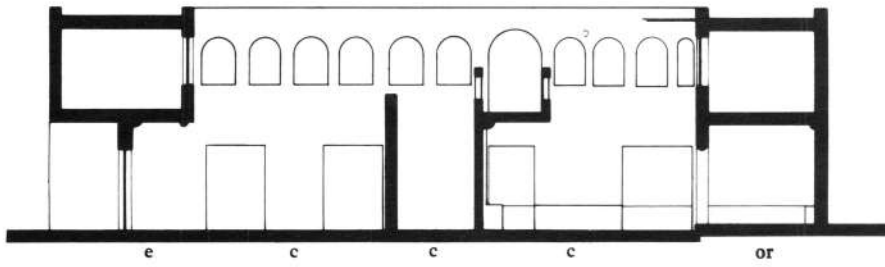
³² In 381/991, al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh*, 115, gives the number of presses in Ṣan'ā' as fifty-four.



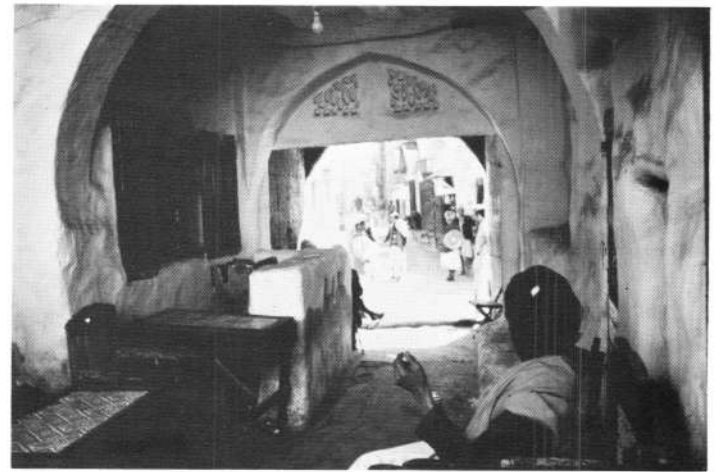
15.38 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. View from above.



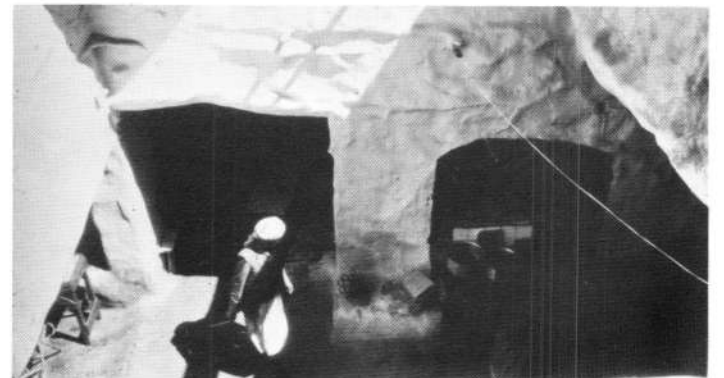
Fig. 15.5 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. Plans at ground and first floor levels. Sections through both wings.



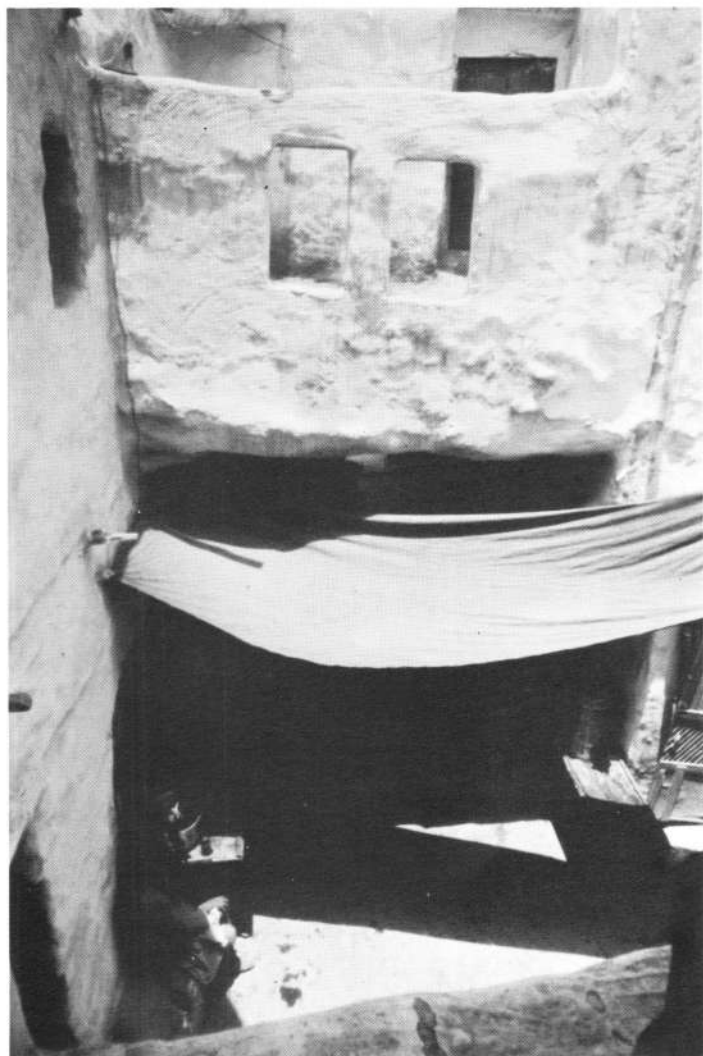
15.39 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. South entrance.



15.40 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The restaurant and its serving counter inside the south entrance.



15.41 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The restaurant court seen from above, with the kitchen on the right.



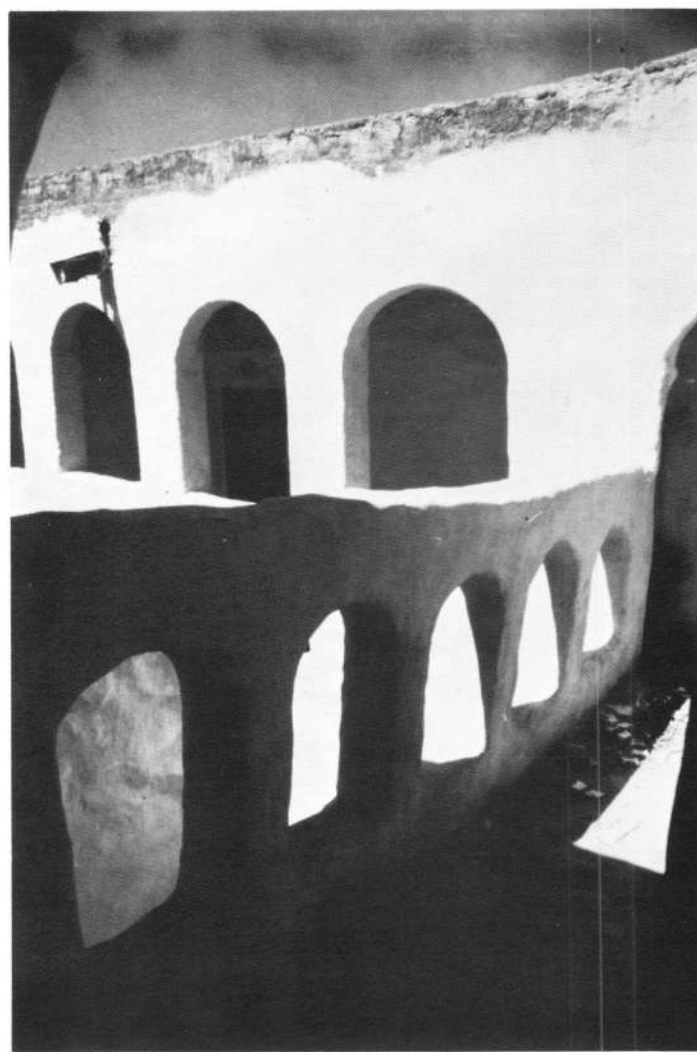
15.42 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The restaurant seen from above. The kitchen on the left, well on the right, and court of proprietor's apartment above.



15.43 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The western side of the restaurant court, with the access to the stairs and the galleries leading to rooms for accommodation above.



15.44 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The access galleries to the rooms for accommodation.



15.45 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The bridge linking the two ranges of rooms.

openings in walls, to large free-standing basins contained in a stone or brick structure covered with a dome, then called *qubbah* (dome). Frequently a door is set to close the opening and keep out dust from the water.

Occasionally a well is found next to a basin (fig. 15.8, pls. 15.51

and 52). The remainder are kept filled by water carriers specially employed for the purpose. In some cases there is also a large open basin at a low level to provide drinking water for animals.

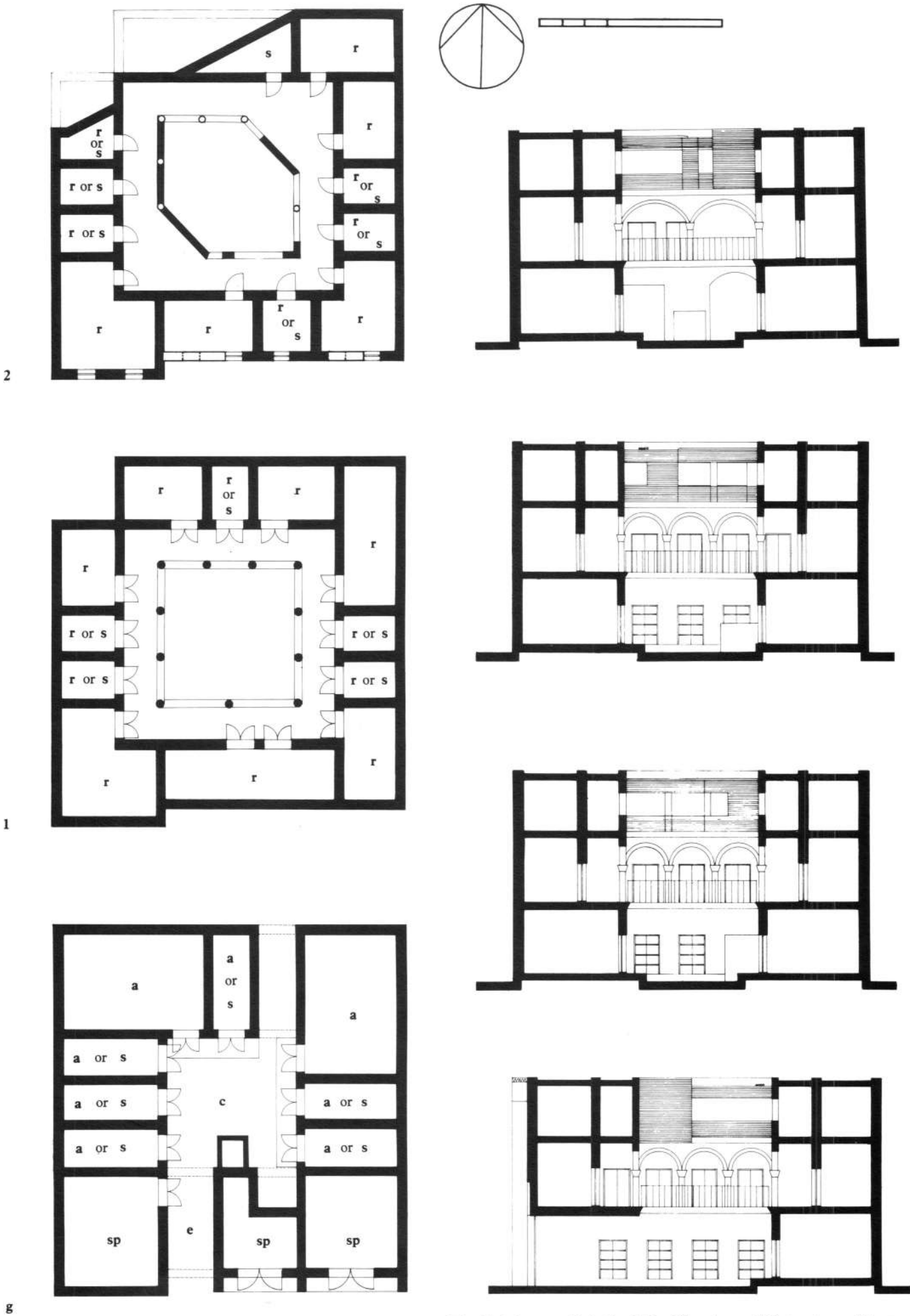


Fig. 15.6 Samsarat Yahya b. Qasim. Plan of ground, first and second floors, with four sections.

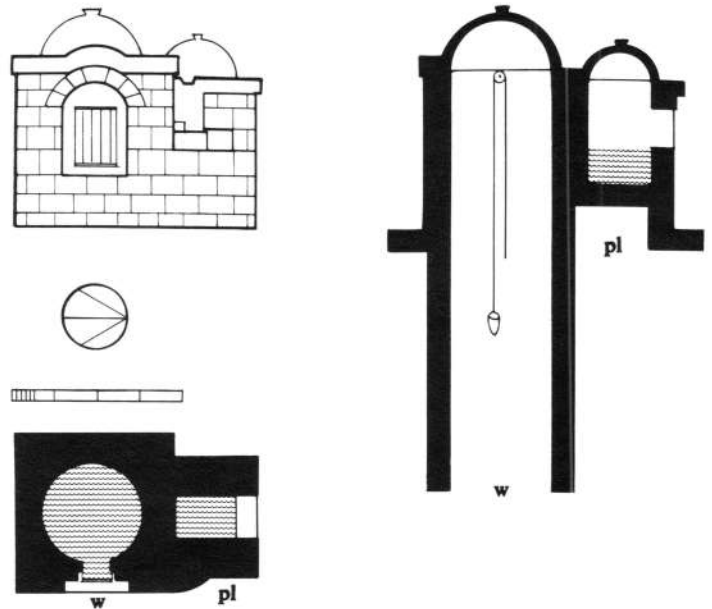
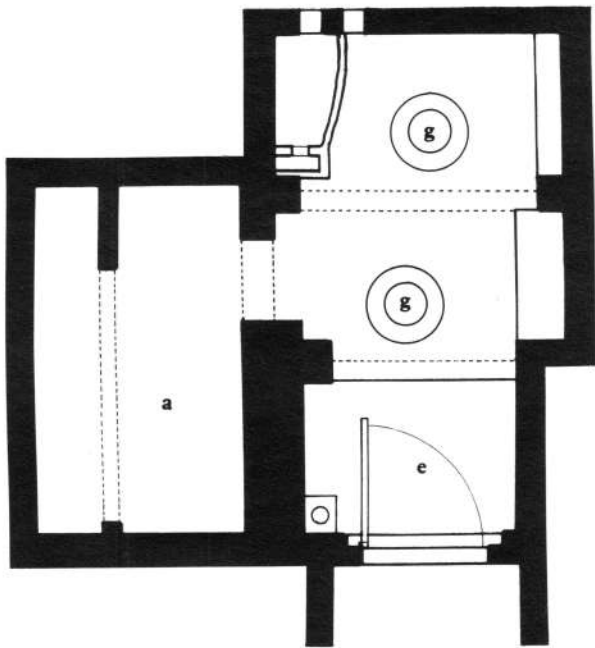


Fig. 15.8 Sabīl at Bāb al-Balaqah. Plan and two elevations.

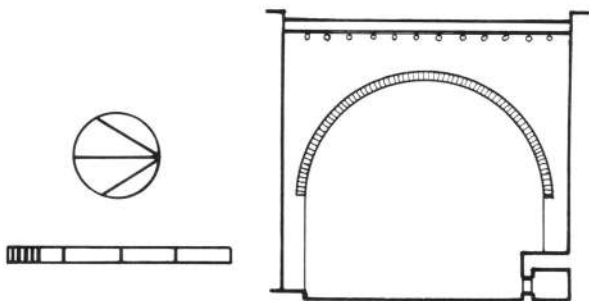


Fig. 15.7 Sesame mill. Plan and section.



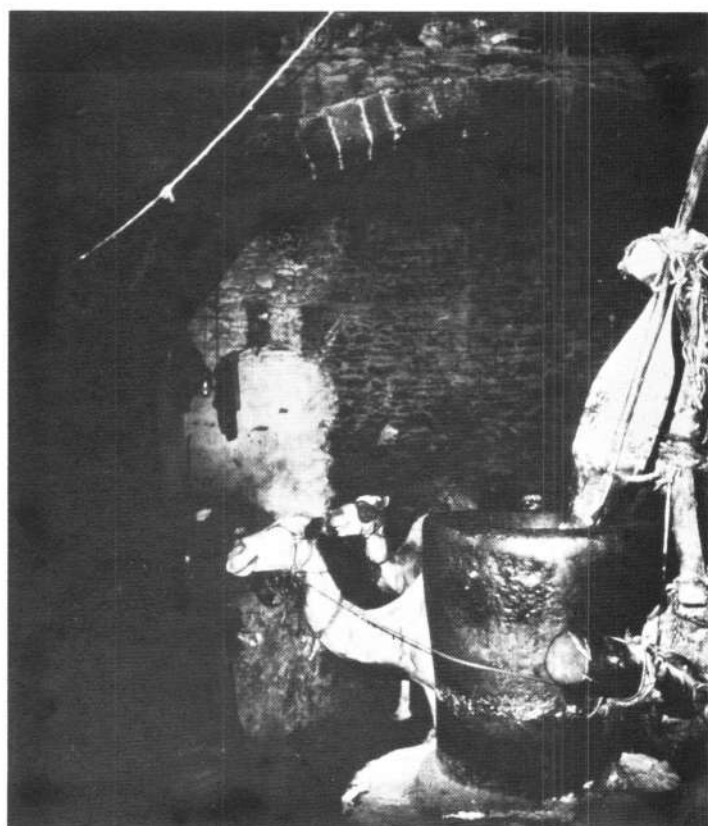
15.46 Samsarat al-Muzayyin. The upper level of the accommodation court, with an area for animals and goods below.



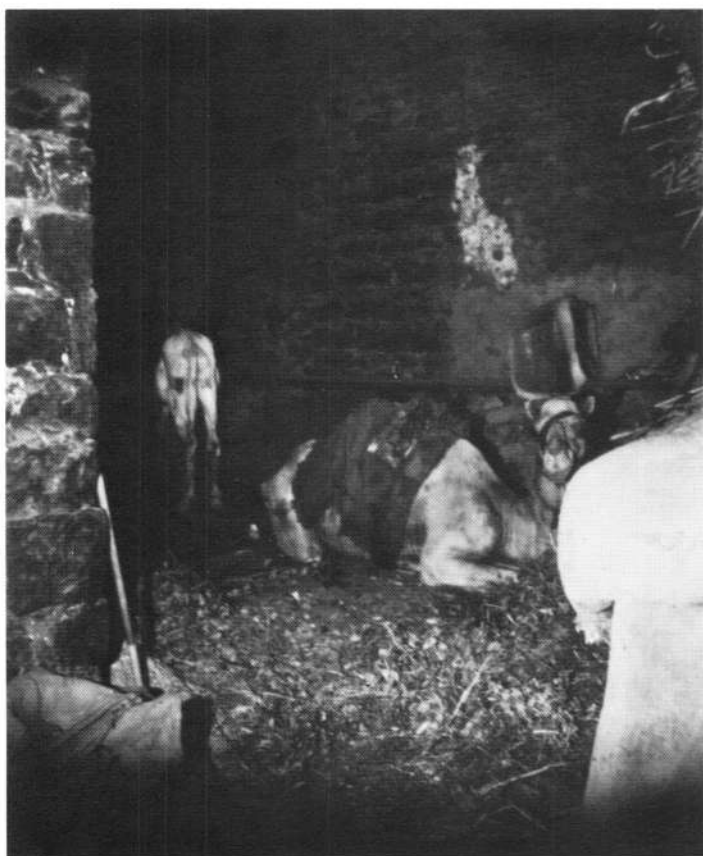
15.47 Samsarat Yahyā b. Qāsim. Exterior with the main doorway flanked by shops.



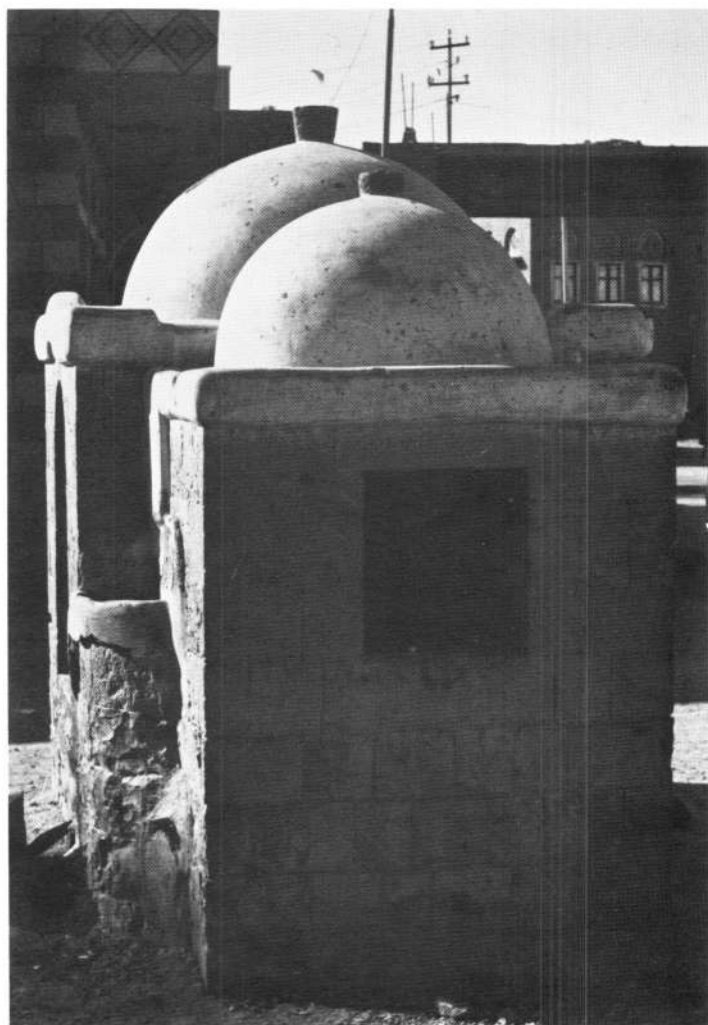
15.48 Characteristic watch tower in the sūq, above the shops. (Photo: R.B. Serjeant)



15.50 Sesame mill. The mill room.



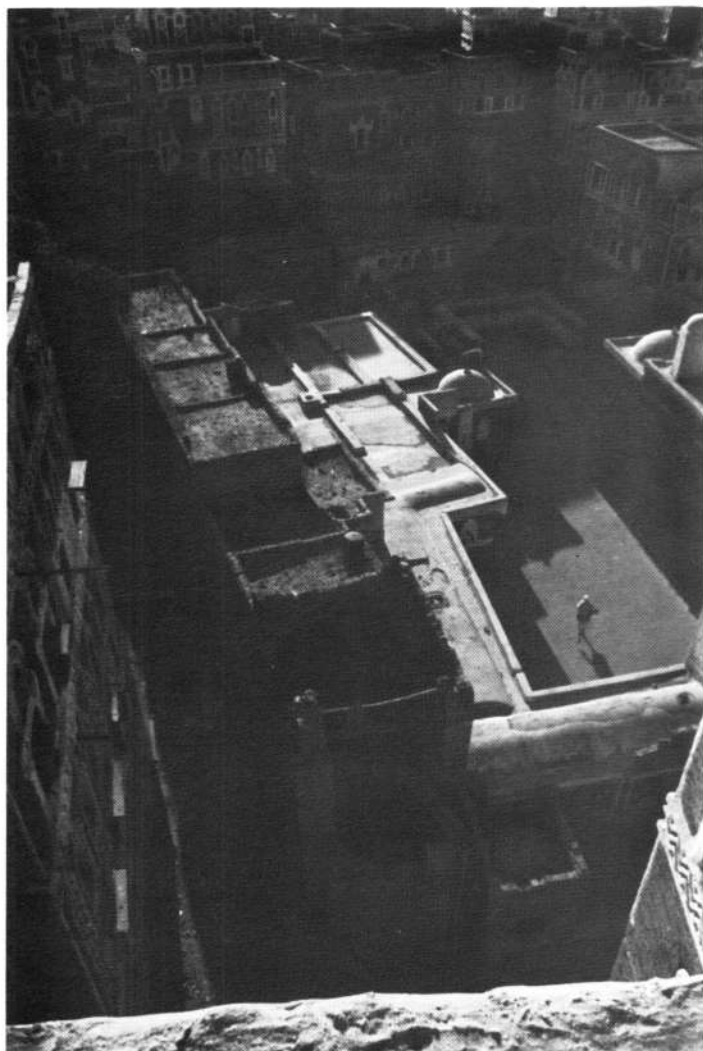
15.49 Sesame mill. The stable.



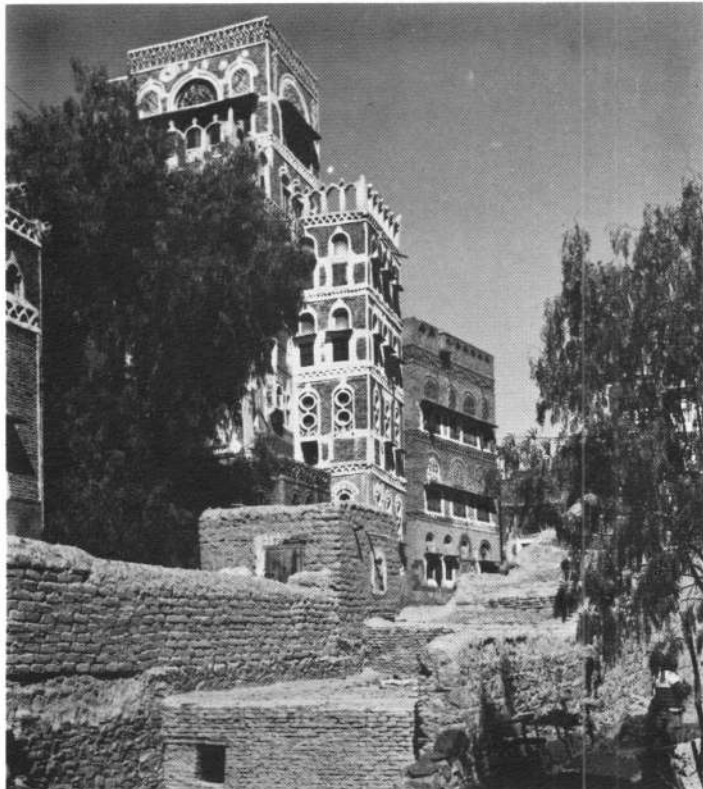
15.51 Sabīl at Bāb al-Balaqah. End view, showing the opening to the cistern. Animal drinking trough at left.



15.52 Sabīl at Bāb al-Balaqah. Side view, with the access to the well.



15.53 Mirna‘ Ṭalḥah. View from above, showing the rooms on the roof used for student accommodation.



15.54 Bustān al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr, showing the *mirna‘*, the well ramp building, in the foreground.



15.55 Mirna‘ Ṭalḥah. The street alongside, with the entrance to the rooms for students (*muḥājirūn*) at the far end, and the windows of the rooms in the upper part of the facade.



15.56 Mirna‘ Ṭalḥah. The well.

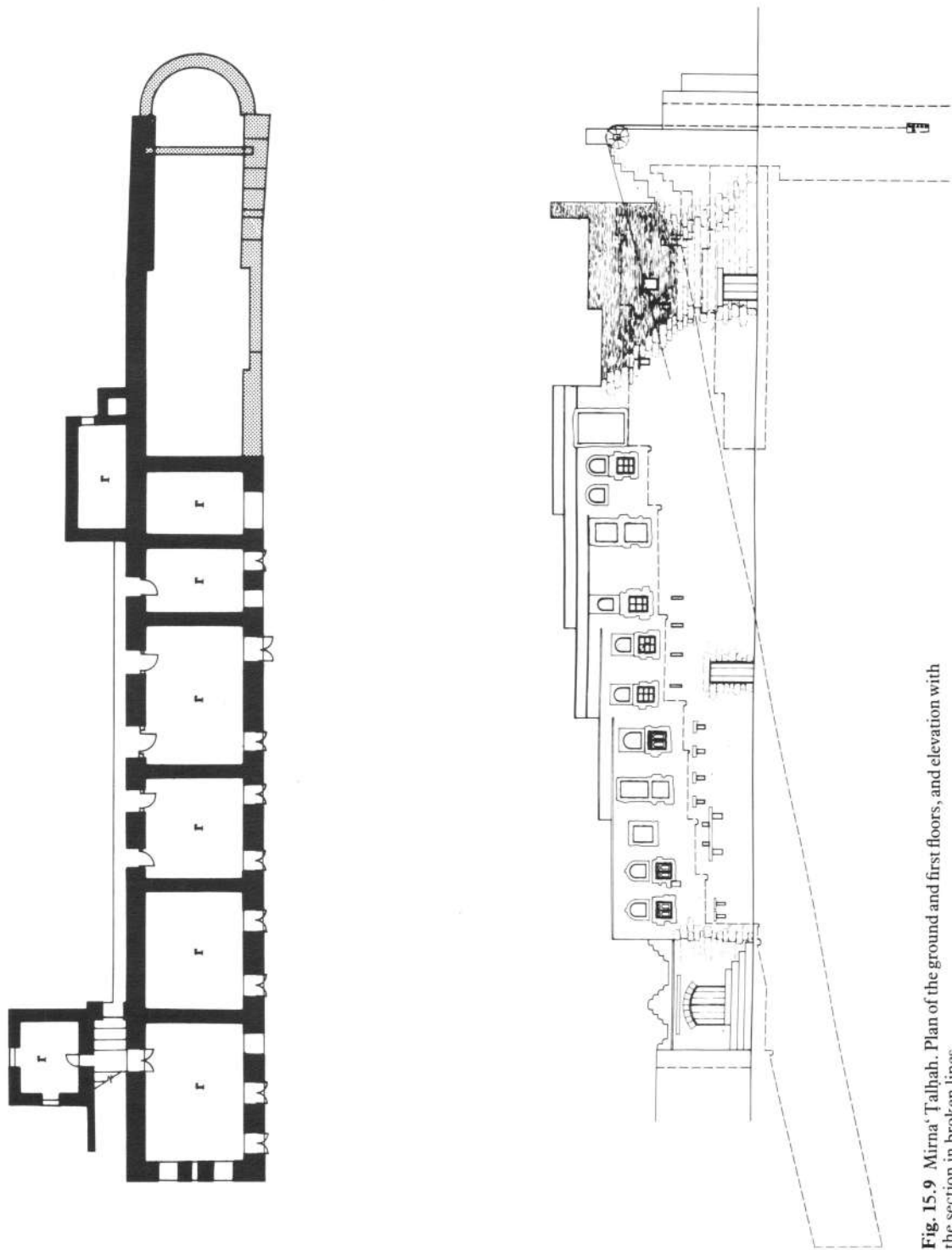
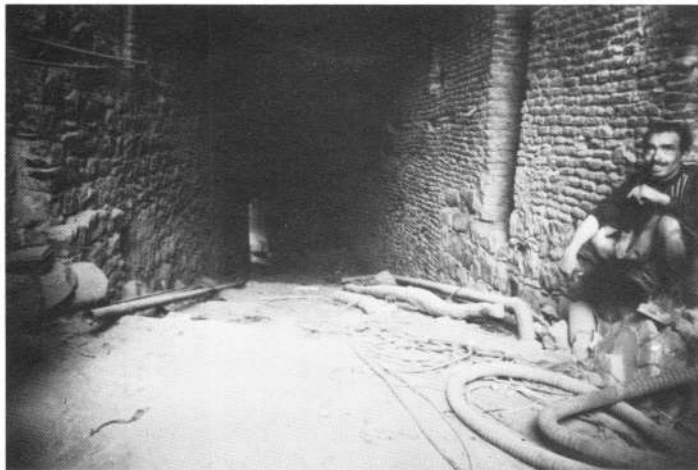


Fig. 15.9 Mirna' Talhah. Plan of the ground and first floors, and elevation with the section in broken lines.



15.57 Mirna' Ṭalḥah. A view from the well looking down the ramp which animals descend while drawing the water.

(J) Well Ramps

In the city, and in the countryside, long buildings with stepped roofs are frequently seen (pl.15.54). These have at one end the high masonry piers necessary to carry the pulley beam over a well. The building then reduces in height as the ramp it shelters slopes underground.

Normally such a well structure (*mirna'*, pl., *marāni'*) is built of layered clay or clay brick, but in the old city some of the finest examples are constructed of stone and baked brick. The ramps are frequently extremely long—as much as thirty-five metres: as

the water table has dropped during this century they have been extended under ground level.

The wells are usually worked by camels, but donkeys are sometimes used, and even man-power is employed, three or four men being needed to lift the heavy bucket. The slope of the ramp compensates for the extra weight of the leather buckets when they are filled with water. As the bucket is drawn to the head of the well, a rope is pulled to jerk the bucket so that it spills its contents into a basin (*marjaw*)³³ from which the water is conducted to where it is required. The ramp is re-ascended when the buckets are empty and as they are dropping back into the well.

The Mirna' Ṭalḥah is part of the mosque complex (fig.15.9 and pls.15.55-57). It has a drinking basin for animals on one side and communal apartments above the stepped-down roof. The back of the building butts into the ablution building of the mosque, for which it supplies the water, as well as providing water for the houses and gardens of the quarter in which the mosque is situated. A pool at the top of the ramp provides drinking water for two camels which draw the water. Their driver has a little room adjoining, approached up a short flight of steps. In this he keeps their fodder, and sleeps. The camels have a stable reached through a door from the street and situated under the highest part of the well-ramp.

Under Ottoman rule in the 10th/16th century several *mirna's* were built entirely of stone, that of Ḥammām al-Maydān having fine pointed barrel vaults. In the last twenty years many wells in the city have been mechanized and their *mirna's* have fallen into disuse.

³³ *Iklīl II*, edit. Muḥ. al-Akwa', 73, says that some of Ḥimyar change the final *alif* of words with a final radical *wāw*, into *wāw*, and say *rajū* and *marjaw* for *rajā*, the side of a well. Akwa' says the word *marjaw* is used in Dhamār and the Najd of the Yemen also. He gives it the sense of *ḥarf al-bi'r*, so perhaps it is not quite correct to call it the 'basin'.

Chapter 16

The Mint of Ṣan‘ā’: A Historical Outline

Ṣan‘ā’ has at different periods ranked as the chief mint city of the Yemen, striking in gold, silver and bronze. The number of surviving coins suggests that, if its output was not always large compared with that of other Islamic mints, in the 3rd/9th century, at any rate, it was responsible for a substantial proportion of all the gold being coined in the territories of the caliph. The Yemen was rich in resources of precious metal, as is clear from a treatise on gold and silver by the 4th/10th century author al-Hamdānī,¹ who was born at Ṣan‘ā’. He lists, for southern Arabia, eight gold and three silver mines: of these, mount Ḥaḍūr (or Ḥajūr) near Ṣan‘ā’ yielded two in gold and mount Ḥarāz, further to the south west, one in silver. Gold is also known to have been mined in the Hijaz and it would seem that a mint for gold existed there as early as the Umayyad period—witness a recently published Umayyad dinar bearing the remarkable inscription *ma’din amir al-mu’minin bi-l-Hijāz* (the Mine of the Commander of the Faithful in the Hijāz).² The Yemen itself, however, appears not to have had a mint before the early ‘Abbāsīd period.

The *raison d’être* of the ‘Abbāsīd mint of Ṣan‘ā’, like that of other provincial mints, was primarily fiscal. Taxes collected in the Yemen by the ‘Abbāsīd governors were doubtless largely in kind, but the resulting revenues (forwarded twice yearly to the caliph) probably took the form of coined money, chiefly gold. In the Umayyad period gold had been supplied to the whole of the Caliphate by the mint of Damascus, possibly aided by other mints (the absence of a mint signature on the standard post-reform dinars leaves some doubt as to their place of issue). Under al-Manṣūr the central mint was moved to Baghdad. The earliest coins which may be assigned to Ṣan‘ā’ are *fulūs* (coppers) dated 156-8/772-4, carrying the mint signature *al-Yaman* (plate 16.1, 1). They are of metropolitan style, and it is likely that the dies were prepared in Baghdad, even if the coins themselves were struck locally. The earliest mint mentioned in literary sources was established by Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barmakī, who was dispatched to the Yemen in 183/799. He is said to have built a mint (*dār al-ḍarb*) in Sūq al-Tabbānīn. Silver dirhams of Ṣan‘ā’ dating from 171/787 onward are, however, extant. Gold was not struck at Ṣan‘ā’ until 221/835, but despite its late appearance was to remain the principal metal coined in the Yemen for over three centuries, down to the Ayyūbid conquest.³ The absence during

much of this period of a supporting coinage in silver and copper may be interpreted as a sign that the purpose of the mint was to supply money for tax payments rather than to facilitate everyday transactions.

The early coins of Ṣan‘ā’ conform to the standard ‘Abbāsīd pattern. They show the profession of faith (‘There is no god but God; Muḥammad is the Apostle of God’), the date and latterly the caliph’s name, which features regularly on the coins from 221/835 onwards. Of considerable interest is the inclusion from time to time, in the spaces above and below the area legends, of personal names, most of which can be matched with those of governors of the Yemen named in literary sources. Those in the table that follows are abstracted, with a few corrections and additions, from Ramzi Bikhazi’s important study *Coins of al-Yaman, 132-569 A.H.* (see footnote 3), which also discusses the historical background to each issue.

al-Ghitrif ⁴ with Yazīd al-‘Abbās b.	171, 172 173 Muḥammad 179	al-Ghitrif b. ‘Atā’ al-Kindī, 170-173 not identified
‘Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab Ḥammād	180 184, 185, 188, 189, 191, 192	al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad, 179-180 ‘Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab, 180-181
Hāshimb. ‘Abdullāh ⁵	194, 195	Ḥammād al-Barbarī, 184-193 not identified; brother of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullāh? (194-196). (plate 16.1, 2)
Ibn al-Waddāḥ ⁶ Ītākh Ja‘far al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥajj Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar	207 230, 231 232, 233 295 298	Nu‘aym b. Waddāḥ al-Azdī, 206-208 Ītākh al-Turkī, 225-31 (plate 16.1, 3) Ja‘far b. Dīnār, 231-232 al-Muẓaffar b. Ḥajj, 293-298 son of the above, 298

The above list does not include the names of heirs to the ‘Abbāsīd throne and members of the caliph’s family who for reasons of propaganda were named on the coins of Ṣan‘ā’ as on those of other mints: amongst these were al-Mahdī (son of al-Manṣūr), Abū ‘Abdullāh (later al-Mu‘tazz) and al-Muwaffaq (brother of al-Mu‘tamid) with his son Aḥmad, the future al-Mu‘taḍid. A number of additions to the list of governors will doubtless have to be made as the corpus of Ṣan‘ā’ issues is expanded.

The relationship between the gold, silver and copper denominations in the ‘Abbāsīd Yemen is complicated by the fact that

1 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-jawharatayn al-‘atīqatayn al-mā’i‘atayn min al-ṣafrā wa-l-bayḍā* (Die beiden Edelmetalle Gold und Silber), ed. and trans. Christopher Toll, Uppsala, 1968, 136 f. Hamdānī also gives an important account of refining and coining techniques, based on his observations at the mints of Ṣan‘ā’ and Ṣa’dah. A convenient summary appears in C. Toll, ‘Minting technique according to Arabic literary sources’, *Orientalia Succana* 19-20, 1970-71, 125-139.

2 G. C. Miles, ‘A unique Umayyad dinār of 91 H./A.D. 709-10’, *Revue numismatique*, Paris, 1972, 262-68. S. Shamma sites the mint at Medina, burial

place of the Prophet, on the evidence of a recently discovered Umayyad *fals* struck at *al-madīnah ma’dan amir al-mu’minin*.

3 Ramzi J. Bikhazi, ‘Coins of al-Yaman, 132-569 A.H.’, *Al-Abḥāth*, Beirut, XXXIII, 1970, 3-127; also published separately. It has not been thought necessary to give references to this except in special instances.

4 A hitherto unpublished coin in the collection of Stephen Album, California.

5 The name Hāshim is quite distinct on the coin of 194 in Stephen Album’s collection and is, I believe, also to be read on the 195 specimen, Bikhazi no. 11.

6 Mrs. Helen Mitchell Brown informs me that this name can be read on several unpublished dirham fractions in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

the province adopted lighter standards for both the dinar and the dirham from the rest of the caliphate. Ibn Rustah, writing in or soon after 300/912, says that the people of Ṣan'ā' carried out their transactions in *muṭawwāq* dinars and *sudaysi* dirhams and *fulūs*. The ratio of the dirham to the dinar rose at times from 60 to 100, the weight of each dirham being one sixth of a (regular) dirham.⁷ 24 *fulūs* went to one dirham. Christopher Toll, in a discussion of the *muṭawwāq* dinar, cites al-Hamdānī and al-'Alawī, the former of whom gives the weight of the *muṭawwāq* as seven tenths of a *mithqāl* or one dirham *qaflah*. Toll reckons the *qaflah* to have been 2.97 grammes or the weight of the post-reform Umayyad dirham, and lists a large number of 3rd-4th century/9th-10th century dinars of Ṣan'ā', the weights of which approximate to that of the *qaflah*.⁸ The derivation of the term *muṭawwāq*, discussed by Toll, is uncertain. Al-Hamdānī and al-'Alawī value the *muṭawwāq* dinar at 20 dirhams *qaflah* (or 120 sixths of a dirham). This gives a gold-to-silver ratio of 1 to 20, as opposed to between 1 to 10 and 1 to 16 in Ibn Rustah's time.

The *sudaysi* ('little sixth') dirham should have weighed .49 or .32 gramme, depending on whether the standard was that of the post-reform (*qaflah*) or the Yemeni dirham. No such coins are extant from the Ṣan'ā' mint, but the Rassids did mint coins of about this weight at Ṣa'dah, and their coins may have been current at Ṣan'ā'. Most of the scarce 'Abbāsīd silver coins of Ṣan'ā' weigh a little over .7 gramme. They may have been quarters of the dirham *qaflah*. However one such piece (.75 gramme), published by Miles, is clearly inscribed *thulth*, 'one third'.⁹ This may be an overweight third of a Yemeni dirham of ten *qirāṭs* (1.95 gramme). The same dirham standard was used in 8th/14th century Yemen. It seems logical that the one-sixth dirhams, mentioned by Ibn Rustah and al-'Alawī, should have been supported by coins weighing one third of a dirham.

Reconstruction of the Yemen's monetary system under the 'Abbāsids

GOLD	grammes
dinar <i>muṭawwāq</i>	2.97
SILVER	
dirham <i>qaflah</i>	2.97
one third of the above	0.99
? one quarter of the above	0.74
one sixth of the above	0.49
Yemeni dirham of 10 <i>qirāṭs</i>	1.95
one third of the above	0.65
one sixth of the above	0.32

During the second half of the 3rd/9th century the power of the 'Abbāsīd governors was increasingly eclipsed by that of local dynasts: Ṣan'ā' was ruled by Muḥammad b. Yu'fir and his descendants, who were obliged from time to time to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ziyādids, a Sunnī dynasty established at Zabīd. The champion of Shi'ism in the Yemen was the Rassīd Imām al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq, ruler of Ṣa'dah, who invaded Ṣan'ā' for the first time in 288/900. These vicissitudes apparently found no echo in the coinage of Ṣan'ā', which continued to show only the caliph's name and, occasionally, that of a governor. The author of *Sīrat al-Hādī* nevertheless maintains that after entering Ṣan'ā' at the above date he ordered his name to be inscribed on the coinage (*naqd*) and the *ṭirāz*, the ornamental band embroidered on the sleeves of official robes. In 293/905-06, however, there appeared the first non-'Abbāsīd coinage, a dinar issue in the name of al-Hādī, who that year wrested Ṣan'ā' from

the Qarmāṭian invader Ibn Faḍl (pl.16.1,4). The issue precludes a similar one at Ṣa'dah in 298/910, in which year Ṣan'ā' was again briefly occupied by the Qarmāṭians. It is conceivable, in the light of the city's minting activity at this time, that numismatic evidence of one or both of these Qarmāṭian occupations must eventually be forthcoming.

The decay of the 'Abbāsīd state and the usurpation by local princes of privileges which had formerly rested with the Caliph's governor at Ṣan'ā' is mirrored by the proliferation, during the 4th/10th century, of mints in other parts of the Yemen: Bīshah, Dhamār, Surdud, 'Aththar, 'Adan (Aden) and Zabīd. The two last named are particularly noteworthy, for Zabīd, headquarters of the Ziyādīd Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, inscribed his name on its issues; while 'Adan coined in the name of a certain Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Qasim, who is otherwise unknown. The coins of the other mints do not show a local ruler's name, but they are unlikely to be straightforward 'Abbāsīd issues. As for Ṣan'ā', its coinage underwent a change from 311/923 onwards, at which time the 'Abbāsīd governorship fell into abeyance. New lightweight dinars (about 1.8 gramme) were introduced, still naming the caliph, but of a distinctive pattern; specimens dated 325 and later show the phrase *amara bi-hi 'l-amīr* ('ordered by the amīr') in the space surrounding the margin (pl.16.1,5). Bikhazi, who discusses at length the question of their attribution, terms them *amīrī* for want of a better designation and concludes that they were issued by some local ruler who wished to underline his autonomous status.¹⁰ He leaves open the question of whether this ruler was the resident Yu'firid prince As'ad or whether he was the Ziyādīd Abū 'l-Jaysh, to whom the Yu'firid may have seen fit to defer. That As'ad was immediately responsible for the striking of the dinars admits of little doubt; but that he and his successors styled themselves 'amīr' is less sure. However, As'adī dinars are mentioned by the author of the *Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-quṭr al-Yamānī* in his account of the year 458/1065-66;¹¹ and since coins of As'ad are otherwise unknown there is a distinct possibility that they are the ones dubbed *amīrī* by Bikhazi, especially as the latter are of a distinctive type which was doubtless still well known in the Yemen a century or more later. An alternative explanation, since the coins continue to name the 'Abbāsīd Caliph as a formality, is that the amīr concerned is his governor, even though the latter was by now bereft of all real authority. The officials of the mint, perplexed by the vagaries of the internal power struggle, may have opted for an innocent-sounding and largely meaningless formula as a solution to the problem of allegiances, as happened elsewhere in Islam at times of political confusion.

The As'adī (?) dinars struck at Ṣan'ā' and at neighbouring Dhamār between 325 and 340 A.H.—or perhaps, even later—present the further complication that some of them name the Caliph al-Mustakfī, who was deposed in 334, while others, minted contemporaneously, name his successor al-Muṭī'. Bikhazi, rejecting the idea that this anomaly reflects the struggle between factions in Iraq, believes that opposing parties in the Yemen may have been responsible for the two series. He suggests that some may have been minted by the legitimate government of the city and others by rebels.¹² It is doubtful however (as Bikhazi admits) how far the dates of the coins are reliable. Two specimens dated 325, in the name of al-Mustakfī, were obviously struck from old obverse dies, since they name a caliph who did not begin to reign till 333. By the same token, those coins dated 335 or later naming al-Mustakfī may have been struck from old reverse dies, if the mint lacked sufficient current dies of al-Muṭī' or was simply concerned to use up the old

⁷ Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq al-naṣīṣah*, ed. M. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892 (BGA VII).

⁸ 'Einige metrologische und metallurgische Termini im Arabischen', *Orientalia Suecana* 18, 1969, 144-47.

⁹ G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, American Numismatic Society, New York, 1950, 76, no. 265. The coin, not dated, is of early 3rd/9th century style. *Sīrat al-Hādī* of 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus, 1392/

1972, 56, alludes to the *dirham ṣaghīr* as a third (*thulth*) of the *dirham qaflah* about the end of the 3rd/9th century.

¹⁰ Bikhazi, op.cit., 65.

¹¹ Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ghāyat al-amānī fī 'l-quṭr al-Yamānī*, ed. S. A. 'Ashūr, Cairo, 1968, I, 257.

¹² Bikhazi, op. cit., 66-68.

ones. The problem cannot be resolved on the existing evidence.

Two dinars dated 343 and 344, in the name of al-Muṭṭī', are the last extant coins of the Ṣan'ā' mint for a period of almost a century. However it would be false to assume that the mint was inactive during all that time. According to the *A'immat al-Yaman*,¹³ coins were minted at Ṣan'ā' in the name of al-Mahdī al-Ḥusayn, a rival of the Rassids, in 402/1011. The Rassids, Yu'firids and Ziyādids continued to dispute control of the city and there is every reason to suppose that they, too, struck coins there to proclaim their authority. The next surviving specimens, however, were issued by the Khawlanid Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥāshid, who ruled the city from about 422/1030 to 440/1048 (plate 16.1, 6). The issue, identified by Casanova, was excluded by Bikhazi¹⁴ from the body of his catalogue on the grounds of its poor style; but there is no doubt that the inscription includes the name Yaḥyā b. Abī Ḥāshid and the mint signature Ṣan'ā'. The dies were probably executed by an illiterate engraver copying blindly from the model before him.

The Ṣulayḥids, under whom the Yemen first acknowledges Egyptian suzerainty, are not known to have minted coins at Ṣan'ā', although they (and the Zuray'ids) struck large numbers of *malikī* dinars at Aden. Ṣulayḥid control of Ṣan'ā' ended in 481/1088-89, after which the city was ruled by the Hamdānids (or Banū Ḥātim) until the Ayyūbid conquest in 569/1173-74. Again we are dependent on literary sources for our knowledge of the coinage. It is recorded that there were *Ḥātimī* dinars, presumably struck at Ṣan'ā', each of which equalled four *Saba'ī* dinars—the *Saba'ī* being probably dinars of the *malikī* type struck by the third Ṣulayḥid Saba' b. Aḥmad (484-92 A.H.).¹⁵ Extant *malikī* dinars average 2.38 grammes, so the *Ḥātimī*, if the differences was simply one of weight, would have weighed 9.56 grammes or twice a normal dinar of the period. However, since the *malikī* dinars are of poor quality gold, it is possible that the *Ḥātimī* was a purer coin of lesser weight, perhaps not exceeding 5 grammes.

The paucity of coins from the Ṣan'ā' mint assignable to the 5th and 6th centuries A.H. is probably due in part to the fact that no large hoard of this period has yet been placed on record. Yet bearing in mind that the mints of Aden and Zabīd have left many coins of the Ṣulayḥids and others, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Ṣan'ā', if not totally inactive, was minting far less than it had done under the 'Abbāsīd governors. Two possible reasons offer themselves for this state of affairs. The first is political. The weakening of caliphal control and consequent diffraction of power meant that Ṣan'ā' gradually lost its importance as an administrative centre. Dinars were no longer required for tax payments to Baghdad. Conversely, the growth of independent princedoms led to the setting-up of mints elsewhere, striking coins mainly for local use. The other reason is commercial. Ṣan'ā's highland location, however healthful, was less propitious to the development of trade than that of the coastal cities, which benefited from their maritime connections with India and Egypt. The prolific output of *malikī* dinars at Aden, for instance, reflects its status as an international entrepôt. It was the commercial headquarters of Rāmisht al-Sīrāfi (d. 534/1140), whose ships sailed all over the Indian Ocean. Likewise the activity of the mint of Zabīd, which commenced under the Ziyādids in the 3rd/9th century and developed under the Ayyūbids and Rasūlids, is connected with the city's advantageous position, only 25km from the coast on the main pilgrim route to Mecca. The lively commercial dealings of this area probably called for a larger volume of coin than at Ṣan'ā'. It is significant that not until the establishment of the new line of Zaydī Imāms, under whom Ṣan'ā' acquired a new political status, was it to rank again as the principal mint city of the Yemen.

The conquest of the Yemen by Tūrānshāh, brother of Saladin, in 569/1174, marks something of a watershed in the Yemen's monetary history. The mints, which had hitherto operated independently, striking coins for different local dynasties, were brought under central control and their issues were henceforth of uniform type, naming the sultan and the 'Abbāsīd caliph. Even more important, from an economic standpoint, was the change of metal. The preceding coinage of the Yemen had consisted, with the exception of some 'Abbāsīd and Rassīd dirhams, entirely of gold dinars of varying quality. The Ayyūbids, by contrast, minted almost exclusively in silver, and subsequent dynasties followed suit, striking gold on rare occasions only. The causes of this change lie outside the Yemen, in the monetary conditions of the Middle East as a whole in later medieval times. Until the end of the 6th/12th century gold formed the basis of Islam's currency. Indeed, for a period of something like a century and a half (corresponding to the duration of Saljūq rule in Iran), virtually no silver was minted in the Islamic world, whereas gold remained in plentiful supply. The reasons for the 'silver famine' are imperfectly understood, but may have to do with the difference in the value ratio of gold to silver in Europe and the Middle East, which caused silver to be exported from Islam to Europe.¹⁶ The revival of silver as a constituent of Islamic currency began in Syria, where in the years following 570/1174-75 Saladin issued a substantial coinage of pure silver dirhams at Damascus and other mints. In the century that followed virtually every Islamic country adopted silver as its chief currency metal, importing large quantities from Europe. Gold, especially dinars of the Almoravids and their successors in North Africa, tended to flow the other way, across the Mediterranean to France, Italy and northern Europe. This process continued unchecked through the later Middle Ages and received extra impetus when, in the 1580s, the Ottomans lifted the import tax on silver, causing masses of cheap metal to flood the Near East from sources in the New World and Europe. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the Yemen, which for so long had coined little but gold, should have changed so decisively to silver as its chief metal. Very possibly it was the arrival of bulk silver from Mediterranean sources which enabled it to do so.

Our knowledge of Ayyūbid coinage in the Yemen derives very largely from a single hoard published by G. C. Miles in 1939.¹⁷ Out of seventy-seven dirhams, thirty-five were struck at Zabīd, nineteen at Aden, ten at Ta'izz, eight at Ṣan'ā' and one at Raydah (sic). The figures probably give a fair idea of the relative importance of the different mints, of which Zabīd and Aden appear to have been pre-eminent, as in the period before the Ayyūbid conquest. Several smaller groups of Yemeni Ayyūbid coins have been published, but they do not alter the picture where mint representation is concerned. The extant coins of Ṣan'ā', which are all of silver, remain few:

Ruler	Date A.H.	References
Ismā'il b. Ṭuḡhtakin	595	<i>Coin Hoards I</i> (1975, no. 291) ¹⁸
Ayyūb b. Ṭuḡhtakin	605	P. Balog, 'Dirhems ayoubites inédits du Yemen', no. 6.
al-'Ādil with al-Kāmil	617	Miles, no. 43
as heir		
al-Kāmil with	621	Miles, nos. 44-45
al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf	623	Miles, nos. 46-47
	625	Miles, no. 48
	626	Miles, no. 49

As noticed by Miles, there is a time-lag in the naming of the rulers, since al-'Ādil had been dead two years when the coin of 617 was struck, while al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf, who has a coin dated 626 (and 627, from Zabīd), may have died in 625. Whether this anomaly is to be put down to political factors, or to the negligent retention in use of old dies, is debatable.

Silver', *The Economic Review*, Second Series, XX no. 1, 1967, 1-34.

17 G. C. Miles, 'The Ayyūbid dynasty of the Yemen and their coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1939, 62-97. See also P. Balog, 'Dirhems ayoubites inédits du Yemen', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, XXXVI, Cairo, 1955, 347-355.

18 The coin is one of a small group brought back from the Yemen by Dr. Alphonse Mingana. Fuller publication, by H. W. Mitchell Brown and D. Bryer, is expected soon.

13 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Zabārah al-Hasanī al-Ṣan'ānī, *A'immat al-Yaman*, Ta'izz, I, 1952. I owe this reference to Prof. Serjeant.

14 Bikhazi, op. cit., nos. 277, 280. The two coins are alike.

15 G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, Gibb Memorial Series XXVI, 1973, I, 27; see also comment in II, ch. 5, 31, line 6. I am indebted to Dr. Smith for this information.

16 The problem has been studied by Andrew S. Watson, 'Back to Gold—and



16.1 The Mint of Šan‘ā’

- 1 ‘Abbāsīd. Temp. al-Manšūr, in the name of al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Amīr al-Mu‘minīn. Al-Yaman (i.e., Šan‘ā’), 158/774. Copper. Philip Grierson collection, Cambridge.
- 2 ‘Abbāsīd. Temp. al-Amin, naming governor Hāshim b. ‘Abdullāh. Šan‘ā’, 194/809. Silver. Stephen Album collection (Calif.).
- 3 ‘Abbāsīd. Al-Wāthiq, with name of governor Itākh. Šan‘ā’, 230/844. Gold. British Museum.
- 4 Rassīd. Al-Hādī ila ‘l-Ḥaqq. Šan‘ā’, 293/905. Gold. British Museum.
- 5 Yu‘firid (?). Anonymous *As‘adī* (?) dinar of Šan‘ā’ dated 340/951. Gold. British Museum.
- 6 Khawlanīd. Yahyā b. Abi Hāshid. Šan‘ā’, date obscure (c. 422-40/1030-48). Gold. British Museum.
- 7 Rassīd. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. Šan‘ā’, 648/1250. Silver. British Museum.

A manuscript alleges that the Ayyūbid Sunqur established a mint at Šan‘ā’ (*wa-aqāma dāra ḍarbin bi-hā*) about 604/1207.¹⁹ But that an Ayyūbid mint existed there earlier is proved by the dirham of Ismā‘īl b. Ṭuḡtakīn dated 595. Ibn al-Mujāwir reports that Ismā‘īl b. Ṭuḡtakīn was the first monarch to strike the *dirham kabīr*, the weight of which was 13 *qirāṭs* or about 2.4 grammes.²⁰ The 595 coin may be one of these dirhams, though contemporary specimens minted at Ta‘izz, ‘Adan and Zabīd seem to be normal Yemeni dirhams of 10 *qirāṭs*.

During the greater part of the 7th/13th century Šan‘ā’ was disputed between the Rasūlids, who held the coastal and southern districts of the Yemen, and the Zaydī Imāms who controlled the northern highlands. Few coins of the Šan‘ā’ mint have survived from this period. Dirhams of the Ḥamzite branch of the Zaydī family were struck at Ša‘dah, Ḥafār and Kuḥlān, but apparently not at Šan‘ā’.²¹

- 8 Rasūlid. Al-Muzaḥḥar Yūsuf b. ‘Umar. Šan‘ā’, 651/1253. Silver. British Museum.
- 9 Imāms of Šan‘ā’. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Šan‘ā’, 789/1387. Silver. Stephen Album collection (Calif.).
- 10 Imāms of Šan‘ā’. Al-Mahdī Aḥmad. No mint, 1091/1680. Gold. British Museum.
- 11 Imāms of Šan‘ā’. Al-Mahdī Muḥammad. No mint, 1115/1703. Silver. British Museum.
- 12 Imāms of Šan‘ā’. Al-Mahdī ‘Abbās. Šan‘ā’, 1179/1756. Silver. British Museum.
- 13 Imāms of Šan‘ā’. Al-Manšūr Muḥammad. No mint, 1318/1900. Silver. British Museum.
- 14 Imāms of Šan‘ā’. Yahyā b. Muḥammad. Šan‘ā’, 1342/1924. Silver ¼ *riyāl*. British Museum.

A Rasūlid dirham of al-Manšūr ‘Umar, founder of the dynasty, was minted at Šan‘ā’ in 643 and Nützel records coppers dated 631 and 643.²² In 648/1250 the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn seized Šan‘ā’ during the absence of its Rasūlid governor. The latter was induced to side with the Imām against the Sultan, and their pact, broken in 649, was renewed in 650.²³ Dirhams of the Imām struck at Šan‘ā’ in 648 and 650 survive to commemorate these events (pl. 16.1, 7). Šan‘ā’ subsequently reverted to the Rasūlids, and we have dirhams of al-Muzaḥḥar Yūsuf, second of the dynasty, dated 650, 651 (plate 16.1, 8) and 654. These are the last recorded Rasūlid coins of Šan‘ā’. It was evidently not a prolific mint compared with ‘Adan, Zabīd, Ta‘izz and al-Mahjam, each of which produced a long series of silver coins under the later Rasūlids. The sparseness of its issues may be connected with the fact that it lay on the northern fringes of Rasūlid territory, constantly threatened and sometimes occupied by

19 G. R. Smith, op.cit I, 140; II, Ch. V, note on p. 140, line 7.

20 Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the south Arabian Coast*, 147.

21 S. M. Stern, ‘Some unrecognized dirhams of the Zaidīs of the Yemen’, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th series, IX, 1949, 180-188. The coins of Kuḥlān are unpublished. I have seen specimens dated 632, 645, 647 and 670, all in private hands.

22 H. Nützel, ‘Münzen der Rasuliden’, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XVIII, Berlin 1892, 81-156, no. 15 (copper); the dirham is in private hands.

23 Al-Khazraji, *The Pearl Strings*, ed. Redhouse, I, 132-134.

the Zaydis. The Imām al-Nāṣir Ṣalāh al-Dīn Muḥammad (773-93/1371-90), who captured Ṣan'ā' and established his court there, is credited with having issued coins of pure silver.²⁴ One of his dirhams, showing the mint name Ṣan'ā' and the date 789, has recently come to light (pl.16.1,9). A 9th/15th century work, *al-Tarjūmān al-mufattiḥ* mentions a type of dirham known as the *Mahdī*, which weighed $2/3$ *qasflahs* or 2.08 grammes.²⁵ This may have been issued by any of several Zaydī Imāms of the period. The latest pre-Ottoman coins of Ṣan'ā' are dirhams of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Sharāf al-Dīn Yahyā (912-965/1506-1550) dated 937.²⁶ Their discovery evokes the possibility of a whole series of coins in the names of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th century Imāms.

The coastal parts of the Yemen were occupied by the Ottomans in 945/1538, but Ṣan'ā' did not fall to them until 953/1545. The numismatic evidence for coinage in the Yemen during this period is rather scanty. The Ottomans established mints for gold at Zabīd, and lately silver coins of Ṣan'ā' have come to light, in the name of Sultan Sulaymān b. Ṣalīm and dated 926, 993 and 994.²⁷ The date 926, corresponding to 1520, must be regarded as the Sultan's accession date, not as the actual year of striking. The dates 993 and 994 fall in the reign of Sulaymān's successor Murād III and the coins of those years are therefore posthumous issues. Ṣan'ā' coins of Murād III himself are not known, but there are silver coins of Muṣṭafā I and Murād IV dated 1031 and 1032²⁸ respectively: the dates here may represent either the Sultan's accession year or the actual year of striking. The Ottoman silver coins of Ṣan'ā' weigh 0.2-0.3 gramme and are obviously counterparts to the *akḥes* being minted in other provinces of the Empire. However they may also be examples of the Yemeni *buqshah*, a small silver denomination several types of which are said to have circulated during the 10th/16th century.²⁹ There are, further, thick coppers of the time of Sulaymān I inscribed *ḍarb Ṣan'ā' al-maḥrūsah* (coin of Ṣan'ā' the well-defended). These are presumably identical with the Sulaymānī *manāqir* (plural of *mānqir* = $1/4$ *akḥe*) mentioned in a contemporary legal text.³⁰ They closely resemble 10th/16th century coppers of Cairo, which may have dispatched dies or moneyers to the Yemen at this time. Similar coppers were minted at Ṣa'dah and Kawkabān. It may be significant that no gold is attested from any highland mint during the period of Ottoman domination, though *altūns* (sequins) of Zabīd and Hodeidah are common.

The coinage of the new line of Ṣan'ā' Imāms, from the time that they expelled the Ottomans, ca. 1040/1630, until the Turkish reconquest of the Yemen in the mid-19th century, is characterised by Lane-Poole as 'of small interest'. This can no longer be considered a fair judgement: when closely examined, the coins offer numerous features of interest and raise questions of historical as well as monetary import. Initially the coinage was struck at a variety of highland mints, some of which are not known to have operated at any other period: Ṣan'ā' itself, Dhamār, Shahārah, Radā', Kawkabān and al-Khadra'.³¹ But by the mid-12th/18th century, if not earlier, Ṣan'ā' was the sole mint in operation. The Zaydī Imāms may therefore be said to have reversed the process of decentralisation which took place centuries earlier, restoring to Ṣan'ā' a status it had not enjoyed since 'Abbāsīd times. Gold was struck, although rarely: the *Ṭabaq al-hakwā* informs us (fol. 121a) that in Rabi' II, 1089/June 1678, 'the Imām commanded the Master of the Mint (*ṣāḥib*

ḍar al-ḍarb) to make his coining of red gold to the value of a dirham (*fi qadr al-dirham*) and to strike silver to the value of the Indian rupee (*al-rubbiyyah al-hindiyyah*).³² There are, in fact, gold coins of the Imām in question, al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (weights 0.4, 0.2 gramme). One of them is dated 1091/1680 (pl.16.1,10). No silver coins of this ruler are known, but it does not seem unlikely that the mint should have struck coins to the standard of the Mughal rupee, which was later imitated in Iran.

Abundant information is to hand in historical sources, oriental and European, concerning the different denominations current in the Yemen from the 10th/16th century onward, their relative values and their values in terms of such well-known foreign currency units as the gold sequin (*altūn* or *ashrafi*) and the dollar (*riyāl* or *qirsh*).³² Yet it is surprisingly hard to relate these denominations to the extant coins. To begin with, the values of the coins mentioned in the records were always changing, as market conditions altered and the coins were debased or reduced in weight. It is not easy to distinguish actual coins from theoretical units of account, and to know, where values are given, what standard is being used. Finally, the surviving coins are extremely diverse in weight, even amongst coins of the same issue. Evidently, as in earlier times, the coin blanks were not weighed out exactly. The only way to establish the standard of an issue would be to calculate the average weight of a large number of specimens; and of these, usually, not enough are available.

The largest silver coins, issued by al-Mahdī 'Abbās in 1176/1762, weigh 19.5-19.6 grammes, and are clearly the local equivalent of the dollar (or rather, its Ottoman counterpart, which weighed just that amount at the time). The smallest coins, minted by al-Mahdī Muḥammad, weigh 0.1 gramme and must represent some subdivision of the *buqshah*, of which between 48 and 80 went to a dollar.³³ The largest number of coins falls into the 1-1.5 gramme bracket, and it is tempting to identify these as 'cammashes' (i.e. *khumsiyahs* or fifths) which according to 18th century sources (Brooks and Bruce) were the current coins of the Yemen.³⁴ However, Brooks also says that there were about ten of these to a dollar, by which reckoning the coins in question would be too small. The *khumsiyah* should have weighed 2.6-2.8 grammes, and indeed we have coins of al-Mahdī Muḥammad of about that weight; but they do not seem to have been minted later. In the face of conflicting evidence, the best course would seem to be to list the coins of each ruler, together with the dates and weights (where known), in the hope that a larger corpus of material may ultimately enable the various problems of metrology and denomination to be resolved.

Al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (1029-54/1619-1644)

(no coins of Ṣan'ā' known; one of Dhamār extant)

Al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il (1054-87/1644-76)

Silver. Ṣan'ā', 1071 (0.57), 107x (0.33), 1084 (0.34)

Al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (1087-92/1676-81)

Gold. No mint name (Ṣan'ā'). Years 1091 (0.45), no date (0.46, 0.47, 0.25).

Al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1098-1130/1687-1718)

Silver. No mint name (probably Ṣan'ā'). Years 1107 (0.25), 1108, 1110 (0.84, 0.23), 1114 (3.26), 1115 (3.92), 1118, 1122 (0.49), 1123 (2.78), 1126; no date (4.51, 2.31, 1.54, 0.57, 0.19, 0.18, 0.14, 0.13,

24 Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, op. cit., 538; Nützel, op. cit., 97.

25 Serjeant, op. cit., 181.

26 An example, wrongly attributed to Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il, is illustrated by M. Mitchiner, *Oriental coins and their values. The World of Islam*, London 1977, 229.

27 In private hands, Germany.

28 N. Pere, *Osmanlılarda Mâdeni Paralar* (Coins of the Ottoman Empire), Istanbul, 1968, 159 (Murād IV, 1032); the coin of Muṣṭafā I is in private hands, France.

29 Serjeant, op. cit., 149, note 5.

30 Ibid, 141.

31 I have seen the following specimens (all in private hands): al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (1029-54/1619-44): Dhamār, date missing; al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il (1054-87/1644-76): Radā' 1065, Shahārah date missing, Kawkabān xxx4. The

Imām al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 'Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib' (1098-1130/1687-1718) issued silver at various highland mints in the early part of his reign: 1) under the title al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1098-1105 H.): Dhamār 1099, Radā' 1101, al-Khadra' 1105, b); under the title al-Hādī li-Dīn Allāh (1105-1109 H.): al-Khadra' 1105, 1106. These coins were published by Lane Poole in his *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, V, 130, no. 365; X, 76-8, no. 364 d, e, k, p, r and 365 g. The names Radā' and al-Khadra' were, however, wrongly read as 'Aqṣarā'. I am indebted to my friend Donald 'Abd al-Malik Eagle for the suggestion that the Imām al-Mahdī Muḥammad may also have minted coins at al-Manṣūrah, where he proclaimed his *da'wah* in Jumādā II 1097, and at al-Mawāhib, seat of the Imāmate for a number of years.

32 The currency is considered in depth by R. B. Serjeant, op. cit., Appendix III, 138-154.

33 Ibid 152-3.

34 Ibid, loc. cit.

0.12, 0.12, 0.11, 0.11, 0.11, 0.09, 0.09).

Al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (1128-39/1716-27)

Silver. No mint name (probably Şan‘ā’). Year 1138, no date (0.60).

Al-Manşūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (1139-61/1727-48)

Silver. Şan‘ā’. Years 1147, 1150, 1156 (1.06), 1158, 115x (1.17); no date (1.05, 0.93, 0.88, 0.79, 0.77, 0.62).

Al-Mahdī ‘Abbās b. al-Ḥusayn (1161-89/1748-75)

Silver. Şan‘ā’. Years 1163 (0.79), 1167 (3.15, 0.35), 1168 (1.54), 1170 (0.98), 1171 (0.75), 1172 (0.71), 1174 (1.48), 1175 (1.18, 1.08, 0.52, 0.60, 0.36, 0.25, 0.20), 1176 (19.67, 19.55), 1177 (1.13), 1179 (0.81), 1181 (0.85); no date, (1.34, 1.31, 1.27, 1.16, 0.89, 0.88, 0.45, 0.24).

Al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (1224-31/1809-16)

Silver. Şan‘ā’. Years 1200, 1202 (0.22), 1204 (1.17, 0.91), 120x (0.21), 1212, 1214, 1218, 1219, 121x (1.12); no date (0.20).

Al-Mutawakkil ‘Alī b. Aḥmad (1224-31/1809-16)

Silver. Şan‘ā’. Years 1225, 1226; no date (0.20).

Al-Mahdī ‘Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil (1231-51/1816-35)

Silver. Şan‘ā’. Years 1233, 1234 (0.83), 1247.

The above data are derived from S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* Vols. V (1880) and X (1890); J. Ostrup, *Catalogue des monnaies arabes et turques*, Copenhagen 1938; E. Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, Wiesbaden, 1968; and private sources.

An interesting feature of the 12th/18th century coins of Şan‘ā’ is that they strongly resemble contemporary Persian coins in their ornamentation and their use of the *nasta‘liq* script. It would be hazardous to conclude that the die-engravers were Persians (Niebuhr says that all the current coin in the Yemen was struck by Jews), but the suggestion of cultural and economic links between the two countries deserves fuller investigation. Clearly the silver ‘*abbāsīs*’ of the later Şafavid Shahs were just as familiar in the Yemen as the issues of the Ottoman Sultans.

The second half of the 19th century, during which the Yemen was again administered as an Ottoman province, has bequeathed no coins of the mint of Şan‘ā’, and it seems likely that local minting rights were withdrawn at this time. However two silver coins of the Imām al-Manşūr Muḥammad, minted at Şan‘ā’ in 1318/1900 (pl. 16.1, 13),³⁵ suggest that the Imāmate had recovered some measure of

autonomy even before the revolt that brought the Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad to power in 1904. A contemporary English political agent describes how minting machinery was smuggled over the mountains by camel to the Imām.³⁶ The coinage of the latter, which includes the first machine-struck issues of the Yemen, consists of:

Silver: *Riyāl* (‘*Imādī*’)

$\frac{1}{4}$ *riyāl* (= 10 *buqshahs*) (plate 16.1, 14)

$\frac{1}{10}$ *riyāl* (= 4 *buqshahs*)

$\frac{1}{20}$ *riyāl* (= 2 *buqshahs*)

Copper: $\frac{1}{40}$ *riyāl* (= 1 *buqshahs*)

$\frac{1}{80}$ *riyāl* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *buqshah* or *hilālah*)

Imām Yaḥyā was recognised by the Ottoman governor ‘Izzat Pasha in 1328/1911 and became fully independent on the Turkish withdrawal in 1336/1918. Coppers were minted at Şan‘ā’ from 1322/1904 onward, silver from 1340/1922. The *riyāls* are dated 1344/1926 and are believed to have been overstruck on Maria Theresa trade dollars. The coins, which bear the usual faith formula, the Imām’s protocol and the denomination in terms of the *riyāl*, announce that they were minted at Şan‘ā’, *Dār al-Khilāfah* (Seat of the Caliphate). The Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (1367-82/1948-62) issued, in addition to the above denominations, a *riyāl*, its half and its quarter, called *rub’ Aḥmadī*, in gold, a silver $\frac{1}{8}$ and a $\frac{1}{16}$ *riyāl* (both five-sided) called *thumṇ* and *nuṣṣ al-thumṇ* respectively, and a *buqshah* and *hilālah* in aluminium. Silver half *riyāls* were struck on blanks punched from the centre of Maria Theresa dollars and the residual ring of metal may also have been current. Maria Theresas were also countermarked with the die of the $\frac{1}{16}$ *riyāl*. Coins of the Republic of Yemen dated 1382/1963 are the last to show the mint name Şan‘ā’, and the mint has since been closed down; but a few years ago the mint premises were still in existence.

Supplementary Note

Recent Zaydī mint discoveries are:

Kahlān Manşūrī dirhams 632-649 H.

Al-Qubbah Manşūrī dirhams 614 H.

Al-Jāhilī dirhams dated 649 H. and 653 H.

Thulā dirham of 649 H.

Kahlān and al-Qubbah minted in the name of al-Manşūr ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah (593-614 H.) whose posthumous issues span about a century. Al-Jāhilī and Thulā were mints for al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (646-655 H.).

³⁵ The coins were presented by O. Bakewell to the British Museum in 1919. They weigh 0.82 and 0.55 gramme.

³⁶ See N. du Quesne-Bird, ‘A note on the mint of Şan‘ā’ under Yaḥyā b.

Muḥammad’, *Spink’s Numismatic Circular* 78 (1970), 49. The episode is described in Lieut. Col. H. F. Jacob’s *Kings of Arabia: the rise and set of the Turkish sovereignty in the Arabian Peninsula*, London, 1923.

Appendix

Copper Coin in the Third Quarter of the 19th Century

For the near quarter century before the second Turkish Occupation, the chronicle *Ṣafaḥāt majhūlah*¹ notes fluctuations in the exchange rate of copper coin to the silver *riyāl*. Since the latter was a foreign coin of, for practical purposes, unvarying standard, the Ṣan'ā' mint could not tamper with it at the behest of the current ruler. The *ḥarf*, a copper unit, may have been by this time only a notional coin, struck in denominations of multiples of *ḥarfs*.²

At the time of the final redaction of *Qanūn Ṣan'ā'*, not later than 1836, there were about 500 *ḥarf* to the *qirsh*/*riyāl*.³ In weight of copper coin, it appears that the agreed ratio to the *qirsh* (which weighs one ounce (*ūqiyyah*), had been, before August 1853, sixteen ounces, but this was lowered to 3,200 *ḥarf*. How can it be explained that a few years later, in 1276/1859-60, copper was $3\frac{3}{4}$ *raṭls*, the *raṭl* probably being sixteen *ūqiyyahs* or ounces, to the ounce weight of the silver *riyāl*/*qirsh*? There are many imponderable factors which render it difficult to draw conclusions from the statements of the anonymous author of the *Ṣafaḥāt*. Until now no examples of the copper coin of the period have been reported.

The two smaller figures in 1274/1858 and 1276/1859, if correctly transmitted, of 420 and 320 *ḥarf* may possibly indicate that the term *ḥarf* was being applied to a larger coin, a multiple of the smaller *ḥarf*. In 1868 the figure is 680 *ḥarf*.

If the *ḥarf* was unadulterated copper it may be assumed that it could not, at worst, drop far below the price for raw copper in Aden or Mocha.

Fiddling with the currency was of course no novelty in the Yemen, and bartering of commodities in some parts of the country was still practised as late as 1962, so in this light must be considered al-Sayāghī's⁴ appreciation of the economic situation of over a century ago. He refers to the distress which the Yemen suffered from 'the currency' (*umlah*) of copper (*naḥās*)⁵ which the caliphs and leaders, contending with one another for rule (*ḥukm*), used to impose, so that the silver *riyāl* (Maria Theresa dollar and the like) used to reach 3,000 copper *ḥarf*—struck *ad hoc* (*'afw-an*), for them to expend on their troops (*junūd*) and followers, without reckoning and regard to the issuing of it and what was in the hands of the people, with which the markets became filled and business came to a standstill. It (the currency) became only an emblem for the person who had come to power (*ḥukm*)—the main thing about it being to put his name on it while abolishing the coinage (*ḍaribah*) of anyone preceding him, until, at times, the change (*ṣarf*) for the *riyāl* would come to be weighed out because of the impossibility of counting it. Merchants and people with accounts (*ahl al-ḥisābāt*) [to settle?] used to barter grain and commodities. The farmers would grow but find no market for their crops or sale for it (*lahu*) so that sometimes the price of wheat (*ḥinṭah*) rose to five or six *qadaḥs* a *riyāl*, and ghee (*samn*) to ten *raṭls*, the rest of things being in the same measure.⁶

The Ratio of Copper Coinage to the Silver Riyāl, 1849-1868

24 *Shawwāl*, 1265/12 September, 1849

'The Mahdawā⁶ (copper) coinage (*ḍaribah*) was issued by the hand of Wāsiṭat' al-Dār (i.e., the Agent (*Wakīl*) of the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl) and the Imām's special Agent, Sayyid Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Shāmī, the change (*ṣarf*) of the *qirsh* being 2,400 *ḥarf* of it; but this lasted only a few days till it returned to what it had (previously) been, 3,000 *ḥarf*.'

Dhu 'l-Qa'dah or later, 1267/September, 1851

In the bad conditions prevailing, there being no money to pay troops and others, resort was had to the Mint⁸ (Dār al-ḍarb) [and copper coinage struck] until the change for the *qirsh* reached 5,000 *ḥarf*, and, outside Ṣan'ā', more. In Shibām (Kawkabān) it was 5,500 *ḥarf*.

Jumādā I, 1269/ca. February, 1853

There was inflation of prices and scarcity of supplies, but the greatest hardship arose from the disturbances at the Mint, 'and the change for the *qirsh* was 8,000⁹ *ḥarf* and all comestibles (*maṣrūfāt*) were . . . played with.'

4 Sha'bān, 1269/13 May, 1853

'The minting was altered (*qulibat al-ḍarbah*) and the change for the *qirsh* issued at 4,000 *ḥarf*, reaching from the first, 9,600 *ḥarf*.'

16 Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 1269/21 August, 1853

'The coinage was issued and they made a proclamation¹⁰ fixing (*rasamū*) the change for the *qirsh* at (*min*) 3,200 *ḥarf*, and the first¹¹ was at sixteen *ūqiyyahs* (ounces) to a *qirsh*. This was one of the greatest disasters to the town and its citizens.'

This should mean apparently that one lb. weight of copper coin was required by way of change for the *riyāl* of silver. It led to scarcities of every commodity. The authorities attempted to cope with the situation by imprisoning, fettering, and setting a restriction on the city gates, but, after a week, 'the affair resorted to levying (*farq*) 3,000 *qirsh* and releasing the rate of exchange (*ṣarf*) to them. They paid this (levy) with great hardship.'

Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 1274/June-July, 1858

'The rate of exchange turned over (*taqallab al-ṣarf*) until, in the Qa'dah month, change for the *qirsh* reached somewhere over 420 [*ḥarf*?] and everything became expensive.'

The figure 420 looks incorrect for, in the general context, one would have expected 4,200 *ḥarf*. It is however possible that some new unexplained circumstances as, for example, the striking of a larger *ḥarf*-piece, could confirm what seems an inconsistently low figure.

Jumādā II, 1276/December, 1859

The herald in Ṣan'ā' proclaimed that the first/former small change (*al-'adaḍ al-ūlā*) was $3\frac{3}{4}$ pounds (*raṭl*) to the *qirsh* and the new to be 320 *ḥarf*.

End of Rajab, 1277/11 February, 1861

As a result of interference with the Mint the exchange rate (*ṣarf*) [for the *qirsh*] reached 2,200 [*ḥarf*] and everything became dear and scarce.

Jumādā I, 1279/November, 1862

'The Mint was opened and coin (*sikkah*) imprinted (*ṭubi'a*) with the name of the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh, and change for the *qirsh* was at 2,000 *ḥarf* like the first [*sikkah*]. At the close of Jumādā I 'the exchange rate (*ṣarf*) increased by about a quarter over the ordinance (*qānūn*) upon which it was constructed . . . and it was agreed to close the Mint on 5 Jumādā II/28 November.'

1284/1867-68

The coinage (*ḍaribah*) was a cause of detriment to both great and small. This was because it was at the exchange-rate (*ṣarf*) of 2,500 *ḥarf* of pure copper (*naḥās khālīṣ*) to a *riyāl*. As a result grain and comestibles (*maṣrūfāt*) became scarce. This coinage did not even reach so near a place as al-Rawḍah. The exchange-rate kept on increasing secretly, bit by bit, until Sha'bān 17/December 14, when it was proclaimed to consist of 3,200 [*ḥarf*], but it did not remain stabilized and went on secretly to over 4,000. Everything was wanting unless paid for by the *qirsh* *ḥajar*.¹²

Ca. Rajab, 1285/November, 1868

The minting (*ḍarbah*) was at 660 *ḥarf*. This was used for living expenses (*naḥqāt*) in al-Rawḍah, al-Ḥaymah and so on. That was after everything had become scarce.

1 Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāghī, *Ṣafaḥāt majhūlah min tārīkh al-Yaman*, Beirut, 1398/1978, 28, 46, 50-52, 70, 73-74, 86, 109, 120.

2 Cf. *Qanūn Ṣan'ā'*, n. 332, for *kabir*, *ḥarf*.

3 Ibid., n. 332. At this period there were 80 *buṣshahs* to the *qirsh*.

4 *Ṣafaḥāt*, 15 seq.

5 It has been assumed that *naḥās* in the *Ṣafaḥāt* means copper not brass.

6 Of Imām 'Alī b. al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh?

7 This looks like a corruption of the title Uṣṭā-dār.

8 The Mint was in the Qal'ah/Qaṣr as in the days of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn.

9 Reading *thamānin* for *thamāni*.

10 Reading *wa-aḥarū* for *aw ḥaharū*. *Aḥar* means to proclaim in the suqs and streets; *ḥahirah* is a proclamation (cf. p. 148a).

11 *Al-awwālūlā min*—the sense is not clear to me.

12 Actual silver specie. cf. p. 183b, n. 54.

Chapter 17

The Mosques of Ṣan‘ā’

The Yemeni Islamic Setting

i Introduction

In a traditional Islamic city the mosque, need it be said, has a central place in people's lives—and nowhere more so than in Ṣan‘ā’. This volume only touches upon the immense lore of Islamic practice, rites, tenets, and a little only is said of popular credences, many inherited from the pagan ages,¹ as Yemenis themselves recognise. An analytical study of al-Rāzī's history should, in itself, yield data on early religious developments and memories, even when faint, of ancient controversies. These prefatory pages pick out a few items of significance, making no claim to be an all-over survey. If they mingle grave with gay this reflects how it is with Yemenis who do, mostly, take Islam seriously and attempt, in greater or lesser degree, to follow its precepts, but, sensibly, they do not see this incompatible with a certain sense of humour over religious matters.

The ordinary Ṣan‘ānī man goes, or used to go to the mosque before sunrise at the Adhān al-Fajr call to prayer and the Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ must be in the mosque. During the day he will be at work and pray where he is but officials can pray the Ṣalāt al-Zuhr at mid-day in the Jāmi‘. The Ṣalāt al-‘Aṣr will often be prayed at the qāt session (*fi ‘l-maqīl*), but on finishing his work a man will go to the mosque, pray the Maghrib prayer and stay on till after the ‘Ashā prayer. He will then go home for his simple supper of a *jaḥīnah* of millet-flour and *qishr*-coffee. Ordinary folk take advantage of the availability of water there for ablution which may be difficult to get at home and not plentiful. Women do not go to mosques but they may make pilgrimages to shrines like their visiting the Farwah b. Musayk mosque.

Some twenty-five years ago the Friday Prayer was attended in the Jāmi‘ Kabīr and to some extent in Ḥanṣal, the best of the Bīr al-‘Azab mosques, but now the Friday Prayer is held in many mosques. At the Jāmi‘ however it is still well attended.

Tribesfolk in contradistinction to city folk are reckoned to have little care for the practice of religion as expressed in the saying from the Mashriq, ‘*Lā jadda-nā ṣallā wa-lā iḥnā naṣūm*, Our ancestor did not pray and we do not fast’. Many tribesfolk in the districts more distant from Ṣan‘ā’ have never even learned how to perform the prayer.

It is said, I do not know with what truth, that the Banī Dhubyān of al-Ja‘rā district used to chose one man from each sub-tribe to perform the Ramaḍān fast, and he would fast the last day of the month only! A proverb, ‘*Ḥit (= jā‘at) minnak yā Bayt Allāh*, It's your fault, House of God’, arises from the tale of a man who habitually neglected to go to the mosque to pray, and when he did so, found it shut.²

1 Rossi, *L'arabo parlato*, 186, has a few notes on popular religion.

ii Mawlid

The Mawlid al-Nabiyy is read in the mosques on the Prophet's Birthday (12th Rabi‘ I). The term *mawlid* however seems to be loosely applied to various *adhkār*, perhaps to be translated as hymns, and perhaps recital of parts of the Prophet's life, sung at various joyous occasions, such as a birth, a new arrival from abroad etc. This seems to be common amongst women and one might say that she makes a votive offering (*tundhir*) of a *mawlid*. A *nashshadah* would be engaged to sing on such occasions.

iii The Three Collects (Tasbīḥah)

Any visitor to Ṣan‘ā’ will recall being wakened by the muezzins of the mosques calling out, more or less in unison, the three *tasbīḥahs* which are accompanied by the barking of the dogs, the first at 1.30 a.m., the second at 3 a.m., and the third ending at five minutes before dawn. This is not a practice followed in the Shāfi‘ī parts of the Yemen which content themselves with the *adhān*. The Arabic texts given below contain praise of God and his omnipotence, the petition for his mercy and benevolence to mankind whose only resource is He. They include Qur‘ān quotations (*sūrah*s XXXIII, 56, XVII, 111, XXXIII, 14). Ḥusayn al-‘Amrī who provided the text, remarked that the delivery would vary in accordance with the competence of the individual muezzin in classical Arabic. The text is printed with its pausal forms as he recited it, but the punctuation is inserted.

The First Tasbīḥah

Bismillāhi ‘l-Raḥmāni ‘l-Raḥīm.

‘Inna ‘llāha wa-malā‘ikata-hu ‘ala ‘l-Nabiyy. Yā ayyuha ‘lladhīna āmanū ṣallū ‘alay-hi wa-sallimū taslīmā.’ Allāhumma ṣalli wa-sallim ‘alā Muḥammad-in wa-‘alā ‘Alī Muḥammad, kamā ṣallayta wa-sallamta ‘alā Ibrāhīma wa-‘alā ‘Alī Ibrāhīm, innāka ḥamīd-un maḥīd, Min layli-nā ḥadhā ilā Yaḥyā ‘l-Dīn.

Ilāhi anta dhū faḍl-in wa-minan,

Wa-innī dhu ‘l-khaṭāyā fa-‘fu ‘annī,

Wa-mā lī ḥīlat-un illā rajā‘ī,

Li-‘afwi-ka, idh ‘afawta yā Rabbī, wa-ḥusnu ḡannī.

Yā man yarā mā fi ‘l-ḍamīri wa-yasma‘u,
Anta ‘l-mu‘iddu li-kulli mā yutawadda‘u,
Yā man ilay-ka ‘l-mushtakā wa-‘l-mafza‘u,
Wa-ilay-ka amru ‘l-khalqī ‘ā‘idu,
Yā man khazā‘inu rizqī-hi fi qawli ‘Kun’,

2 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, 400, no. 1193.

Umnun, fa-inna 'l-khayra 'inda-ka ajza'u.
Mā lī siwā qar'i li-bābi-ka wasilat-un,
Mā lī siwā qar'i li-bābi-ka ḥilat-un,
Wa-mani 'lladhī ad'ū wa-ahtifu bi-smi-hi,
In kāna fadlu-ka 'an faqiri-ka yumna'u?
Wa-bi-ḥaqqi man aḥbabta-hu wa-ba'athta-hu
Yassir la-nā faraj-an qarib-an, yā Ilāhī lā tubā'idu.
Yā Ḥayyū, yā Qayyūmu, yā Arḥama 'l-rāḥimīna,
Irḥam-nā wa-āfi-nā wa-fu 'annā
Min 'adhābi 'l-qabri wa-'l-Nāri ajir-nā, [thrice]
Wa-fi fannati 'l-Firdawsi iskin-nā/idkhl-nā [thrice]
Lā ilāha illa 'llāh, lā ilāha illa 'llāh, al-ma'būdu fī kullī makān.
Ditto al-mawṣūfu bi-'l-kamāl.
Ditto Rabbi 'l-'arshi 'l-'aẓīm.
Ditto Dhu 'l-Jalālī wa-'l-ikrām.
Lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-'llāhī 'l-'aliyyi 'l-'aẓīm.

The Second Tasbīḥah

La ka 'l-ḥamdu kathīr-an tayyib-an mubārak-ā
Ditto yamla'u 'l-arḍa wa-'l-sama'a
Ditto lā yuraddu wa-lā yu'addu wa-lā yuḥṣā.
Ditto awwalu-hu fī 'l-samā'i wa-ākhiru-hu
fī 'l-arḍ.
Ditto astalidhdhu bi-hi dhikrā.
La-ka 'l-ḥamdu fī 'l-ūlā, la-ka 'l-ḥamdu fī 'l-ukhrā.
La-ka 'l-ḥamdu fī 'l-shiddati, la-ka 'l-ḥamdu fī 'l-rakhā.
La-ka 'l-ḥamdu fī 'l-darrā'i, la-ka 'l-ḥamdu fī 'l-sarrā.

Allāhu akbaru, Allāhu akbaru kabīrā, wa-'l-ḥamdu li-'llāhī
kathīrā, wa-subḥāna 'llāhī bukratā wa-aṣilā kabbartu
kabīr-an wa-'azzamtu 'aẓīmā. [thrice] 'Wa-qul al-ḥamdu li-'llāhī
'lladhī lam yattakhidh walad-an wa-lam yakun la-hu sharik-un
fī 'l-mulki wa-lam yakun la-hu waliyy-un mina 'l-dhull wa-
kabbir-hu takbīr-ā. Wa-'l-ḥamdu li-'llāhī Rabbi 'l-'Ālamīn.

The Third Tasbīḥah

Subḥāna 'l-Maliki 'l-fattāh,
Subḥāna Fāliqī 'l-iṣbāh,
Subḥāna Khāliqī 'l-arwāḥ,
Subḥāna Mūthiqī 'l-ṭayr bi-'l-janāḥ,
Subḥāna man adhhaba 'l-layla wa-atā bi-'l-ṣabāḥ,
Subḥāna Khāliqī 'l-layli wa-'l-nahār,
Subḥāna 'l-'Aliyyi 'l-'A'lā,
Subḥāna Dhi 'l-mulki wa-'l-malakūt, Rabbi 'l-'izzati wa-'l-jabarūt,
Subḥāna 'l-Maliki 'l-quddūs,
Subḥāna man ta'azzaza bi-'l-qudrati wa-'l-baqā, wa-qahara 'l-
'ibāda bi-'l-marwī wa-'l-fanā,
Subḥāna man la-hu fī kullī sā'at-in sha'nu-hu 'l-jūdu
wa-'l-karamu wa-'l-iḥsān,
Subḥāna 'lladhī fī 'l-samā'i 'arshu-h,
Subḥāna 'lladhī fī 'l-arḍi mawṭi'u-h,
Subḥāna 'lladhī fī 'l-baḥri sabīlu-h,
Subḥāna 'lladhī fī 'l-qabri qadā'u-h,
Subḥāna 'lladhī fī 'l-Nāri sulṭānu-h,
Subḥāna 'lladhī fī 'l-fannati raḥmatu-h,

Subḥāna 'lladhī lā manjā wa-lā malja'a min-hu illā ilay-h,
Subḥāna 'llāhī wa-bi-ḥamdi-hi, Subḥāna 'llāhī 'l-'aẓīm.
[repeated five times]
Subḥāna 'llāh. [repeated ten times]
Subḥāna 'lladhī lā yanbaghi 'l-tasbīḥu illā la-h,
Subḥāna-hu wa-ta'ālā wa-'tabāraka 'llāhu aḥsanu 'l-khālīqīn.'

iv The Adhān, Qiblah, pre-Islamic and Islamic Masjids

The call to prayer (*adhān*) is mostly delivered in the court (*ṣawḥ*) of the mosque, even in those mosques which have a minaret—almost the only mosques where the *adhān* is delivered from the minaret are the Jāmi' itself, Qubbat al-Mahdī, Ṭalḥah and al-Filayḥī. Where a minaret has two balconies, an upper (*dawwār a'lā*) and a lower (*dawwār asfal*), both above its square base, the lower is used by the muezzin in such circumstances as rain or cold. The *qiblah* of San'ā' is Jabal Dīn which tradition relates was appointed so by the Prophet, but al-Hamdānī⁴ notes the ancient (pre-Islamic) *masjid* on the top of Jabal Dīn in a list of other pre-Islamic *masjids* including that of Shu'ayb (identified with Jethro) on Ḥaḍūr mountain. On Jabal Dīn is the shrine of Qudum b. Qādim⁵ of Hamdān an eponymous ancestor of one of the Ḥāshid groups. Before 1962 it had an intendant (*qā'im*) and votive offerings (*nudhūr*) were taken there. The Islamic *masjids* are San'ā', Ṣa'dah and al-Janad, built on places where 'the Apostle's camel couched', and the Mansak (a place of devotions and offering of sacrifices) of Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī at the Jabbānah of San'ā'—which is a mosque where no distressed person (*makrūb*) prays but his prayer is answered.⁶ The term 'blessed mosques' (*al-masājid al-mubārakah*) means those where prayers are answered (*al-mustajābah al-da'awāt*).⁷ If a mosque is blessed in this way it is an indication of the uprightness (*ṣalāḥ*) of its founder as having used 'lawful' money (*al-māl al-ḥalāl*), i.e., not acquired by unjust means, to construct it.

In the 'Urḍī-Barracks south of the city is the mosque of Wahb b. Munabbih b. Kāmil al-Abnāwī, and his tomb, reputed to have been founded by Wahb himself—this we were unable to visit so we do not know if the existing structure is old or not. It seems that only the location of the tomb itself has any claim to antiquity. Wahb (34-114/654-5 to 732-3), said to have been born in Dhamār, is credited with great local importance in his age, but not much is known of him. Al-Rāzī⁸ calls him Sayyid al-Ḥukamā' and Imām of the people of San'ā' in his day, adding that he was in charge of the *qāḍī*-ship (*qaḍā'*) of the city during the reign of the Umayyad 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and Imām of the Qur'ān readers (*qurrā'*). He was of Persian descent but considered of the people of the Yemen. Fragments of the *Sīrah* he composed have recently been edited⁹—Professor Kister sees in it the attempt to reconcile Sunnī and Shī'ah tradition—very significant since San'ā' is credited with Shī'ah attitudes from an early age—some holding that this goes back to the time of 'Alī himself. Another famous early traditionist contemporary with him was Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (ob. 106/724-5) after whom an ancient San'ā' mosque¹⁰ is named. His father was a Persian who married a *mawlāh* woman of the Ḥimyarite Āl Hūd, but Ṭāwūs disclaims being of the *mawālī*.¹¹

3 This formula throughout the Islamic world is repeated seven times before the *shurūq*, sun-rise before Ṣalāt al-'Id.

4 *Ikhl VIII*, 86.

5 See E. Griffini, 'Il poemetto di Qudam Ben Qādim', *RSO*, Roma, 1916-18, 293-363. It contains a prophecy that from the family of Aḥmad will come forth one day 'un *qā'im* che farà atto di secessione, farà la Hegira, al pari dei *muhājirīn* jemeniti della stirpe di Qaḥṭān' (p. 307).

6 *Ikhl VIII*, loc. cit.

7 To this may be compared the usage of 'alā barakat Allāh = bi-'awmi 'llāh, meaning 'go with the protection of God', said to a person departing or going to see another. To a person who says he is going to get married, you might

say, *Ma'a barakat Allāh*.

8 *Tārīkh San'ā'*, 223, 367, 375, 415, *passim*. He is said to have been in charge of Bayt Māl al-Yaman, the Treasury. (Aḥ. Zakiyy Ṣafwat, *Jamharat rasā'il al-'Arab*, Cairo, 1356/1937, II, 233. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 960, records in 1121/1709 the first man to be buried at the new cemetery near Turbat Wahb b. Munabbih.)

9 Raif Georges Khoury, Wahb b. Munabbih, Teil I, *Codices Arabici Antiqui*, I, Wiesbaden, 1972. Cf. M. J. Kister, 'On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih', *BSOAS*, 1974, XXXVII, iii, 545-71; Ditto: 'an addendum' op. cit., 1977, XL, i, 125-7.

10 *Masājid San'ā'*, 66.

11 Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 326.

v *Shī‘ism and the Zaydīs*

Writing about 290/903, Ibn Rustah¹² says that ‘Shī‘ism (*tashayyu*)’ is the predominant (doctrine) with most of its inhabitants’. The anti-‘Alawī al-Hamdānī¹³ states the case rather differently. ‘There has never ceased to be there an *‘ālim*, *faqīh*, *hakīm*, ascetic (*zāhid*) and one loving God with an exceeding love. . . They have a Şan‘ānī calligraphy (*khaṭṭ*) for the *maṣāḥif* (of the Qur‘ān), disjointed (*mukassar*)¹⁴ and with an accomplishment (*taḥsīn*)¹⁵ which cannot be attained (elsewhere), with correct pointing (*ḥaqā‘iq al-shakl*) for which al-Khalīl praised them. They have stipulations which no others have, nor is there any stipulation for a *faqīh* among the inhabitants of the countries but they have one more eloquent, sweeter in pronunciation (*lafẓ*), more expressive of meaning and economical (in the use of words).’ Centuries later the *Ṭabaq al-ḥakwā*,¹⁶ in similar vein, says that ‘Shī‘ism (*tashayyu*)’, by God’s grace, is both old and new in Şan‘ā’, followed as a faith both by its evil and pious (*ashrār wa-abrār*). On this account Sultan ‘Umar b. ‘Alī al-Rasūl (7th/13th century) said, “Şan‘ā’ is Zaydī to its (very) stones”. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was of course sent by the Prophet to the Yemen and one of the oldest mosques in the city at Sūq al-Ḥalaqah is associated with his name—it is certainly an old foundation.

It is perhaps not widely realised for how long the Sharīfs of Mecca followed the Zaydī rite, but it looks as if the last vestige of Zaydī leadership ended during the imāmate of al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar (701-29/1301-28) who is also claimed to have been the last Imām to fight with ‘Alī’s sword Dhu ‘l-Fiqr. Blessing (*du‘ā*) on him continued to be said in al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf after the Maghrib and Fajr Prayers until the order came from the Sultan of Egypt to the Sharīf of Mecca to abolish this in 725/1325. ‘The Imām of the Zaydiyyah used to lead them in prayer between al-Rukn and al-Ḥajar al-Aswad, and when the Şalāt al-Şubḥ ended he prayed (*da‘ā*) in a loud voice, using the words, “*Allāhumma*, bless Muḥammad and the good (*aṭyāb*) People of his House from whom God has removed evil (*rijs*) and purified (*tahhar*) them. *Allāhumma*, support the right (*ḥaqq*) and those who do right, and abandon the false (*bāṭil*) and those who act falsely, by the lasting of the shadow of God, the Commander of the Faithful, the clear interpreter (*tarjumān al-bayān*), the expositor of the sciences of the Qur‘ān, the Imām, son of the Imām, the Imām Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar b. Yaḥyā b. Rasūl Allāh.”’ The Egyptian soldiers expelled this Imām from Mecca.¹⁷

Although the Zaydīs are strongly opposed to the ‘Ismā‘īlīs’, i.e. the Ṭayyibī Fāṭimīs, and burn their literature as a rule if they lay hands on it, they are, on an intellectual plane, far less opposed to the Sunnīs, especially the Shāfi‘īs—indeed al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī in his *Diwān* declares his support of the ‘Alawīs.¹⁸ They however combat the Sūfistic practices attached to local shrines of the Shāfi‘ī districts as pagan, in which many Shāfi‘īs would concur with them, and they are also opposed to Sūfism from the theoretical point of view. The Zaydīs are Mu‘tazilites and for them the Qur‘ān is created, a major theoretical point of difference with the Ahl al-Sunnah, but this does not seem to create discord between them.

vi *Ramaḍān*

During the ‘Blessed Month’ the routine of life in Şan‘ā’ is completely altered. Official business is nearly at a standstill since Government offices only open for 4 hours (10 a.m.-2 p.m.) in the morning. Since Şan‘ā’ stands so high the fast is not the hardship,

even when it falls in the summer season, that it is in Ḥaḍramawt, and in some ways it is almost a month of holiday.

The daily routine in Ramaḍān is that you sleep up to mid-day, then you pray the Zuhr Prayer. Rossi¹⁹ says that before the prayer one goes out to buy meat (*yishrak*). Then there is a reading (*darīs*)²⁰ of the Qur‘ān until the Şalāt al-‘Aşr in the late afternoon. After this you go to the Sūq if you have things to do there, and then you go for a walk (*dawrah*) in the town or the suburbs. When you hear the gun you take the *iftār/fuṣūr*, always something light to break the fast, such as a few dates, about the time of the *adhān* or before the Evening call to prayer and Şalāt al-Maghrib, then comes ‘*ashā*’-supper.

Supper would be soup of wheat in the husk with milk (*shūrabā min al-birr bi-qishr-ah ma‘a ‘l-laban*)—this was stated usually to be eaten in Ramaḍān only, and *ḥilbah ḥamīdah*, fenugreek with vinegar etc., dates. In a house in comfortable circumstances there would be meat dishes or perhaps liver, ram’s kidneys (*kibdah wa-kalāwi ‘l-kabsh*), ginger, cardamom, cummin (*zinjabil, hayl, kammūn*) and *qushnah*—onions fried with ghee (*al-başal al-maqlī ma‘a ‘l-saman*)—when the meat is fried they add vegetables. This is for the *affār*, the evening meal.

The ‘*Ashā*’-Prayer is now prayed, after which you go to the mosque for two hours to read the Qur‘ān, then you go home and read *Tafsir* or *Ḥadīth* or the Life of the Prophet, etc. until midnight. You stay in the mosque till the *midfa‘ al-saḥūr*, the pre-dawn gun, fires, then go home and take the pre-dawn meal (*ṭa‘ām al-saḥūr*) which would be white *ḥilbah*, wheat bread (*malūj birra*), and, in wealthier houses, *sha‘iriyyah*.²² You now pray the Dawn Prayer (*Şalāt al-Fajr*) and go to sleep. In Ramaḍān the mosque is closed after this prayer until 8 a.m.

The above is traditionally how a man of learning would pass his time, but for ordinary folk night is turned into day, the shops are open most of the night and there are lights everywhere. In the early morning a man comes round to wake people up to take the pre-dawn meal—in Şan‘ā’ he is known as *al-musaḥḥirātī*—and he collects a return from each household at the close of the ‘Blessed Month’.

In Wādī Ḍahr during Ramaḍān the intending pilgrims (*ḥujjāj*) or their families set up a swing (*al-madrahah*) upon which women swing (*yitadarrāḥū ‘alay-hā*) by day and men by night, songs being sung about the *ḥajj*. In the country these swings are set up by the street-side or in the field (*jirbah*) but in Şan‘ā’ in courtyards (*ḥawīyyah*) or suspended from a beam in the larger rooms.

People often used customarily to fast on ‘the day of doubt’, the 30th of Sha‘bān, fearing that Sha‘bān might be short, and that the last day of Sha‘bān was in actual fact the 1st of Ramaḍān. This gave rise to a saying, ‘*In kān min Ramaḍān—w-illā*, If it is Ramaḍān (—fine!), if not, then it is for God (and should bring its reward).’²³

The ‘*Id al-Fiṭr*, often called ‘the Small Feast’ (*al-‘Id al-Şaghīr*) celebrates the conclusion of Ramaḍān, and there is a distribution of presents, always of money, called ‘*asb al-‘Id*—one might say ‘*asb min ‘ammak Aḥmad*, a gift from your paternal uncle Aḥmad. The ‘*uwwādah* (verb, *yu‘awwid*) is the gift to the wife, relations and children (*li-‘l-makhlaf aw al-raḥim wa-‘l-aṭfāl*). ‘*Darāḥim al-‘Id ṣadaqah*, What you spend on the feast is alms,’ runs one of Qāḍī Ismā‘īl’s proverbs, for which of course you will be rewarded. The poor and needy console themselves if they cannot afford an animal to slaughter (known as ‘*id*) by saying, *Dhī mā ma‘ah ‘id yiqūl al-‘id ‘id al-‘afiyah*—which means in brief that health is the greatest riches.

12 *Al-A‘lāq al-nafisah*, BGA, VII, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, 112.

13 *Şifah*, 55-6.

14 Perhaps some of the early Kūfic Qur‘āns illustrated in Martin Lings, *The Quranic art of calligraphy and illumination*, London, 1976, might fit this description, but actual Yemeni pieces of the period might be found in the trove discovered when repairing the Jāmi‘ were these available to be studied.

15 *Taḥsīn* might refer to decoration of course.

16 Fol. 71 b.

17 Zabārah, *A‘immat al-Yaman*, I, 210.

18 See al-Zubayrī and his anti-Imāmīc polemic, *Arabian Studies*, 1978, V, 115.

19 *L’Arabo parlato*, 188.

20 Yemenis say that a cat purring is reciting *biyidris* and rather irreverently tell the story of a Turk who had heard this usage, but finding a cat stealing meat said *Qur‘ān chōk (choq) iymān yōk (yoq)*, Lots of Qur‘ān—no belief/religion.

21 The verb is *yiqashshin-ah* for adding the fried vegetables.

22 See p.545 seq.

23 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, 249, no. 700, cf. 352, no. 1036.

Kabsh al-ʿĪd in the town of Ta'izz²⁵

Ten days before ʿĪd al-Aḏḥā, the Feast of the Sacrifices, known as 'the Great Feast' (*al-ʿĪd al-Kabīr*) people make bonfires called *maḥāsīl* to which children come and often both men and women. Girls and married women sing songs known as *al-bālāh* so-called because the refrain is *Ya 'l-bālā wa-'l-layl ya 'l-bāl*, and men might sing (*yuraddidūn*) such songs as the *rasafah*²⁴ genre.

<i>Yā qishr yā ḥālī</i>	O <i>qishr</i> -coffee, you sweet thing,
<i>Laqqamū-k al-dilālī</i>	They've poured you into metal pots,
<i>Ṭalla 'ū-k al-manāẓir</i>	They've taken you up to the belvederes,
<i>Sakabū-k al-sayānī</i>	They have poured you into china-cups,
<i>Nashshafū-k al-rijālī</i>	The men have sipped of you.

One person would sing a line and the rest repeat it after him.

vii *Al-Dhahbānī and the Kabsh al-ʿĪd Poem*

No better impression of how ordinary folk see the Great Feast can be given than by quoting the contemporary humorous poet of the colloquial, Muḥammad al-Dhahbānī, a Ṣan'ānī hailing originally from the Banī Ḥushaysh.

A neighbour of al-Dhahbānī's, on the occasion of the Feast of the Sacrifices in 1968, bought a *kabsh*—a ram—at the Friday Market in Ta'izz, but when he brought it back to the house he discovered that his *kabsh* was a ewe—for the Feast a male animal needs be slaughtered. This so tickled al-Dhahbānī's humorous fancy that he composed the verses below on the comi-tragedy.

The lack of strict time sequence, in the latter half of the poem especially, arises from the probability that the poet did not apply himself to draft it as an integrated whole. The likelihood is that, sitting in the *mafrāj*, the company would suggest and press him to describe the incident. Verse of this type is often composed by poets going on a picnic (*'izbah*, verb, *ta'azzab*) with meat and *qāt* outside Ṣan'ā'. Al-Dhahbānī might reflect some minutes, as I have so often seen poets do, then deliver his verses. His quatrains would be acclaimed with admiration and, when the initial build-up collapsed into anti-climax, with laughter. The *qaṣīdah* opens with the greetings conventional in this type of popular verse, then describes the preparations for the Feast and the gathering of the guests—a hint (*sotto voce*) interposing now and then at the social solecism to burst upon the assembled guests. When the butcher reveals the truth unpalatable that the animal is no *kabsh*—but a *ewe*—a babel and confusion of jesting comments breaks forth—mounting in the extravagance of its fancies to the heights of hyperbole! The termination is abruptly signalled by the advice to have recourse to the Prophet Muḥammad. (It is the established convention of centuries to conclude a poem by introducing the Prophet's name). In the latter half of the *qaṣīdah* one has in fact to think of al-Dhahbānī, led on by the enthusiasm of his audience, improvising quatrain upon quatrain regardless of any consideration of poetic unity until his inspiration runs out and he intimates to his audience that the end has come by the convention known to all.

- 1 On the Feast of Sacrifices—noblest salutations²⁶
Fresh nosegays of flowers, jewel-like,
Greetings more glorious than the sun resplendent
Despatched to the houses of al-Jaḥmaliyyah
- 2 Come an-entering through their windows and their doors
Rising like sweet basil flowers upon every roof-top²⁷
The spirits of the dear folk rejoice in their perfume,
Those above all, whose faces to see lights up one's heart.
- 3 To Ta'izz we set out, expressly to visit you
Making our way towards the house of al-'Iyānī,
The weather cold, coming down in bag-fulls,
Bitter cold! *The hire too was a bit expensive.*
* * *
- 4 Palm-straw mats we brought with us, and cushions
Warm lined coats, blankets and charpoy beds.
Just come to the kitchen and I'll let you see the dishes,
The plates, the covers and the Bāriq²⁸ pots.
- 5 The Feast-cake we laid out on round trays,
Four copper-pots of *kubān*²⁹ maize-cake we've made,
We've brought the Feast dessert-cake, the sweet basil,
We set up everything for the feast—BUT WE'VE NO
BEAST TO KILL!
* * *
- 6 Of lucky chance met I my good friend Maḥmūd.
Said he to me, 'Have not a fear—the *kabsh* is there,
A lamb stall-fed, so stout filled out, he cannot stand,
Whose fat belly guts would cover half the yard!'
- 7 We've brought the stone stew-pots,³⁰ the dishes,
We've ranged the cooking pans on the braziers,
All and sundry we've invited from the mosques,
Any one from the centre of the markets, and the farmers.³¹
* * *
- 8 At the round-about³² the headmen discussed (the *kabsh*)
together.
It was the topic of the room when they went to chew the
afternoon *qāt*.³³
What a complaining they made that there was no soup,
Nor any toasted bits of tripe, or meat fried, free of fat.³⁴
* * *
- 9 God preserve us (from the evil eye), may Yā-Sīn do so too.³⁵
In the butchers' hands how many a knife there is.³⁶
See how the neighbours and the poorer folk
Come hastening up to the top of al-Jaḥmaliyyah!
- 10 In this one's hand is a cowy-decorated basket,
Each one arriving sits himself cross-legged in the *dihlīz*.³⁷
All stayed assembled until the hour of four,³⁸
But the invitations they'd been given were to *nothing*!
- 11 Into the pen went (the butcher)—at his presentiment
strummed a few bars,

24 Rossi, op. cit., 101, *rasfah* (plur., *razafāt*), I heard it as *razfah* (sing.). *Laqqam* to pour. *Nashshaf*, to sip making a sucking noise, *nishfah* a sip. This particular set of verses is called *rasafat al-qishr*. These songs are also sung on such occasions as the grape-harvest (*kharij*) at al-Rawḍah.

25 On lines not dissimilar, the 11th/17th century Ṣan'āni poet 'Alī Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Rijāl complained in humorous verse to the Imām by whose royal order (*al-amr al-sharīf*) he was given a *kabsh* but it turned out to be a most inferior animal (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 221 seq.).

26 *Wāfir* metre, The poem is in al-Dhahbānī, *al-Anghām al-sha'biyyah*, Ṣan'ā', n.d., 33.

27 Sweet basil grows in flower-pots (*majwāl*, pl., *majāwīl*) on the roof-tops. This is the *mashāqir* of verse 5/3.

28 Bāriq is said to be a place in Khawlān.

29 See p.550b, *khubz min al-rūmī*.

30 The *madhalah* (pl., *madāhil*) are *awānī al-ḥaraq*, as in Qānūn Ṣan'ā', p.544a.

31 This is hyperbole—such widespread invitations are not given!

32 A *jawlah*, clearly a new word, is a round-about for traffic. This discussion by the headmen seems to have taken place after the awful discovery that the *kabsh* was a ewe.

33 *Atkū*, to recline at the *maḥīl* al-*qāt* (colloquial *magyāl*).

34 For *qazaqiz*, toasted tripe, see p.555a. They are described as *al-tharbah*, which are eaten on the morning of 'Īd al-Aḏḥā. For *qaliyyah* see p.555a.

35 *Yā-Sīn* is a favourite *sūrah* to recite against the evil eye. The verse commences *Yā hijāb Allāh = yā ghārat Allāh* (for which see p.147a)—*taḥmī min al-'ayn*, may you guard against the evil eye.

One says to a person who sneezes, 'Yā-Sīn!' A proverb, '*Tigrā Yā-Sīn wa-fi yad-ak ḥajar*, Recite Yā-Sīn but keep a stone in your hand', is equivalent to 'Trust in God and keep your powder dry.'

36 This is a reference to the well known Arabic proverb—'when the ox is slaughtered the knives are many.'

37 The entrance hall of a large house, see p.441a.

38 Ten a.m.

And, seeing the lamb, fell dumb and dismayed,
This lamb,' he said, 'tis sweet and plump, tis true,
But its face—why, *tis the face of a girl!*'

* * *

- 12 Amazed I am (to think) how quickly her end had come,
The grand smell before you taste the soup made from her!
No doubt but the man who bought her fell in love with her,
Made her his sweet-heart for her enchanting Babylonian³⁹
eyes.

* * *

- 13 Come listen now—what jokes⁴⁰ there were
When we saw her shoes and her *siṭārah* wrap,
In the middle of the *dihlīz* found her smoking cigarettes
Since she has a penchant for cigarettes.

- 14 Henna-ed⁴¹ her feet are, and her hands
Are decorated⁴² with rust-coloured patterns.
A repertoire she has too, Lebanese and Indian tunes.
They say, 'Her voice is sweeter than Hadiyyah's.'⁴³

- 15 'She has four tits,' they say, 'and one to spare',
A very reservoir of milk, falling down in screwlike spurts.⁴⁴
Reared by sharing she was too, arranged with a baker,⁴⁵
So he's got (meat) when *the Evening* arrives.

- 16 A kid too, at her side, kohl-coloured round the eyes,
And a husband—a veritable MAN⁴⁶—replete with manly
powers.
Some person has resorted to trickery against her,
She will, she says, raise a complaint against him.

- 17 Before the Shaykh of the Ewes, the Headman of Sharārah,⁴⁷
To represent her she has appointed Rizq al-Ghirārah.⁴⁸
'Don't let the expense bother you.' She said,
'I want a judgement made in this case of mine.'

- 18 She is filled with anger at the man who came and bought
her.
'He wants to deprive her of her warm (coat).'⁴⁹ She says,
'He terrified her—adding to her distress
By treating her as if she were a servant girl.'⁵⁰

- 19 They said to her, 'How comes it you are so grieved?
Why ever did you not let us know at the time?
You've publicly exposed us before the whole town,
You have shamed us in front of the farm-folk.'

- 20 'Mine is an astonishing tale,' said she,
'How shall I rest when I'm a stranger
And my children are lambs in the pen?

39 Babylon is famous for the angels Hārūt and Mārūt who taught men sorcery.

40 *Nadārah*, explained as *muḍaḥḥakāt*, things to be laughed at, but *nidr* means joking, fun, and indeed this poem is one which *yindir* 'ala 'l-shāh, makes fun of the ewe.

41 Animals sold for the Feast are henna-ed (*maḥannāyah*), a gay orange colour.

42 Uncertain.

43 Hadiyyah is a well known singer.

44 *Qulāz*, thought to be Turkish, explained as *ḥalazīnī*, spiral.

45 *Rabā'ah* is expalined as 'nurabbi-hā bi-'l-nuṣṣ'-'l-thulth, we rear (the animal) sharing half and half/two thirds and one third in the cost'. This seems to be common, as for instance also between Jews and Arabs, see p.170b. In this case it is a specific agreement so as to have an animal for the Feast.

46 A complete man who *yaqūm bi-ḥājat al-bint kāmīl-an*.

47 The name may be fanciful, but Maydān al-Sharārah is in Bīr al-'Azab.

48 Rizq al-Ghirārah, lit., provender in the grain-sack, looks like a comic invention.

49 *Yikhallis-hā dafā-hā*, lit., to pluck away her warmth, but the sheepskin lined coat of northern Yemenis is meant. *Akhlis thiāb-ak*, take off your clothes.

50 A *baziyyah* (pl., *bazāyā*) a married woman servant working from morning to sunset; she eats with the family and receives a wage. She would be of the poor of Ṣan'ā'. (In tribal areas perhaps a woman with no husband to support her.) In Ṣan'ā' it might also be a girl ('*azabah*) unmarried with none to support her, living as one of the family. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 295, no. 855, has a proverb, '*Al-baziyyah tuqul al-bayt bayta-nā*, The serving girl (boasts to others) that (her master's) house is ours.'—It is used of boasting of something one does not possess. No. 856 is of a *baziyyah* who works so hard

Talk it over together, have pity, you who aid (the
defenceless).'⁵¹

- 21 The Shaykh rose, and the Headman summoned her,
Told the guard⁵² who had charge to go with her,
She should seek recourse to the Best of Creation, Ṭaḥā,
Who delivers us from awkwardnesses and evil.⁵³

* * *

A tale that illustrates a little of the practice of slaughtering at the Feast is recounted by Qāḍī Ismā'il.⁵⁴ A man bought a beast to slaughter for the Feast. He commissioned a butcher to kill it, telling him to say, 'Bismillāh, Allāhumma, this is on behalf of so and so', naming himself as the donor. The butcher however, instead of naming him, mentioned his own name. So the owner of the beast said to him, 'round off your killing of it with, "And God knows best who the person is that paid the money (*Allāh a'lam bi-naqqād im-fulūs*)"'

viii The *Jabbānah*: *Ṣalāt al-Istisqā'*

It is a custom generally in the Yemen to go outside the city to an open place to pray at the two Feast-times. The *Ṣalāt al-Id* prayer takes place at the Ṣan'ā' Jabbānah mosque before first light (*al-shurūq*). In Imām Yaḥyā's time it was still in open country but now it is surrounded by houses.

Another important occasion upon which they repair to the Jabbānah is at the *istisqā'* or prayer for rain at the periodic droughts. An older rite almost certainly pre-Islamic and ancestor to the Muslim *istisqā'* is the *tasqiyah* described by Rossi⁵⁵ and the writer. In some places in South Yemen I have remarked that the villagers go out to the wadi-bed for the *istisqā'*. A story⁵⁶ is told that a year of drought befell Ṣan'ā' and the Governor (*wālī*) ordered the people to go out and pray for rain (*yastasqūn*). So the Muslims went to the Jabbānah and the Jews went out to the area to the west. The distress caused by the drought went on for a long time so the Governor commanded the Jews to go out along with the Muslims, and follow them in whatever they said. The Muslims were shouting, '*Bi-Muḥammadin yā Allāh, minna 'alay-nā bi-'l-amṭār*, By Muḥammad O God grant us rain!' The Jews kept turning round to the rear, speaking to one another secretly and they said, 'We should say, "And the Muslims are shouting 'By Muḥammad O God'." "' 'We should say, "(and they are shouting), 'By 'Alī O God'." etcetera.' The intention of the Jews is of course to avoid uttering the oath by the Prophet of Islam. The formula is used first with the oath by Muḥammad, then 'Alī, then al-Zahrā' (Fāṭimah), but does not go on to mention al-Sibtayn, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. On the other hand all five are mentioned in the formulae used by mourners at *al-miqbār*, which is a term covering a funeral 'from the Jāmi' to the grave'.

she has no time to attend to herself.

51 *Ahl al-ḥamiyyah* = *ahl al-ghayrah aw ahl al-najdah*—they *yantaṣifū lahā*, try to obtain justice for her.

52 A *mustalim* is a guard (*ḥāris*) of any sort, e.g. *al-ḥāris alladhī yastalim al-Qaṣr*, the sentry who guards the Qaṣr. They speak of a *mustalim dā'im* and a *mustalim dawri*, sentry guard and patrol guard.

53 The poem has many curious words and expressions: *yiṣāl* = *yūṣāl tijwāb*, flat roof; *'āni* = *qaṣd-an*, on purpose; *daghmar* = *ittajaha*, set out; *ṣalā*, towards; *muṣarrīf* = *bārīd*, cold (cf al-Rāzi, op. cit., *al-ṣard* in Ṣan'ā' means *al-jalīd* from Persian); *yargān*, Turkish lined coat; *kanābil*, blankets; *qalfadah* (pl., *qalāfid*) = *awāni*, vessels; *ma'sharah* (pl., *ma'ashir*) tray; *tanjarah* (pl., *tanājir*), Turkish, copper vessel; *ja'alah* = *ḥalāwa* 'l-Id, Feast sweetmeats; *qaba'a* = *awjādā*; *kirs* = *zaribah*, stall for animal; *wakkafa* = *aḥdara*, bring; *makrād* (pl., *makārid*), dish; *mawqīd* (pl., *mawāqīd*), brazier; *lā 'alāwā* = *ilā a'lā*; *muwadda*, covered/decorated with cowrie shells; *tawālāf* = *tajamma'a*; *tuṭṭan* = *ḍaraba* 'l-'ūd; *tifirris* = *tanabba'a bi-mā ḥadath*, to have a presentiment of what has happened; *jannan* = *iḥtār*, be distracted; *balsas*, to fall silent; *mudaghbas* = *ma'ān*, full, plump; *masra'* = *mā asra'*; *tahaylā* = *istahsana*, approve, find beautiful; *absara*, see; *sakarbil*, shoes; *shiqārah*, cigarettes; *mawla'iyyah*, addiction; *muṣṣarāyāt*, exact sense unknown to the Yemenis who read this with me; *bizz* (pl., *abzāz*), teats (Wehr); *qūzī* (pl., *qawāzī*), lamb (Turkish); *shiyār* is a plural of *shāh*, ewe.

54 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 220, no. 620.

55 *L'Arabo parlato*, 187; Arabian Studies, I, 32, with sung prayer texts.

56 *Al-'Izzī Ṣāliḥ al-Sinaydār, Amthāl Yamaniyyah*, Aden, 18, vi, 61, II, 15.

ix The Administration and Maintenance of a Mosque

Mosques are maintained from the income of the various *waqfs* which were administered by the Nāẓir al-Awqāf or Inspector, and today by the Wazīr al-Awqāf with a budget separate from that of the state—in effect the office is the same. Zaydī Imāms before the second Ottoman occupation⁵⁷ seem to have appointed to this office and al-Mahdī 'Abbās for instance maintained that control of the *zakāt al-waqf* was his prerogative.⁵⁸ The Nāẓir before his day used to receive a commission (*'amālah*) of one tenth, but al-Mahdī reduced this to two thirds of a tenth and when he offered the appointment to Sayyid 'Alī 'Āmir⁵⁹ he offered him only half of the tenth (a twentieth) but the Sayyid refused to accept anything but the full tenth which was the 'recognised commission'. Imām Yahyā Ḥamid al-Dīn in taking over from the Ottomans continued to appoint to the Inspectorate of Waqfs. The post of *ṭā'ifī* in charge of *ṭiyāfat al-waqf fi Shu'ūb Ṣan'ā'* in the present century is mentioned by Zabārah⁶⁰—he seems to have been a sort of assessor like the *muthammin* or *mukharriṣ* sent out by the Government to assess crops for taxation purposes. On behalf of the Awqāf the Nāẓir looks after the lands (*arāḍī*) and *jawāmi'*, including of course the large *waqf* holdings in Ṣan'ā' itself.⁶¹

How little reputation the inspectors had for honesty is shown by Qāḍī 'Alī Abu 'l-Rijāl's censure⁶²

Wa-lā tada' awqāfa-nā li-nāẓir-in
Yaṣrifu-hā fi 'l-farshi li-'l-manāẓiri.

Fa-dāru-hu qad ṣara bi-'l-qāḍāḍi
Muntaẓim-an bi-raghmi kulli qāḍi.

Don't leave our *waqfs* to an inspector
Who will spend on the furnishings of (his own) belvedere.

And, with concrete, his house will be
Well appointed, despite any *qāḍi*.

The intendant of the mosque is known as the *sinaydār* (pl., *sanādirah*)—the importance of the office in the Ṣan'ā' Jāmi' is naturally far greater than in a small country mosque—as, for instance, in Ghaymān where we found the *sinaydār* whitewashing the walls. The present *sinaydār* of the Jāmi' is Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Akwa' (of the Akwa' Ṣan'ā'), who was appointed in the reign of Imām Aḥmad—this Bayt al-Akwa' are muezzins and the *sadanat al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*. It is interesting that this pre-Islamic term *sādin*⁶³ is in present day use still and to be found in the documents relating to *waqf*. Al-Akwa' also acts as the *khaṭīb*. The *sinaydār* of a mosque usually performs the call to prayer, but he does not conduct the prayer—he stands behind the imām, and pronounces the *iqāmat al-ṣalāh*, the commencement of the prayer. In the Jāmi' Ṣan'ā' there are two muezzins, one in the *muqaddam* or northern hall, who used to stand on the *muballigh*, a large wooden platform there, since pulled down, and the other in the *mu'akhhkar* or southern hall, because of the great size of the Jāmi' which on Fridays fills to capacity. The muezzin is also usually the *musabbih*.⁶⁴ The *sinaydār* also opens the mosque doors and oversees the cleaning of the building, making sure that the *qashshām* is keeping the ablution-places properly supplied with water—if the *qashshām* is

not working properly the *sinaydār* complains to the *nāẓir*. In a small mosque the *sinaydār* might do the sweeping. In general he is responsible for guarding the mosque and his house will be close to it.

To the *sinaydār* the *nāẓir* would issue the monthly supplies (*maṣrūf al-shahr*), oil (*salīt*), paraffin for the lamps (*qāz li-'l-lambāt*), wicks (*al-dhabā'il*), candles (*al-sham'*) and his 'measure' (*al-kaylah*⁶⁵ *ḥaqq-ah*) usually grain (*ḥubūb*), rarely cash. Since this was so small allowance for their office they would have other occupations especially weaving (*ḥiyākah*) and they would spin (*yaghzilūn al-fitlah*, also called *barm al-fitlah*) and work at *mi'ṭarah*⁶⁶ (as druggists)—both being regarded as respectable (*'amal sharīf*). The *sinaydār* was of humble standing monetarily (*mutawāḍi' māliyy-an*) but he had to have virtue and religion (*faḍl wa-diyānah*). They mostly held their office by inheritance.

They would of course report to the *nāẓir* when anything in the mosque required repair or renewal, but it is to be remarked that when the mosque is in need of new carpets these are generally asked for, and given to it as gifts. Mosque furniture included large alabaster lamps from Ghirās, Ṣa'dah or Radā', the *ṣirāj* of 'Aṣir stone also—sometimes very large lamps which were given as *waqfs*, they might be nearly two feet in diameter and had a wick (*fatilah*) in each incision so that they gave a fine light. Three-branched copper candle-holders were on show at the City of Ṣan'ā' Exhibition, London, 1976-8. The large lamps were used at marriages (*yazuffū bi-hā*). Apart from this there would be *kursiyyis* to hold an open Qur'ān, cupboards for books and sometimes chests of drawers.

The *qashshām* is so called because he grows *qushmī* (known in other parts of the north as *fiḷ* but not in Ṣan'ā'), the big white radish in the mosque vegetable garden called *miqshāmah* but he also grows *bay'ah*-leeks, *buṣṭalah* a red onion with much hotness (*fahḥah*) and an onion called *barāṣah* which is not very hot. His crop is entirely his own to dispose of unless there should happen to be, under some conditions, part to be paid towards the upkeep of the mosque, so he sells his produce on his own account. A small house beside the mosque, *bayt al-qashshām*, is *milk al-waqf*, *waqf* property. Basically his duty was to convey water to the mosque and release it on the vegetable garden at the end of the day (*yinquḷ al-miyāh ila 'l-masjid wa-yifjar al-mā ila 'l-miqshāmah ākhir al-yawm*). He used to draw the water trotting down the long inclined plane of the well-ramp (*mirna'*) for the ablution places. There are some big *mirna's* near Bāb al-Yaman, not used nowadays of course, because the mechanical pump has entirely replaced human and animal labour. Rossi⁶⁸ has an example of verses sung by the *sānī* or well-worker, and probably also by the *qashshām*. If the garden is large enough the *qashshām* receives no pay for his water-drawing, if it is small he receives *kaylah* of grain, always a specified quantity, to make up the difference.

Though the *qashshām* belongs to the Bani 'l-Khums class, probably because he works with ablution-water which is not clean, today he has become very prosperous because of the current high price of vegetables, and sometimes even owns a lorry or two. During the siege of Ṣan'ā' in 1323/1905 which coincided with a famine in the Yemen when it is said that more than half of the inhabitants of the city died, there were only about twenty of

57 During the first Ottoman occupation also the Governor appointed to religious office. *Ṭabaq al-halwā*, 44 b, records the decease of a Sayyid nominated by the Pasha to Masjid al-Shahidayn to whom he allotted the crop/revenue (*ghallah*) of Bir al-Shahidayn—when the Sayyid died the *waqf* inspector seized it back.

58 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 152.

59 Ibid, 263. In 1190/1776, Imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī dismissed this Sayyid and made Qāḍī 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Akwa' inspector, because the latter had built a mosque known as Masjid al-Hādī (Masjid al-Ḥurqān (*Masājid*, 48)) which he wanted to enter in the general *waqf* register (*al-miswaddat al-'ammah*) but 'Alī 'Āmir, in his capacity as inspector, refused, demanding that al-Akwa' make a *waqf* for the mosque (from his own resources?) that would provide its requirements in the way of carpets, lamps, wages of the intendant, water-drawer and the imām of the mosque (*al-firāsh wa-'l-qanādīl wa-ujrat al-sādin wa-'l-sānī wa-'l-qā'im bi-hi*).

60 Ibid, II, 408.

61 Al-Musaqqafāt, the shops (*al-ḥawānīt wa-'l-dakākin*) near the Jāmi', are *waqf* to it, paying monthly rents.

62 Ibid, II, 237. Cf. II, 401, for a Sayyid in charge of the Awqāf Ṣan'ā' in the early 12th/18th century who took only very little from the *waqf* revenue and maintained (*'ammara*) the mosques of the city.

63 *Sādin* is the correct name for the office, *sinaydār* being merely a local term.

64 See p. 310b.

65 *Kaylah* (as in *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 711) is a commonly applied in all south west Arabia to an allowance or payment basically in grain.

66 *Mi'ṭarah*, 'perfumery', has come to cover a much wider range of goods. Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section, 6.

67 *Mirna'*, Ḥaḍramī *maqūd*. A *manza'ah* is a small hand draw-well in a house. Cf. *Masājid*, 51, *bir manza'ah sabil*. *Yinza' al-sabil* means to draw water from the *sabil* well.

68 Op. cit., 103.

the well-workers (*sunāh*), 'who in the Yemen are called *qushshām*', left, and all those found there today are new. The Jāmi' had thirty *qashshāms*, but only five children survived, their fathers having perished during the siege.⁶⁹

A jingle runs,
Nizilt Wādī 'l-Shām I came down to al-Shām valley,
Liqt qashshām I met a *qashshām*,
Hazart⁷⁰ qushmī I snatched radishes (from him),
Hāzar bi-kummī He snatched at my sleeve.

The *qashshām* is not going to let anyone take his vegetables from him by force!

In 1976 the Ministry of Awqāf reported its work⁷¹ in conservation, repair, and replacement of a large number of carpets in the mosques and *jawāmi'* in many provinces, the capital being foremost. It also had undertaken the listing, and enumeration of all the real estate (*'aqārāt*) and the *musaqqafāt* of the Awqāf in the principal towns, including the capital, the defining of their rents and entering them in large registers (*siyillāt*), regularising them quarter by quarter (*hārah*), market by market, and raising the rents to double (*ad'āf*) what they were previously.

x Mosque Teachers and Scholars

The *nāzir* would also provide the stipend for the Imām who conducts the prayer and is known as Imām mihrāb Ṣan'ā', or the ordinary Imām al-masjid. *Kaylah* in fixed amount would be given him and the muezzin, in accordance with circumstances. The Jāmi' is of course where instruction is given in the wide field of 'ilm, the religious sciences, and most scholars teach without any other reward than gifts from pupils.⁷² Some needy scholars (*fuqahā' muhtājīn*) may however receive *kaylah*. The present *muqri 'l-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*, Sayda-nā Muḥammad 'Āmir,⁷³ reads the Qur'ān before the Ṣalāt al-Fajr in Ramaḍān and before the Ṣalāt al-Jumū'ah, and at all times. He also acts as a *nashshād* (*yunshid*)⁷⁴ at weddings and funerals (*al-afrāḥ wa-'l-amwāt*).

Zabārah⁷⁵ poses the question, 'Who is called *faqīh*?' 'What is intended by *fiqh* is not merely knowledge of the tenets of the founder of the rite/school (*aqwāl Ṣāhib al-madhhab*). It is indeed the analogical deduction (*istinbāṭ*) of the *shar'ī* laws (*aḥkām*) from clear proofs (*adillah taḥṣīliyyah*) the person engaged in which is not called *faqīh* until he becomes a master (imām) in all the transmitted sciences (*al-'ulūm al-naqliyyah*) such as Arabic, the *Uṣūl*, *Ḥadīth*, Qur'ān Commentary (*tafsīr*) and what is connected with this, in addition to the essentials of the science of Scholastic Theology (*Kalām*).'

Of course the term *faqīh* is applied in practice to a wide range of persons from the outstanding scholar to the village dominie whose learning is not very deep. It is said that the Qāḍī class at one time were simply known as *fuqahā'*. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī says that Sayyid scholars would teach in the mosque in the early morning, gratis, then leave and engage in embroidering caps (*taṭrīz al-kawāfi*), after which they would go and chew *qāt* (*yukhazzin*). Even al-Manṣūr the ancestor of the Ḥamīd al-Dīn Imāms used at one time to work at this in a narrow lane in Ṣan'ā', and al-Shāmī himself can do so, though he says he is not very expert at it. The best *kawāfi* come because of this from the Ahnūm and Shahārah districts where there are Sayyids who practise the embroidery craft (*mihnat al-taṭrīz*), making the caps

known as *ma'raqah* (pl., *ma'āriq*). The Qudāh used to ply the craft of binding books (*ḥabak, yaḥbuk*) and indeed an Ahnūmī *qāḍī* is recorded by Zabārah⁷⁶ as 'eating by the toil of his hand at repairing and binding books' (early 12th/18th century). Some Sayyids also bound books. After teaching at the mosque in the early morning one would see Sayyids and others of standing going off with their large turbans and bundle of books to work as carpenters and blacksmiths—this in no way was considered as demeaning them.

The big teaching mosques like the Jāmi' of Ṣan'ā' have a row of cells for students who are known in the Yemen as *muhājirīn*. They seem generally to exist on charity from individuals, mostly in the form of food, but they do not receive anything from the Awqāf. One of these however who used to teach (*yūqri*) and live in the Ṣan'ā' Jāmi', is recorded as receiving something from the *zakāt* and Awqāf.⁷⁷

xi 'Ilm, Religious Learning

In the northern part of the Yemen the study year—the academic year—is six months from Muḥarram to Jumād I.⁷⁸ The Zaydīs study *al-Farā'id* (laws of inheritance) during Rajab over approximately 26 days, each with its specified period (*ḥiṣṣah mu'ayyanah*) until completed.⁷⁹ The Shāfi'is in the Tihāmāh however study during Rajab, *al-Ummahāt al-Sitt*, the 'Six Books' of Tradition, especially al-Bukhārī whose *Ṣaḥīḥ* has in their eyes most virtue (*tabarruk*). Sha'bān and Ramaḍān are a holiday period, but Ramaḍān is a vacation for worship (*ijāzah 'ibādah*). After 'Id al-Fiṭr on the 5th Shawwāl a study period commences, continuing to Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, known as the study period between the small and great feasts (*Dirāsāt bayn al-'Idayn*).

A sample of the course of studies followed by an 'alim in Ṣan'ā' in the first half of the 12th/18th century and probably similar to other scholars even up to the present day is that of 'Abdullāh Luṭf al-Bārī al-Kibsi⁸⁰ which include *al-Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, *Sharḥ al-Raḍiyy*, and some of *al-Ummahāt al-Sitt*. Before he was twenty he had completed grammar, syntax and rhetoric (*bayān*). He then went on to study the *Uṣūlīs* (see *EI*, *uṣūl*), logic, *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and Qur'ān commentary. After completing reading the *'ulūm al-ijtihād*, he occupied himself with learning the Qur'ān by heart, and the Seven Readings (of the Qur'ān) with the Shaykh al-Qurrā'—no doubt in the Jāmi'.

The Shaykh al-Qur'ān,⁸¹ the same as Shaykh al-Qurrā', specialises in the Seven Readings in *Tajwīd* of Qur'ān Recitation, the Zaydīs using the reading of Nāfi', but that of Ḥafṣ is also known.

Ordinarily the mosques are open from before daybreak (*waqt al-saḥūr*) till 3 a.m. (Arab time = 9 p.m.) being closed after Ṣalāt al-Ashā, but some remain open if they are teaching mosques—one door of the Jāmi' on the east side remains open all the time.

xii Al-Masmūrah and al-Manqūrah

Al-Wāsi'⁸² tells us that 'It has been said that in the rear hall (*mu'akhhkar*) of the Jāmi' there is one of the gardens of Paradise, it being the (area) known today commonly held (to lie) between al-Masmūrah and al-Manqūrah; it is bounded by four columns with the *mihrāb* of the rear hall of the Jāmi' in the middle. It is

69 Al-Wāsi', *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, 2nd ed., 303—he was writing in 1927.

70 *Hazar, yahzir*, to snatch. Al-'Izzī Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣinaydār, *Amthāl Yamaniyyah*, II, Aden (?), 18, vi, 61, quotes a proverb, *Qashshām Ṣan'ā' wa-lā shaykh al-bilād*, the sense of which is that the life of a poor townsman (*madani*) is better than that of a rich man who is a *badawi*. The Jews have the same proverb but for *shaykh* they substitute *mōri*.

71 YAR Ministry of Information, *al-Kitāb al-sanawī*, 1976, 175.

72 Al-Mahdī 'Abbās is recorded as ordering the prayer (*ṣalāt*) to be taught in Ṣan'ā' and the villages and countryside (*bawādī*) and he gave the teachers a stipend (*jirāyah*) from the Bayt al-Māl (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 519).

73 A man of this type would be called *faqīh* in the restricted sense that he would know the Qur'ān by heart and various *anāshid nabawiyyah*, etc.

74 See p.533b (n), 561b.

75 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 483.

76 Ibid, II, 159 Ibid, II, 274, notes a Ṣan'ā' *faqīh* who worked as a merchant till he lost his capital.

77 Ibid, II, 217.

78 This form is used for Jumādā.

79 It was a custom with scholars reading a text when they decided to stop at a point which they would later resume, to say, *Ilā hunā wa-nazid, wa-bi-'llāh al-tawfiq*.

80 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 143.

81 Cf. *Masājīd Ṣan'ā'*, 36. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 408, records a blind *shaykh al-qirā'āt al-sab'* in the present century.

82 *Al-Badr al-muzil li-'l-ḥuẓn*, Cairo, 1358, 12.

commonly known to people through experience that anyone who swears a false oath (*yamin-an fajirat-an*) by God Exalted at this place will not remain three days before being struck by leprosy (*judhām*), or the falling off of his arms and legs, or a great disease in his organs. Al-Masmūrah is a nail (*mismār*) in a side on the right of the *mihrāb* and al-Manqūrah is a hollow in a side on the left of the *mihrāb*, to the west—and this is the original mosque which was built by the command of the Prophet. It is tried fact about this place that prayer is responded to—you see no distressed person or one weighed down by cares who sincerely addresses himself to God in this place but it is dispelled from him straight-away. You see the Ṣan'ā' people recommending one another in this place to offer prayer and study the Qur'ān. A certain person told me of himself that he was sitting alone in this place behind the *mihrāb* in the last third of the night after the opening of the Jāmi' but before people had arrived, there only being the servant (*khādim*) of the Jāmi' in some part of it. This man laid down his head to sleep, then he broke wind and a sound came from him, and he heard nothing but (received) a violent blow between his shoulders. He rose in fright to see who had struck him, but saw nobody—so he left off sitting in that place except to perform (his) devotions.'

Another tale I heard, certainly apocryphal, is that when the Prophet's Companion, Mu'adh b. Jabal came to Ṣan'ā', his camel was allowed to go on till it stopped in a Jewish garden at this spot—it was bought and made into the Jāmi'.

The way in which the oath is taken at al-Masmūrah and al-Manqūrah was described to me by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marwanī as follows. The *muḥallif*—the person who has brought his opponent to take the oath (of denial of an offence) and the *muḥallaf*—the person persuaded to take the oath, sit between the two pillars facing the *qiblah*. If the *muḥallaf* is uncertain he trembles in fear (*yartajif*). The formula of the oath which he swears would be, *'Aqsim billāh al-ʿaẓīm al-ḥāẓīm al-nāẓīm al-jabbār al-muntaqim, qasam-an, akhruju min ḥawli 'llāh wa-quwwat-ih ilā ḥawli 'l-Shayṭān wa-quwwat-ih anni mā fa'alt kadhā, I swear by Almighty God the Crushing, Wrathful, Omnipotent, Taking Vengeance, an oath, whereby I leave God's power and might for the power and might of Satan, that I did not commit such and such.'*

If the two parties had been in court a person appointed by the judge (*ḥākim*) would attend the oath-taking, carrying a note from him which would have something like the following form. *'Ilā sinaydār al-Masjid al-Jāmi', ṣadar ilay-kum fulān al-fulānī, ma'a gharīm-ih, fulān bin fulān, li-taḥlīf al-yamīn al-Zubayriyyah, To the Intendant of the Jāmi' Mosque, so and so has come to you with his opponent, so and so, to make (him) swear the Zubayrī oath.'* The *sinaydār* will send back a note to the *ḥākim* after the oath-taking to inform him that this has been done and of the result thereof. It was suggested that the Zubayrī might refer back to 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr of the Umayyad period, but there seems to be no grounds for this—the origin of the name is lost in antiquity but it is the strongest of oaths.

An alternative procedure is for two persons to go privately, with two witnesses—who might be any bystanders in the Jāmi', or others. Perhaps a *muṣliḥ* who is sometimes the 'Aqil al-Ḥāfah (Headman of the Quarter), or else if in the Market the *muṣliḥ* would be of the merchants (*tujjār*), or the 'Aqil al-Sūq (Headman of the Market), would be with them. In point of fact it is only if they have no other persons accompanying them that they ask two persons in the Jāmi' to act as witnesses.

A man may however require his accuser to take an oath that he is not just bringing a mischievous plea (*da'wā kādhībah*) against him, attempting to injure me by means of this plea (*tajriḥi bi-hādhihi 'l-da'wā*). You must swear that your oath was not brought to annoy me (*yamīn-ak mā ta'annatta-nī*). This oath, called *yamīn al-ʿanat* is taken when one is accused of making another swear without justification (*ḥaqq*).

With regard to oath-taking in general, the author of *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*⁸³ cites the Tradition that oaths may be taken '*alā minbari, on/at my minbar*'. They may be taken in mosques on account of their honour (*sharaf*) and on Qur'āns (*maṣāḥif*) on account of their sanctity (*ḥurmah*) and the swearer puts his hand on the *maṣḥaf* out of veneration (*i'ẓām-an*). 'The picking out of any particular stone is disapproved, since in this there is similarity to the idolaters (*wathaniyyūn*), as is done in the rear hall (*mu'akh-khar*) of the Jāmi' of Ṣan'ā' at the Green Stone (al-Ḥajar al-Akhḍar).' Whether this reference in the first half of the 9th/15th century is to a separate stone from these two columns is unknown to us.

In the *maqāmah* of 'Alī Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Rijāl, writing about the first half of the 12th/18th century, the Jāmi' Mosque is made to say, 'Don't you see that between al-Masmūrah and al-Manqūrah they have put an ugly wooden grille (*shubbāk*) only suitable for the garden of a *qashshām* or one of the cattle stables (*ṣabl min ṣubūl al-an'ām*)?' It does not seem to be there now.⁸⁴

xiii Al-Ḥajar al-Mulamlamah⁸⁵

Farwah b. Musayk, or according to other traditions, Wabr b. Yuḥannas al-Khuzā'i al-Anṣārī, or Abān b. Sa'īd, was ordered by the Prophet to build the Ṣan'ā' Masjid between al-Qal'at al-Mulamlamah to Ghumdān. A variant says between al-Akamah (the Mound) and al-Qal'at al-Mulamlamah. Some traditions call it only al-Ṣakhrah, the Rock, and some authorities place it in *'aṣl Ghumdān*', presumably the foundations of Ghumdān Palace. Only the top of this stone is showing today, but it is said to go down deep and it is suggested there may be inscriptions or carved ornament on the lower parts. No tradition is known to us to have been preserved attaching any particular sacredness to al-Mulamlamah. It is mere speculation to suggest it may have been a boundary stone, perhaps even of a sacred enclave, a place for circumambulation perhaps. If it had a sacred character before Islam the probability is that it would have been destroyed. What does not seem in doubt is that it is pre-Islamic.

xiv Al-Khafanjī's Poem on the Mosques of Ṣan'ā'

The mosques of Ṣan'ā' are treated in a lighter vein by the poetic wit, 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Khafanjī⁸⁶ in his verses on 'Addil Mosque in Bīr al-'Azab on the Bawniyah side, not far from Bāb al-Balaqah, the Gate to the Jewish Quarter. It seems this was an old building⁸⁷ renovated by Imām al-Manṣūr (ob. 1224/1809-10), son of al-Mahdī 'Abbās. The *saqifah* over the court (*ṣawḥ*) was built by Imām al-Mutawakkil in 1266/1849-50. The poem, composed about mid 18th century, faithfully reflects Ṣan'ānī life, the place the mosque occupies in society, and numerous little customs of the people. The name, 'Addil, of the mosque which makes a plea to the Jāmi' Mosque is curious. It is the imperative of *'addal* meaning to lay down as a pledge at a dispute of a *bunduq* or *jambiyyah*, the two contending parties being known as *'idāl*.⁸⁸ The language is colloquial but not patois and it is attempted to convey this in fairly literal prose.

83 Op. cit., IV, 409.

84 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 232.

85 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 64, calls it 'al-Ḥajar al-Mulamlamah which is under the arch (*al-ṭāq*) on the left of the person facing the *qiblah* (*al-mustaqbil*)'. *Tāj*

al-Arūs, IX, 63, defines a *ḥajar mulamlam* as *mudamlak* (smooth and round), *ṣulb* (hard) and *mustadīr* (round).

86 A descendant from Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad.

87 *Masājid*, 70.

88 I know no reason why the mosque is so called.

The plot

Al-Khafañjī turns certain Ṣan'ā' mosques into personages—this mosque-poem is not a genre confined to the Yemen⁸⁹—I have come across it in Ḥaḍramawt, and doubtless it would be found frequently elsewhere in Arabic literature. Sharaf al-Dīn⁹⁰ says that all the names of mosques in Ṣan'ā' are the names of city Quarters and this may have some significance. Political satire that could endanger a poet's life and chattels is said often to have been expressed in verse and *maqāmahs* of this kind. Since no Yemeni author consulted suggests that there is a satire underlying the plain sense I can discern no ulterior motive in the verses unless it be to complain of the poverty and neglect of some Ṣan'ā' mosques and propose that part of the income of richer foundations like the wealthy Jāmi' should be diverted to renovating the poorer mosques. At the time there does appear to have been a movement to enlarge and improve older mosques of simple structure. Criticism of the inspectors of mosque *waqfs* for converting their incomes to private use there may be, but the literature shows this was so common that an honest *nāẓir* might be rare.⁹¹

The Jāmi' Mosque is portrayed as a personage of great wealth and consequence—perhaps even in the role of an Imām himself? 'Addil, a poor mosque of the suburbs sends to complain to him of his neglected condition, and the Jāmi', in kindly way, consents to make him a visit of inspection.

On the Yemeni feast of the first Friday in Rajab, the Jāmi' issues forth with great pomp and circumstance from Bāb al-Yaman on the south side of the city at the head of a retinue that includes several other notable Ṣan'ā' mosques—others come running up to join the cortege—just as children do, even adults.

While the Jāmi' rests for brief refreshment, a complainant, the Nizaylī mosque, about the entrance to Bīr al-'Azab, arrives with a small *douceur* for the Jāmi'—as is customary when a person wants a hearing, not a bribe. His case has presumably been dragging on for some time for the Jāmi' tells him the relevant *waqf* documents are mislaid. 'Addil, alarmed lest his own case be postponed by the business of the new complainant, now interposes. Characteristically of an approach I have heard many a time, he does not do so in his own name, but begs that the Jāmi' be allowed to take his due need of rest. Nizaylī snubs him by implying that 'Addil is not of the same category as himself and his much superior wealth. However he seems to withdraw.

The Jāmi' resumes his journey joined by yet more mosques. 'Addil now pleads his poverty asking the Jāmi' to take action about it—this he consents to do. An interruption is caused by the Ṣayyād mosque, seemingly in the role of a clerk of the Waqf, rushing up with a document and asking the Jāmi' to assist 'Addil. The Jāmi' promises to send for Ṣan'ā' building contractors. 'Addil blesses and praises the Jāmi' who goes on speaking of his arrangements.

Mu'īd mosque now tells of the visions of 'Addil's coming prosperity that he had in dreams on which he consulted an expert in interpretation of dreams at Zumur mosque. Either he or a person unnamed, perhaps the Jāmi', describes 'Addil's rosy future fulsomely and at length. The trees and birds applaud the Jāmi's decision—in their trilling there is clear allusion to the ululations of the womenfolk.

Well satisfied with a sound piece of work, the Jāmi' starts on his way back to Ṣan'ā', but again as he proceeds, this time along the north side of the city, he is confronted by further petitions from Ṣan'ā' mosques. He puts off these fresh complainants, re-enters Ṣan'ā' and is greeted by trilling cries of joy by the women of the city.

* * *

- 1 Says 'Addil, 'Wa-'l-salām, a greeting
Proffered to the Jāmi' in sincerity.'
- 2 When he arrives I'll lay the case before him.
'Addil says he's got a complaint to make,
- 3 'First let him build for me ablution-places,
Second, have them clean out⁹² the well.
- 4 The wind (chills) the foot-pool,⁹³ blowing like bellows.
I have no lamp to light me in the evening,
- 5 My east wall leans over,⁹⁴ like to fall,
God preserve it from worse ill-fortune.⁹⁵
- 6 No friend have I, none to make me known,
On this question Qārish, ask al-Ashrafiyyah!⁹⁶
- 7 If you've anything, your friend's the one on whom to
spend it.⁹⁷
Oh Jāmi', if only—when you honour me by visiting
- 8 To get to know and verify the state I'm in—
You'd favour a fellow, with your kindly face.'
- 9 The Jāmi, turning⁹⁸ to him, said, 'Why not?
Already people have acquainted me with your condition.
- 10 Assuredly! You're welcome—full willingly.
To come to Bīr al-'Azab is little trouble⁹⁹ to me.'
- 11 Till the Friday of Rajab¹⁰⁰ he tarried, then, of a sudden,
came.
Out from the Wall he went,¹⁰¹ passed through the open
countryside,
- 12 On his right Madrasah and Abzar.¹⁰²
Resplendent as the moon was his appearance.
- 13 Hearing each from the other of his venture forth, the
Mosques
Came running up to join him with the still prostrate
in prayer.¹⁰³

89 For Yemeni poems on the same theme see 'Abdullāh b. Ḥusayn al-Shāmi (12th/18th century) on al-Ṣayyād Mosque and a contest between mosques, (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 92 seq., and 224), the marriage of al-Madhab and al-Murādiyyah mosques. See al-Dhahbānī, *al-Anghām al-sha 'biyyah*, 34seq. for a political poem entitled Masjīd al-Khayr.

90 Aḥ. Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Ṭarā'if al-mukhtārah min shi'r al-Khafañjī wa-'l-Qārah*, Cairo, 1970, 35.

91 While I was working on this poem in 1974 in Ṣan'ā' and, in early 1975 with Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmi in Beirut, I was unaware that Harald Vocke, 'Die Beschwerde der 'Addil-Moschee', ZDMG, 1973, CXIII, 56-73, had already published a text, translation and excellent commentary based on the Sharaf al-Dīn text. My versions were those in *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 71-73, Sharaf al-Dīn, and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmi's edition, in preparation, of the *Diwān al-Khafañjī*, based on a Ms. superior to either which we read in Beirut and later in London. Dr Vocke's article contains material not used here. A biography is to be found in *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 193-98. Notes here contain only significant variants. The Shāmi text does not include verses 25 and the first hemistich of 26, but has entirely different lines which have been included, numbered 26 a and b. Further verses omitted by *Masājid Ṣan'ā'* are numbered 56 a and b, and 61 a and b. The verses commencing 'The apricot-trees joyously trilled' seem to me to fit in better in the second place where they appear, but as they are aesthetically satisfying in both places they are left so.

92 *Masraṭ al-bīr*, cleaning the well of spoil, this earth said to be good for the fields.

93 *Maṣfā* (pl., *maṣāfi*) pools where one *yitṣaffā fih*, washes the feet before entering the mosque. There are two such pools an outside (*khārījī*) pool for really dirty feet (e.g. of Bedouin!) and inside (*dākhilī*) before actual entrance to the mosque.

94 *Muḥaqqif/muḥaddif*, the latter meaning *mā'il*.

95 *Yuwaddif/muwaddif*, unlucky. Cf. *waddāf* meaning *mankūb*, distressed etc.

96 Qārish, a mosque in Bīr al-'Azab (*Masājid*, 91).

Al-Ashrafiyyah is perhaps the famous mosque of Ta'izz, but no such mosque name is recorded of Ṣan'ā'. Is 'Addil trying to emphasize that his poverty is known even as far as Ta'izz?

97 *Maṣraṭ/maṣrif* = *makān li-'l-ṣarf*.

98 *Istalfat* = *iltafat/intabahat*.

99 *Daliyyah* = *sahlah*, Cf. *Gloss. daṭ*.

100 Traditionally the day upon which the Yemen, through Hamdān, accepted Islam, a feast day. Jāmi's exit would be via Bāb al-Yaman.

101 *Ghazzār* = *aqbal*. Al-Shāmi says, *waṣal, atā fuḷū'at-an*.

102 Both mosques in north-east side of Ṣan'ā'.

103 This and the following verse mean that the mosques upped and off, carrying their congregations with them.

- 14 On went the Jāmi', bearing all worshippers with him,
Replete with learning, his bearing stately,
15 Came to al-Jurūf,¹⁰⁴ sat himself down,
Had Madhhab and Abhar¹⁰⁵ serve him with refreshment
there.
16 Up with his plaint arrived Nizaylī,¹⁰⁶ 'Aid me', he cried,
'Ya ghārātāh!'¹⁰⁷
A present he brought—a gift of seductive musk,¹⁰⁸
17 Came into his presence, flung down his mats.¹⁰⁹
Said the Jāmi', by distress¹¹⁰ affected, by sighing overcome.
18 'On you Bounteous God will cast his regard,¹¹¹ (pray
patience),
Our brother Yāqūt¹¹² has (somehow) mislaid¹¹³ the waqf
deeds.¹¹⁴
19 Said 'Addil, interposing, 'My brother, wait,
Allow the Enlightened Jāmi' to rest¹¹⁵ and listen,
20 Then speak, and there be some point to your word
Else, brother, all becomes a mob and a confusion.'¹¹⁶
21 Said Nizaylī, 'I am endowed with gifts
Of incense, cupboards for books, sweepers' wages.
22 Both plains and (mountain) short cuts¹¹⁷ have I travelled.
My ablution places are not keenly cold in winter.'
23 The Jāmi' turned, taking the road to 'Addil.
Ḥanḥāl, in new clothes¹¹⁸ had come up meanwhile,
24 Qāḍī¹¹⁹ approached (to join them) at a trot,¹²⁰
And after them, Bahmah, rather more slowly.¹²¹
25 The apricot-trees joyously trilled¹²² their welcome to the
Jāmi',
26/1 To him the pear-trees waved their branches,¹²³
The cranes¹²⁴ flapped and clapped their wings.
26a 'Addil, poor fellow, was overcome with joy,¹²⁵

- From the moment his court¹²⁶ appeared, kept exclaiming,
'Power lies with God alone',
26b Eyes tense with expectation,¹²⁷ kept coming back to the
Jāmi'.
26/2 'One ounce (of lamp-oil) a week have I,' he said,
27 'Never, in my time, have I known intendant's¹²⁸ (care),
Nor ever (spared) they two hot coals¹²⁹ to warm me,
28 But if no waqf I have, you are yet Protector to me,
Since, oh mighty Lord, you remain my sole resource!'¹³⁰
29 The Jāmi' replying to him said, 'Be of good cheer.
We must attend to you, see to your case,
30 Mend those parts of you in disrepair, re-build them.
You and I will split the catch-crop when it comes in,¹³¹
31 Carpets I'll give you from my northern wing.¹³²
This carpet, no-one can deny, is done.
32 You, my lad, are foremost in my mind,
Yes, by the Prophet, you're in a sorry plight.'
33 Up came Ṣayyād,¹³³ in his haste¹³⁴ without belt and
dagger,¹³⁵
Running all distraught from the door of Ḥanḥāl,
34 A long sheet of paper, gummed,¹³⁶ in his hand,
A fair copy wherein were matters set forth clearly.
35 Greeting the Jāmi', he went on to say, 'Listen,
This poor fellow needs you—he is destitute.¹³⁷
36 If you can spare something and be generous¹³⁸
Will you from your surplus, spare him just a little?'¹³⁹
37 The Jāmi' made reply most satisfactory,
'In the past', said he, 'I've been neglectful of you.
38 I shall send to Qaṣ'ah, and I'll get al-Ḥifāfī¹⁴⁰
To estimate what you'll have to pay in men's wages.'¹⁴¹
39 Up rose 'Addil, responding with a blessing (on him),
'May the Lord guard you¹⁴² from the glances of the evil.

104 Al-Jurūf is unknown to al-Shāmi but the context shows it would be on the west side of Ṣan'ā', perhaps near the Nizaylī mosque (verse 16). *Qanbar*, to sit.
105 The Madhhab and Abhar mosques, east and west of the Jāmi' respectively, are represented as attendants.
106 A mosque at the east wall of Bir al-'Azab.
107 *Ghawwar* = to say 'Ya ghārātāh'. Cf. E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic vocabulary*, London, 1893, *ghawwar* 'alaya, he came to my help; *Gloss. dat.*, 2384.
108 Shāmi's Ms. reads, *W'iddā min al-ward al-janiyy*, And gave cut roses.
109 *Khabaṭ* = throw down. This is a sign of the bitterness of his complaint (*marārat al-shakwah*) and asking for aid (*istinjād*) when one is in bad circumstances. When a man is frustrated in such a case he will often snatch off his turban and throw it at someone's feet.
110 *Ghathā* = 'alam, pain, *ghāthi* = *muta'allim*, in pain. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2357, *ghathi*, être ennuyé de, degouté de.
111 *Naḡrah* means *uṣbur*, be patient, and God will look to (*naḡara*) your case.
112 Yāqūt is the Naḡir al-Waqf.
113 *Ghaṭṭas* = *ḡayya*.
114 *Waṣiyyah*, the mosque's *waṣāyā* al-*awqaf*, bequests.
115 *Ifṭāḥ*, to take one's rest—in Ṣan'āni dialect *fihnah* = *rāḡah*. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2440; Rossi, 233; Stace, 200.
116 *Ḥaṣṣa* (fawḍa)—*hawshaliyyah*. One speaks of al-bar'ah al-hawshaliyyah which is explained as follows. Tribes dancing the bar'ah/bara' to drums alone, have each its own style of dance, and at a gathering each tribe in turn will perform its own bara' with daggers drawn. Then at the end, it will be said, *Wa-l-'ān hawshaliyyah*, and each will dance his own tribal style of dance at the same time as the rest—hence the sense of 'confusion'. Only the *raqs* (with clapping of hands) has the accompaniment of the *mizmār* pipes.
117 *Addil* at this point fears the situation may turn into chaos if they do not weigh their words before the Jāmi'.
118 *Ḥanḥāl* (sing. *muḡribah*), a short cut; *Gloss. dat.*, 2471, *maḡrabah* = raccourci. Perhaps it only means a mountain track here.
119 Wearing new clothes because it is a Feast day. *Mibaddil*, wearing a new *badlah*.
120 Ḥanḥāl and to the west of it, Masjid al-Qāḍī are in the northern sector of Bir al-'Azab, Bahmah in the southern sector. *Khafanji* means that all the Bir al-'Azab mosques hasten to meet him in their new clothing for the Feast. Perhaps Bahmah comes more slowly because *bahmah* means a calf!
121 *Miharwil/biyihdhil* (Shāmi), walk quickly.
122 *Iḡṭit* = *ta'akkhar*. One says, *Al-maliḥ yibḡi*, nice things take a long time in coming.
123 *Aḡjarat*, she made the *zaghūrūtah*, the ululation of women in welcoming or on a joyous or sad occasion. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 358.
124 *Mizraq* in class. Arabic means a javelin—possibly the image is of warriors waving their spears?

124 The *ghirnāq* (pl., *gharāniq*) is identified by Mr G. C. Pope of the Centre for Overseas Pest Research as the cattle egret. There are no *gharāniq* in Bir al-'Azab at the present day, but this shows that there was much water in Bir al-'Azab then, as indeed living memory today asserts there was.
125 *Mushabiq* = *masrūr*. Shāmi reads *quḍūh mushahhiq* which he says is *muntazir fi shawq shadid*, awaiting avidly as when a child wants sweets or a cat wants a mouse!
126 *Ṣawḥ*, means the courtyard.
127 *Yuharriq/muhaddiq*. *Yuharriq* means burning with sadness, e.g. '*Ru'yat-uh tuharriq al-qalb*, The sight of him upsets me,' This would be said of seeing someone ill or afflicted. *Muhaddiq* would mean fixing one's eyes on, to eye keenly.
128 *Sinaydār*.
129 *Kizzah nār*, syn. *jamrah*, a hot coal. Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, *kazza bi-l-nār*, mettre feu à.
130 *Bagiyyah* expl. as *al-marja' al-wahid*.
131 Shāmi's text reads for the *akhir al-'ashiyah* of the *Masājid*, *kaffat al-naḡiyyah*. Sharaf al-Dīn reads *marwah al-naḡiyyah* which has been adopted here, meaning *mawsim al-ḡaṣād*. *Naḡiyyah* is an unexpected crop resulting from a sudden rain, therefore a lucky surplus. The poet means '*nu'ṭik min al-faḍl*, we (i.e. the Jāmi') shall give you from our surplus.'
132 *Arabic muqaddam*, a play on words with *muqaddam* in the next verse meaning 'dear to, preferred', translated as 'foremost'.
133 Al-Ṣayyād mosque in Bir al-'Azab (*Masājid*, 62). It is regarded as the mosque of the 'Alī al-Wazīr Sayyids, being surrounded by Al Wazīr houses.
134 *Yihiff* = *yijri*, *Gloss. dat.*, 2874, *marcher vite*.
135 *Misri* = *bi-dūn ḡizām wa-janbiyyah*. This means that he is only semi-dressed.
136 *Maghri*, gummed.
137 *Aḡla'* = *maḡtū'* 'an *manfa'*, *maḡtū'* min *riṣq*, having nothing to support him.
138 Sharaf al-Dīn reads for the first hemistich, *In fika shi li-'llāh*. . . Cf. *Waṣalnā 'ind al-Nabiyy wa-ḡulnā*, '*Yā shay li-'llāh*', which means '*yā ma'ūnat Allāh*, help/charity from God'. There is said to be an allusion to a Tradition (*Ḥadīth*) here, but of course one does say, *Allāh mutawassi' alā*. . . etc.
139 *Kadhiyyah*, a little. *Faḍlat al-masjid* means *fā'id dakhli-hi*, the surplus of its income.
140 Bayt Qaṣ'ah is the most famous family of builders and architects of Ṣan'ā', an *israh mashhūrah*, well-known family, master builders (*asāfi*). They live in al-Sā'ilah Quarter. Many places in modern times have been built by them; they built the minaret (*ṣawma'ah*) of al-Quzālī. Al-Ḥifāfī are also notable builders.
141 *Shaqiyyah*, expl. as *takālīf* here.
142 *Tāḡā 'alayk rabbi* is explained that if someone is in need (*muḡtāj*) you say, '*Tāḡā 'alayk, Allāh yitāḡi 'alayk*, May God save you.' Or you may say, '*tahjab 'alayk*, cover you over' (so that no evil person may see you). *Taqiyyah* comes from the same root.

- 40 With these words of yours you have relieved¹⁴³ my heart,
For you are of those versed in the law,¹⁴⁴ sensitive of
their honour.'
- 41 The Jāmi' turned to him, said laughingly,
'A splendid thing to have relieved your heart!
- 42 Negotiations to pave¹⁴⁵ your court with someone I've
begun already,
And to extend it westwards of the building,¹⁴⁶
- 43 Since you are needy and must have more revenue.
Your prayer-niche is tinier than a leather bag!
- 44 They say that worship in you is acceptable (to God),¹⁴⁷
Yet no (*waqf*) do you own of land, or hostelry.¹⁴⁸
- 45 Said Mu'īd,¹⁴⁹ 'I saw good fortune for you in a dream,
That you were standing¹⁵⁰ beside the door of Abū Ṭayr¹⁵¹
- 46 When Abu 'l-Khayr¹⁵² stopped in your prayer-niche
And the minaret that belongs to you was like Khuwarnaq.¹⁵³
- 47 On waking, I betook myself to the dream-interpreter,
And there was al-Yazīdī¹⁵⁴ sitting in Zumur¹⁵⁵—
- 48 A *faqīh* who knows all things have One who disposes¹⁵⁶—
Compared with him Ibn Sīrīn¹⁵⁷ doesn't come up to here!¹⁵⁸
- 49 To him I said, 'I've seen a vision
That 'Addil has come into conjunction with the Pleiades,¹⁵⁹
- 50 That he is full set for fortune
And has courts like those built by 'Āmir'.¹⁶⁰
- 51 Said (the Jāmi'), 'This is the best of the things you've seen.
If what you say be realised you have (indeed) (re-)built
him,¹⁶¹
- 52 Summoned him to well-being and prosperity.
Favourable¹⁶² regard must be accorded him.
- 53 His position¹⁶³ is beside the Enlightened (Jāmi').
He must receive favourable consideration, be re-furbished,
- 54 His prayer-niche decorated with green *lāz*,¹⁶⁴
He must be transformed into a veritable Jāmi' of the Banū
Umayyah!¹⁶⁵
- 55 He must have the field of 'Iyāl Jassār,¹⁶⁶
In which they'll plant onions and (fruit) trees.

- 143 *Shafayt/ghadhayt* (Shāmi and Sharaf al-Dīn). The variant means literally, 'You have nourished', but the sense is *araḥt*, eased, relieved.
- 144 *Al-'urf wa-l-ḥamiyyah*—this is 'urf recognised by *sharī'ah*, *taqāfid*, traditional practices of trading, tribes, etc.
- 145 *Yaṣull* = to make *ṣalal*, paving stones of *al-ḥabash al-abyaḍ*, white *ḥabash* stone which is weak, not like black *ḥabash*.
- 146 Al-Baniyyah of the mosque is *al-haram al-masqūf*, the roofed part of the sacred area. One says *ṣawḥ al-jāmi' wa-baniyyat-uh*, the court and building of the Jāmi'.
- 147 This must mean that 'Addil is one of the *masājīd mubārakah*, i.e., *al-mustajābah al-da'awāt*, prayers in which are answered—which is a *dalīl 'alā ṣalāh alladhī banā-hā*, an indication of the piety of him who built it.
- 148 *Samsarahs*, hostleries, are commonly set up as *waqf*-property producing revenue. *Tikiyyah* is said to be Turkish (though it is not so in this sense), but to have come to mean a *miḥyāyah*-café or *samsarah*, *al-dakhil ḥaqqā-hā li-l-waqf*.
- 149 Mu'īd is a person unknown, unless possibly he is the policeman more or less contemporary with al-Khafanji (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 752).
- 150 *Misannib* = *qā'im/wāqī'*.
- 151 Abu 'l-Ṭayr is Masjīd Ibn al-Ḥusayn Abu 'l-Ṭayr (*Masājīd*, 4).
- 152 Abu 'l-Khayr seems unknown. Shāmi suggested a bird or pious man!
- 153 The palace, become semi-legendary, of Bahram Gūr.
- 154 Al-Yazīdī, obviously a professional interpreter of dreams.
- 155 Masjīd al-Zumur or Izdamur is the Ottoman mosque near Bāb Sha'ūb (*Masājīd*, 14).
- 156 *Midibbir*—Shāmi quoted the saying, *Tufakkir wa-fi 'l-samā'* *Mudabbir*, i.e. Man proposes, God disposes.
- 157 Author of *Muntakhab al-kalām fī taṣīr al-aḥlām*, Cairo, many editions. See M. J. Kister, 'The interpretation of dreams', *Is. Or. Studies*, Tel Aviv, 1974, IV, 67-103. Ibn Sīrīn is specially famous for *ta'bir al-ru'yā*, interpretation of visions.
- 158 *Ilā haniyyah*, lit., up to here, as one says pointing to the joint of the ring finger (*uḡdat al-biṣṣir*) next to the little finger, or the index finger with the thumb.
- 159 The conjunction with the Pleiades is fortunate in the extreme—this is doubtless discussed in astrological works.
- 160 A reference to the magnificent mosque built by the Ṭāhirid 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb at Radā'.
- 161 Sharaf al-Dīn omits verses 51-52, perhaps correctly as they are weak.
- 162 If this be a correct sense for *ajmābiyyah*.
- 163 *Sanbah* = *waqfah*, from *sanaba*, to stop, stand. Shāmi and Sharaf al-Dīn read *janīb al-Munawwar*.

- 56 There they'll study *al-Bayān* and *al-Azhār*,
Do the *Mulḥah* and the *Shāṭibiyyah*.¹⁶⁷
- 56a A book-cupboard they'll make at his prayer-niche,
A store¹⁶⁸ too, they'll make for the waqf.
- 56b Oil (for his lamps) they have assured to him,
He shall have an intendant, strong of authority,
- 57 In the minaret¹⁶⁹ they'll plant a muezzin
Whose prayer-call will leave Yashū's ear in the
synagogue astoundedly ringing,¹⁷⁰
- 58 So resounding his 'Subḥān Allāh' it'd make the Jinn fart.¹⁷¹
An Imām he'll have, to lead the Prayer,¹⁷² a man of
religion, with a stipend.'
- 59 The Jāmi' took his stately way¹⁷³ to Şan'ā',
'Addil accompanying him, running by his side.
- 60 God preserve and protect his fair and noble brow,
For graciousness was ever of his nature.
- 61 His way took him opposite Shamlah,¹⁷⁴
Passing Shu'ūb north (of the city) on his left.
- 61a The apricot trees joyously trilled their welcome to the
Jāmi',
- 61b The cranes flapped and clapped their wings,
The pear trees shook their leafy (stems),¹⁷⁵
The lips of the glistening orchard, in a smile, half parted.
- 62 A deal of kindness had he done, and charity,
With kind intent attended to his purpose.
- 63 Onward he proceeded till he'd passed by the Khanādiq,
(Where) he recalled a word he'd had earlier with
al-Bustān¹⁷⁶
- 64 That he is poverty-stricken,¹⁷⁷ the most fortunate evening
being
When he has a companion within the walls; he's like an
open yard.
- 65 At once Farwah addressed herself to him,
Waving flags, flag-poles from Shu'ūb.¹⁷⁸
- 164 *Kharash*, *yakhrish*, to decorate. *Lāz* is said to be silver metal of two sorts, green (*akhḍar*) and kohl colour (*akḥal*), it is also said to be like Iraqi Mandeian silver-work.
- 165 The Damascus Mosque.
- 166 'Iyāl Jassār are a wealthy tribal farmer family.
- 167 *Al-Bayān* of Yahyā b. Aḥ. b. al-Muzaḥḥar (ob. ca. 855/1451) (Brock. *Gal.*, Sup., II, 244); *al-Azhār* of Aḥ. b. Yahyā b. al-Murtaḍā (Brock. *Sup.*, I, 244) a well known Zaydī lawbook: *Mulḥat al-I'rāb* of al-Ḥarīrī, (Brock. *Sup.*, I, 488) a grammar; *al-Qaṣīdat al-Shāṭibiyyah* of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (ob. 590/1194) on Qur'ān-reading (Brock. *Sup.*, I, 725).
- 168 *Jubbakhānah*, cf. Redhouse, *Turkish dictionary*, *jebkhanē*, storehouse for arms, arsenal, for supplies of any kind. Presumably this is a borrowing from the first Ottoman occupation.
- 169 *Ṣawma'ah*, minaret.
- 170 Yashū means here all the Jews in the Qā' west of 'Addil. *Muṭannin* = *madhūsh*, but the classical sense of ringing, buzzing etc. would also be implied.
- 171 *Tasbiḥ* is the same as *tasbiḥah* (p.310b)—this pre-dawn series of collects certainly disturbs the sleeper, see 10c.cit. The Jinn without material bodies cannot (normally) perform the functions of human bodies. There is an expression *fulān ḥamala al-shay ḥattā ḥaraḡ*, carried the thing until he broke wind. sci. from the effort!
- 172 *Imām dīn*, apparently the same as *imām miḥrāb*, i.e. *imām al-ṣalāh*, the imām who leads the prayer.
- 173 *Dannaq* = *ittajaha*. Shāmi explained it as walking with the gait of, for instance, a camel! 'Addil by contrast, goes humbly—running alongside a riding *ālim*.
- 174 Shamlah is in the Ḥurqān Quarter just before the Sā'ilah leaves the north wall of Şan'ā', on the right of the Sā'ilah. For *yamnat-ih* one must read *yasrat-ih*, with Shāmi and Sharaf al-Dīn.
- 175 *Mawāriq*, pl. of *mūriqah*, usually *mawāriq*.
- 176 Bustān al-Sulṭān Quarter, west of the Sā'ilah which had large garden areas in it and perhaps, at this time building, as the next line implies.
- 177 *Ḥirāf*, poor, without money. This verse has variant readings; the best seems to be that of the *Masājīd*, but the rendering is not entirely satisfactory.
- 178 Shu'ūb was formerly noted for its tamarisk (*athl*) and still has many though less than formerly, and these are its 'flags'. *Adqāl* properly means 'masts' and Sharaf al-Dīn's *arqāl* is incorrect. For *mazāriq*, javelins Sharaf al-Dīn's reading *bayāriq*, flags has been adopted.

- 66 'My palm-leaf mats have had a long life,' said she,
'As anyone who reclines (upon them) knows.'¹⁷⁹
- 67 Mashhad beside her kept a-calling,¹⁸⁰
'How long have I been waiting¹⁸¹ for the Prayer?' she said.
- 68 To her the Jāmi' turned his attention, saying, 'Wait,
The best things are those that are slow in coming.'¹⁸²
- 69 As he entered, the city trilled for him cries of joy,¹⁸³
Proceeding calmly and with courteousness.
- 70 On the ground of Azāl (Ṣan'ā') may festival ever continue,
And for all time its rank remain exalted.

xv Some Observations on the Development of the Ṣan'ā' Mosque

From his researches al-Ḥajārī arrived at the conclusion that, the Holy Jāmi' Mosque apart, the mosques of the city were small, many and close together, devoid of ablution-places (*maṭāhīr*), pools (*birik*) and wells, except in rare cases,¹⁸⁴ and people used to perform their ritual ablutions in their houses before repairing to the mosque. The multiplicity of small mosques is evidently due to the part they played in the life of the ordinary Ṣan'ānī. Al-Ḥajārī adds that after the 9th/15th century conditions began to improve. Following the plague of 933/1526-7, Imām al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā indicated that many properties left without owners should be applied to the utilities (*maṣāliḥ*) of the mosques. In each Quarter (*Ḥārāh*) he ordered wells should be dug, pools and ablution-places (*birik*, *maṭāhīr*, *muttakhadhāt*) to be constructed, while *sadanah*, imāms, muezzins and well-workers (*sunāh*) to draw water daily from the wells to the ablution-places were appointed, and gardens (introduced ?) irrigated with the used water each day which was replaced by clean water from the wells. As a result people abandoned the smaller mosques without wells and ablution-places, they fell to ruin and were lost without trace. These the Ṣan'ānīs call *al-Masājid al-Mansiyyah*, the Forgotten Mosques. Whether it is so simple as he says, his *Masājid* provides ample evidence of additions and enlargements made to the older foundations, to say nothing of the construction of new ones. There seems to have been considerable re-founding of old mosques, often with a change of name. Benefactions are known as *maḥsinah* (pl., *maḥāsīn*); a *sabīl* a draw-well, sometimes with a dome over it, in which case it is called *al-qubbat al-sabīl*, would be a typical benefaction and a typical inscription on it would run, *Ghāfar Allāh li-fā'il al-maḥsinah*, May God pardon the benefactor.

In December 1973 I saw the famous *Miswaddat Sinān*¹⁸⁵ in the cube-shaped Chancellery of the Jāmi' Mosque. It is a long narrow book bound in, probably contemporary, plum-coloured leather with an embossed design in the middle of the cover. The paper is polished yellow-brown or buff colour and the writing beautiful and clear to read. Unfortunately requests to photocopy this book have, in the past, not met with response, whether it be for some vaguely religious reason, or because so much of Ṣan'ā' being *waqf* and parts of this possibly appropriated to private families there is a reluctance to publish its contents. This would be a valuable

source for the history of the mosques until the beginning of the 11th/17th century.

A problem of architectural history in the Yemen concerns the Zaydī attitude towards the minaret. Al-Uṭrūsh, the warlike and learned Imām of Ṭabaristān, in his treatise on *ḥisbah*, gave injunctions that mosques must not be made like churches, contain pictures, be ornamented with gold, hung with curtains or decorated with plaster-work. Minarets must not be raised above the roof-level of the mosque.¹⁸⁶ Al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq, the first Imām of the Yemen and contemporary with al-Uṭrūsh, when in Ṣa'dah, prayed in the mosque which had a *ṣawma'ah*. Certain would-be assassins planned to shoot him from this *ṣawma'ah* and escape by the wall of the mosque.¹⁸⁷ *Ṣawma'ah* basically means a cell or chamber, but comes to mean a minaret in the usually understood sense. The text describing the attempted assassination does not clearly indicate whether the *ṣawma'ah* was a tower or a roof-cabin, but it looks as if it were the latter. In Ḥabūr for instance, and quite a number of other centres, the place of the call to prayer is merely a low cabin at the top of a stair to the roof, but as stated above, in Ṣan'ā' itself the call to prayer is mostly made from the court of the mosque, which might be a survival as a practice from times when there were no tower minarets.

Masjid Ibn Ḥusayn in early times used to be called Masjid al-Ṣawma'ah—it is near the Sā'ilah and was built in the Ziyādīd period about the end of the 4th/10th century. Al-Ḥajārī¹⁸⁸ states that its minaret was restored in the 7th/13th century and (re-)built about fifty years ago. It depends how *ṣawma'ah* is to be interpreted as to whether this mosque originally had a tower minaret or not. Al-Rāzī,¹⁸⁹ recording that a little before his time (he died in 460/1068) the Masjid al-Ṣayāqil of the Sūq al-Ḥaṭab of Ṣan'ā' was restored by a certain Abū Ayyūb of the city, adds, 'It had a minaret but he did not put it back'. Unfortunately he does not say why. Al-Ḥajārī from time to time records the addition of minarets to mosques.

In connection with al-Uṭrūsh's prohibition of decorative plasterwork, al-Rāzī¹⁹⁰ reports that there had been splendid decoration of the *miḥrāb* with *juṣṣ*-plaster and it was perfumed with musk each year for Ramaḍān. However when Yaḥyā b. 'Abdullāh b. Kulayb became Qādī of Ṣan'ā' he ordered these decorations (*nuqūsh*) to be destroyed and plastered it over with the plain *juṣṣ* that is there today, on the grounds that the decorations distracted those at prayer, and he prohibited the ornamentation (*tazwiq*) of mosques. This *qādī* died in 341/952-3, in the Yu'firid period. Whether the first Jāmi' had a flat or concave *miḥrāb* does not seem to be known.¹⁹¹

An interesting feature of many mosques in the north is a sort of bin constructed inside the mosque and plastered over, to act as a repository for discarded religious literature, mainly torn Qur'āns. In Ṣan'ā' fragments of old Qur'āns are kept in *khazā'in al-maṣāḥif*, cupboards made from recesses in the walls, and they are never burned. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me that in his boyhood scraps of paper were not seen lying about the Ṣan'ā' streets but were picked up and put in a respectable place if found, because the name of Allāh might be written on them. This at once calls to mind the *genizah* but it should not be assumed without proof that it derives from Jewish practice. There are

179 The mats are so worn that the hardness of the floor is felt. *Takiyyah* is here explained by Shāmī as *maḥall al-muttakā*, place of reclining. Sharaf al-Dīn has a rather different version of this line.

180 Al-Mashhad means the Jabbānah. The plea of the Jabbānah is to be understood in the light of a passage in *Masājid*, 40, which is based on al-Rāzī, 92. They used to pray the prayer of first light (*Ṣalāt al-'Atmah*) in congregation (*fi 'l-jamā'ah*) at the Jabbānah, last of all those who pray in the town, and they used to order the *Ṣalāt al-'Atmah* to be delayed so that the people inside the town would be able (to attend) and everyone would be able to obtain what he required, for fear of the quick issuing forth of the night guard.

181 *Mirā'ī* = *muntazir*, waiting.

182 *Al-maḥīḥ yubḥī*, A good thing takes a long time in coming, is a proverbial saying, and as the Prayer is something of great importance—even if the Jabbānah has to wait for it, it is worth the waiting.

183 The Jāmi' enters Ṣan'ā' and is welcomed by the ululations of its womenfolk. Verses 69 and 70 are not found in Sharaf al-Dīn's version.

184 *Qur'rat al-'uyūn*, ed. M. al-Akwa', II, 138, records that in the celebrated teaching Jāmi' of Zabīd, there was no pool (*birkah*), only jars and lavatories (*jirār wa-maṭāhīr*) until al-Malik al-Ashraf (last quarter of the 9th/14th century) set up a *birkah* there.

185 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 792, calls it *daftar jāmī' li-awqāf Ṣan'ā'*.

186 R. B. Serjeant, 'An early Zaidī manual of *ḥisbah*', *RSO*, Roma, 1953, XXVIII, 1-34.

187 *Sīrat al-Hādī*, 387.

188 *Masājid*, 4.

189 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, 232.

190 Ibid, 86; *Masājid*, 24.

191 For the discussion of *miḥrāb* in general, see R. B. Serjeant, 'Miḥrāb', *BSOAS*, 1959, XXII, iii, 439-53.

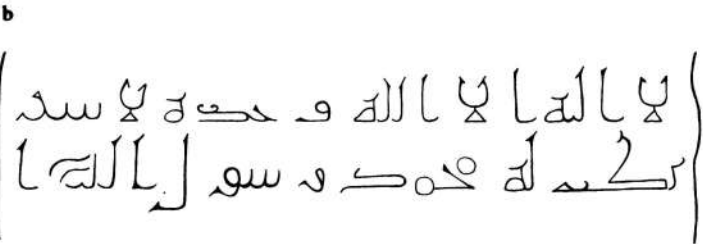
many of these repositories in Şan'ā' mosques.
The wooden *muballigh* or platform in the northern aisle has already been mentioned, where the *adhān* could be repeated after the imām (*yuradd al-adhān ba'da 'l-imām*), but it was said to have

been introduced to hold additional worshippers.¹⁹² This was built in the days of Imām Yaḥyā, who was a great renovator of mosques, but it has since regrettably been removed.

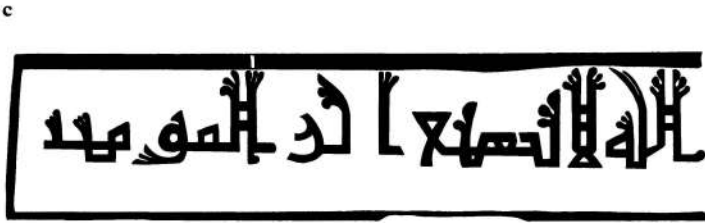
Fig. 17.1 Examples of epigraphy from the Great Mosque.



A partially defaced inscription high on the outside walls on the eastern side (see pl. 18.55).



Fragment of inscription from one of the high western bays (cf. pl. 18.49).



Inscription now built into a wall adjoining the north wall of the eastern minaret (see pl. 18.57).



Section of the continuous Kufic inscription encircling the walls beneath the ceiling beams (see pl. 18.41).

192 In 1166/1753 even the Şan'ā' Jāmi' was so crowded at the Friday Prayer that some prayed on the roof (*Nashr al-'arf*, II, 519).

Chapter 18

The Architectural History and Description of Ṣan'ā' Mosques: The Great Mosque

Introduction

According to al-Rāzī there were 106 mosques in Ṣan'ā' in the 5th/11th century.¹ There is approximately the same number today. Of these, thirty-four are large mosques of some age, and two are recently built. The remainder are small shrines most of which have little historic or architectural interest.

Only two Ṣan'ā' mosques, apart from the Great Mosque, can be dated earlier than the 4th/10th century from literary sources. One is the open-air Jabbānah, which was founded by Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī, Companion of the Prophet, and the other is the nearby Mosque of Farwah, in which he is reputedly buried.

In spite of the lack of documentary evidence, there is a number of other Ṣan'ā' mosques which can be observed to incorporate remains of early buildings, datable on stylistic grounds, and a few, which remain relatively unaltered, closely resemble ancient mosques which can be accurately dated in other parts of the high-land area.

The Great Mosque (al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr)

Foundation

According to the traditions as reported by the early historians, the Great Mosque of Ṣan'ā' was built on the order of the Prophet Muḥammad during his lifetime. As for the man who carried out the Prophet's wishes in building a mosque in Ṣan'ā', the traditions are not unanimous and several names are suggested for the builder of the original structure. The most popular choice, however, would appear to be Wabr b. Yuḥannis al-Khuzā'i, one of the Prophet's early governors in Ṣan'ā'.² Other names mentioned in connection with the building of the Mosque are Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī, who built a mosque bearing his own name and is also reputed to have been responsible for the erection of the Jabbānah,³ Abān b. Sa'id⁴ and al-Muhājir b. Umayyah.⁵

If we are not sure of the actual builder of the original mosque, there is no doubt about its location. It was built in the garden of

Bādhān, that is of Bādhān b. Sāsān, who had been the Persian governor at the time Islam came to the Yemen, and who had been retained as governor in Ṣan'ā' by Muḥammad. The mosque was to be built between the rock called al-Mulamlamah as far as the palace of Ghumdān. The position of al-Mulamlamah is still pointed out today, on the outside edge of the western wall of the Great Mosque within the ablution court (pl.18.59).⁶ The tell which would appear to be that of Ghumdān begins a few metres to the east of its present eastern wall. The *qiblah* was fixed on a line running through Jabal Ḍīn.⁷

Early Reconstruction

After the early foundation of the Great Mosque on the instruction of the Prophet, it underwent alterations and additions on three occasions during the next three hundred years.

Late 1st/early 8th century

When the Umayyad caliph, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (86-96/705-15) appointed Ayyūb b. Yaḥyā al-Thaqafī as governor in Ṣan'ā', the latter received a letter with instructions to enlarge the Great Mosque. Ayyūb enlarged the mosque by extending it on the north side—'he extended it from its first *qiblah* to where its *qiblah* is now,' as Rāzī describes it, writing in the 5th/11th century.⁸ Rāzī quotes from one source that after the building of this extension the *qiblah* was a cubit and a half off the true direction to the right. The same writer mentions that Ayyūb included a *miḥrāb* in the new northern wall,⁹ containing decorations and inscriptions. These were removed by the Qāḍī of Ṣan'ā', Yaḥyā b. 'Abdullāh b. Ismā'il b. Kulayb, who died in 341/952-53 and who had insisted that such decorations would distract the Believers as they said their prayers.¹⁰ This act of extending the area of the mosque necessitated the demolition of a tomb belonging to one of the prophets. Indeed it might well have been thus extended in order to cover the position of the tomb completely and, in this way, to prevent the tomb continuing as an object of veneration.¹⁰

in having the Mosque built.

5 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, 81; *Masājid*, loc. cit.

6 See p.317b

7 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, 70, 73, 75-6 passim; *Masājid*, loc. cit. The rock is now one metre below ground level, its position being indicated by a later rock placed on top of it.

8 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, 85; *Masājid*, 24.

9 If correct this would make it one of the earliest *miḥrābs* built into a mosque.

Cf. Piel, 'Manār', *ET*, III, 231.

10 Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq al-Nafisah*.

1 Al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, Damascus, 1974, fl. ca. 460/1073, 113, in what is almost the most accurate set of statistics of Ṣan'ā' which have come down to us. The same paragraph gives the number of baths as 12, as against 17 today. There are other, conflicting, statistics given by al-Rāzī, but those seem to be merely quotations from earlier sources which he includes for the sake of impartiality.

2 Al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, 70, 75: al-Ḥajārī, *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 23. See above, p.52a.

3 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, loc. cit.; *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 24, 3.

4 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, loc. cit., suggesting also that Wabr and Abān worked together

2nd/mid 8th century

Doors were provided for the first time in the mosque by the second 'Abbāsid governor, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-'Adwī.¹¹ From the Kūfic inscription still to be found in the courtyard of the mosque, we know that the third 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-Mahdī, gave instructions to his governor, 'Alī b. al-Rabī', in 136/754 to have the repairs carried out to the mosques of Şan'ā'. We can safely assume that the Great Mosque would be included in those mosques to have been repaired.¹²

3rd/late 9th century

A great flood swept through Şan'ā' in 262/875-76 and the Great Mosque was ruined completely.¹³ In 265/878-79 extensive rebuilding took place, described as a new building commissioned either by Muḥammad b. Yu'fir or his son, Ibrāhīm.¹⁴ All the timbers were of teak (*sāj*), while the main structure was of stone and gypsum. It was a large and impressive building.¹⁵ The main point to bear in mind here is the installation of new timbers. Al-Rāzī, our main source, suggests that the flood damage made new timbers necessary, or that they were installed after the damage done to the Mosque by 'Alī b. al-Faḍl after his second conquest of Şan'ā' in 299/911-12.¹⁶

The great flood of 262/875-76, therefore, may have been the cause of the replacement of the timbers and other major works in the mosque. It may, however, have been caused by the wanton damage done to it by 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, after his conquest of Şan'ā' in 299/911-12, when he is said to have flooded the mosque so that 'the water . . . filled the building up to the ceiling'.¹⁷ We also cannot exclude the possibility that both events actually took place and that the Great Mosque therefore suffered two serious floodings in a period of just over thirty years.

That the walls of stone and gypsum may date from an earlier period is suggested by Ibn Rustah, who visited Şan'ā' ca. 290/903, when he stated that the large mosque he saw was 'built at the command of the Apostle of God in his lifetime'—had such a fundamental part of the building as the main walls been erected within the preceding twenty-four years he could hardly have failed to have known about it.¹⁸ Al-Janādī's assertion that traces of the level to which water had risen in the mosque could still be perceived in his day (ca. 732/1331) confirms that no major rebuilding of the central part of the mosque took place between 299/911-12 and the 8th/14th century.

6th/12th century repairs carried out by the Şulayḥids

The Zaydī historian, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, who died in 1100/1689, records that the Şulayḥid queen, Arwā bint Aḥmad, built the eastern side (*al-fānib al-sharqī*) in the year 525/1130-31.

Certainly the structure of the mosque has been extended on the eastern side, but the statements that the work was done by the Şulayḥid queen should nevertheless be regarded with caution. Firstly, there is no record of such a rebuilding in the earlier historians who deal with the Şulayḥids.¹⁹ Secondly, the inscriptions built into the eastern wall are undoubtedly pre-Şulayḥid,²⁰

as is the style of the five exterior doorways. In view of the omission of any reference to a Şulayḥid rebuilding in the earlier sources and in view of the antiquity of the inscriptions (nos. 4-10, *infra*), it might be suggested that any rebuilding of the eastern wall in Queen Arwā's days was of a minor nature, involving only repairs to an existing wall, and leaving the inscriptions intact. However, the magnificent ceiling of the whole eastern side was a major reconstruction which can be ascribed to the 6th/12th century with reasonable certainty. Some of the ceiling inscriptions in the northern hall are also datable to the Şulayḥid period, as is, almost certainly, the foliated Kūfic inscription above the central doorway on the outside of the northern wall, and hence, probably, the doorway itself.

The Fātimī Ṭayyibī Da'wah has a tradition independent of the Zaydīs concerning the Jāmi' which they call Masjid Ḥurrah al-Malikah which it is interesting to quote at this point. Sayadna Taher Saifuddin Saheb²¹ says of al-Hurrah al-Malikah (Queen Arwā), 'She it was who extended the Jāmi' of Şan'ā', restored its structure, decorated (*zayyanat*) it and ordered that the names of all the Imāms, from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib up to the Imām of her age, be inscribed in it. So that was recorded/written on the north wall of al-Masjid al-Jāmi' by her order. Then it was removed (*kushīṭa*) in the days of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (532-66/1138-71), the Imām of the Zaydiyyah, in tyranny (*baghy*), aggression, envy and oppression. It was put back with plaster (*jīṣ*) and *ashrāsh* (a plant of which shoemaker's or binder's paste is made (Steingass)) in the rule (*dawlah*) of Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. 'Amrān b. al-Faḍl al-Yāmī. Then it was removed in the rule (*dawlah*) of the Āl Yaḥyā of the Ashrāf (Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah ?) for that is the innate disposition of deviation and misguidedness. The names of the Imāms, on them be peace, are written on the ceiling (*saqf*) of that Jāmi' *up till now*, in Kūfic script, which is not noticed, as one of the brethren who (actually) saw it has verified to me.'

The Rebuilding of the Minarets in Ayyūbid Times, 569-628/1173-1231

At least one of the minarets seems to have been in existence in 299/911-2, although whether in its present form is uncertain.²² The minarets which now exist were repaired in 603/1206-7, according to two inscriptions preserved in their walls, which indicate that both were rebuilt by the Ayyūbid amīr, Wurdashār b. Sāmī.²³ Al-Ḥajarī, whose source is Janādī's *Sulūk*, tells us that Janādī confirms the 'building' of the minarets in Ayyūbid times and adds that the ablution rooms (*maṭāḥir*) were built by Qādī al-Sariyy b. Ibrāhīm al-'Arashānī who died in 626/1228-29.²⁴

The Renovation of the Mihrāb in 665/1266-67

Al-Ḥajarī²⁵ states that he saw above the *mihrāb* in the Great Mosque a plaster inscription which indicated that it was remade by Qādī Ḍiyā' al-Dīn 'Umar b. Sa'īd al-Rabī' in 665/1266-67. There is no longer any sign of such an inscription above or near the *mihrāb* as it is at present, though it is clear that the *mihrāb* and its surrounding area on the northern wall have been recently redecorated and replastered. Al-Ḥajarī compiled his book,

11 *Tārīkh Şan'ā'*, 87.

12 Cf. *Inscriptions* below p. 348a, and plate 46a.

13 *Masājīd*, is mistaken in dating the flood in the year 265/878-79.

14 See above, chap. 7, *The period of the Yu'firids*.

15 *Tārīkh Şan'ā'*, 86, one Ms. reading in the footnote; *Masājīd*, 26-27; Ibn Rustah, *op. cit.*, 110. This geographer wrote about 290/903 in the Yu'firid period.

16 See above, *Yu'firids*.

17 Al-Janādī, who died in 732/1331-32 and who was clearly strongly anti-Fātimid and opposed to 'Alī b. al-Faḍl and his cause, tells the story of the flooding of the Great Mosque in 299/911-12 in great detail. The conquest of the city by 'Alī b. al-Faḍl coincided with a period of heavy rains. As his followers pillaged the town, 'Alī himself, reports Janādī, stopped at the Mosque and ordered all the water drainage spouts (*mayāzib*) to be blocked up. All the women captured in Şan'ā' were brought to him in the Mosque and, naked, made to enter the water trapped inside the building, while 'Alī b. al-Faḍl looked on from the

minaret. Those virgins who pleased him he deflowered in the minaret.

If we can believe this story, the existence of a minaret as early as this date is interesting and important. Cf. Janādī, *Sulūk*, in Kay, *Yaman*, London, 1892, 144-45 (Arabic), 199-200 (translation).

17 Kay, 200.

18 p. 128a.

19 The statement is made in *Ghāyat*, 295. Cf. e.g. 'Umārah, in Kay, *Yaman*, 40-41, who describes the Queen's building feats in Dhū Jiblah in some detail. Cf. also Lewcock and Smith 'Two mosques', *AARP*, III, London 1973.

20 See below, *Inscriptions*, p. 349a, pl. 18.55.

21 *Ghurrah al-haqq*, Sanat 1344 H., reprinted Bombay, 1387 H.

22 Janādī, *op. cit.*, 144-5 (Arabic), 199-200 (translation).

23 *Inscriptions*, p. 348b, pls. 18.50-51.

24 *Masājīd*, 28.

25 *Masājīd*, loc. cit.



18.1 The Great Mosque. Aerial view.

Masājid Ṣan'ā', in the period after 1358/1939-40 and these renovations on the *miḥrāb* and its wall clearly were carried out since that time. It seems that the inscription he refers to here was plastered over during this renovation. One further complication is that there appear to have been, at various dates, three *miḥrābs* built into the northern wall of the Great Mosque.

The Renovation of the Ablution Room and the Water Reservoir

According to the *Masājid* the ablution room and water reservoir (*birkah*) were renovated by Imām al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (773-93/1372-91). His only source for this statement, however, is an Imām of the Great Mosque early in the 14th/late 19th century, 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Ḥasan al-Ruqayḥī.

The Repair of the *Minbar*, 984/1576-77

The *minbar* of the Great Mosque was repaired by the Ottoman governor, Murād Pāshā in 984/1576-77. This is attested by an inscription carved in the *minbar* itself.

Subsequent Rebuilding of the Mosque

There are no subsequent references in the histories to substantial rebuilding until the Ottoman governor Sinān Pāshā rebuilt the small building called simply the Qubbah in the courtyard, and repaved it, in 1012-16/1603-08. Only in the twentieth century was further extensive rebuilding undertaken, according to the historians, and this affected only the southern hall, over which

was constructed a library, necessitating a new row of columns on the southern side of the courtyard. This work was done by Imām Yaḥyā in 1355/1936-37. He further strengthened the roofs of the eastern and western halls so that they could be used for prayers when the mosque was full, and constructed a staircase up to them in the south western corner.

The Architecture of the Great Mosque

Externally the mosque is a rectangle of high stone walls, broken by only one opening on each of the north and south sides, by three openings on the west, and by four on the east (pls. 18.1-8 and 18.58)

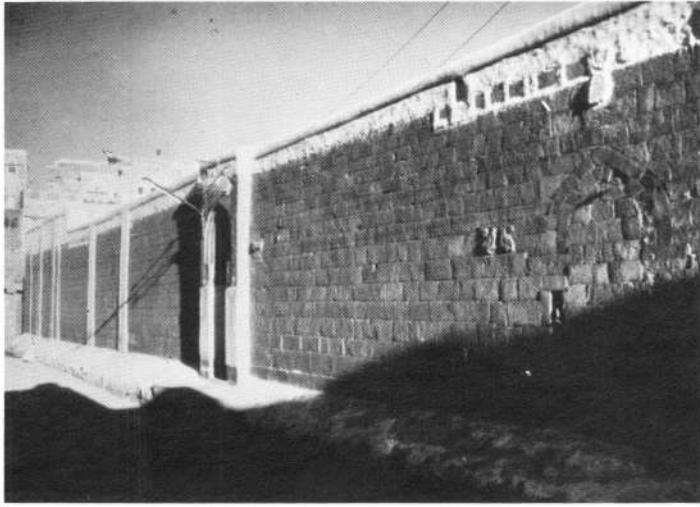
The walls measure slightly less than 66m by 78m, and are built of two facings of squared basalt stones ranging from 68cm wide and 53cm high to 31cm wide and 35cm high with a central packing of rubble.²⁶ It is possible that some of the basalt is re-used from a previous building. The stonework is laid in the curious manner practised in the Yemen in early Islamic times,²⁷ though still in use until a relatively recent date, in which the outer face of each stone leans slightly outwards, to create an apparent projection, or step, at the top, of approximately half a centimetre (pl. 18.6). Possibly this technique of laying the stones was meant to ensure greater stability if the foundations settled or if there were earthquakes. It has some resemblance to pre-Islamic stonework.

There are remains of a cresting of brick and plaster finials on the southern wall (pl. 18.8). The ablution area lies to the west of the mosque.

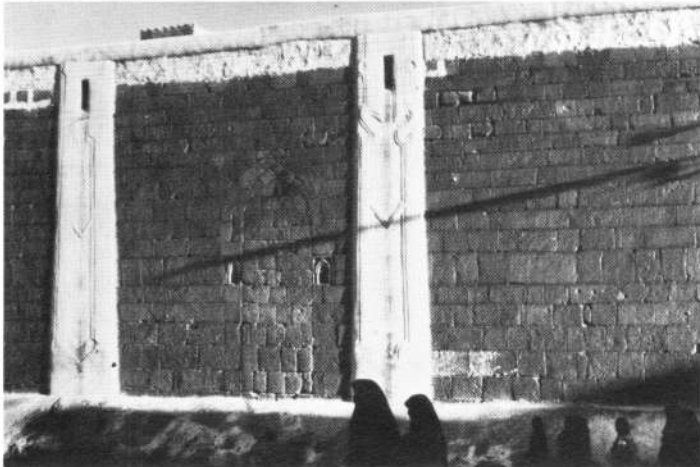
26 'The extent of the *fāmi'* from the south to the north is 127 cubits (*dhirā'*) and from the east to the west 104 arm-lengths (*madhra'*) by the iron cubit (*dhirā'*

al-ḥadīd) known in Ṣan'ā', which is to say 66 2/3 cm.' (*Masājid*, 32.)

27 The style of the stonework in the Ghayl al-Barmakī, 182/798-9 is very similar (plate Cf. p. 469b).



18.2 The Great Mosque. Exterior. The north, *qiblah*, wall. Note the central doorway and the blocked-up door on the right.



18.3 The Great Mosque. Exterior. Detail of the north, *qiblah*, wall, showing the vertical drainage chutes (*mashalah*) for rainwater from the roof.



18.4 The Great Mosque. Exterior. The south-west corner, including the domed tombs to the south of the western minaret.



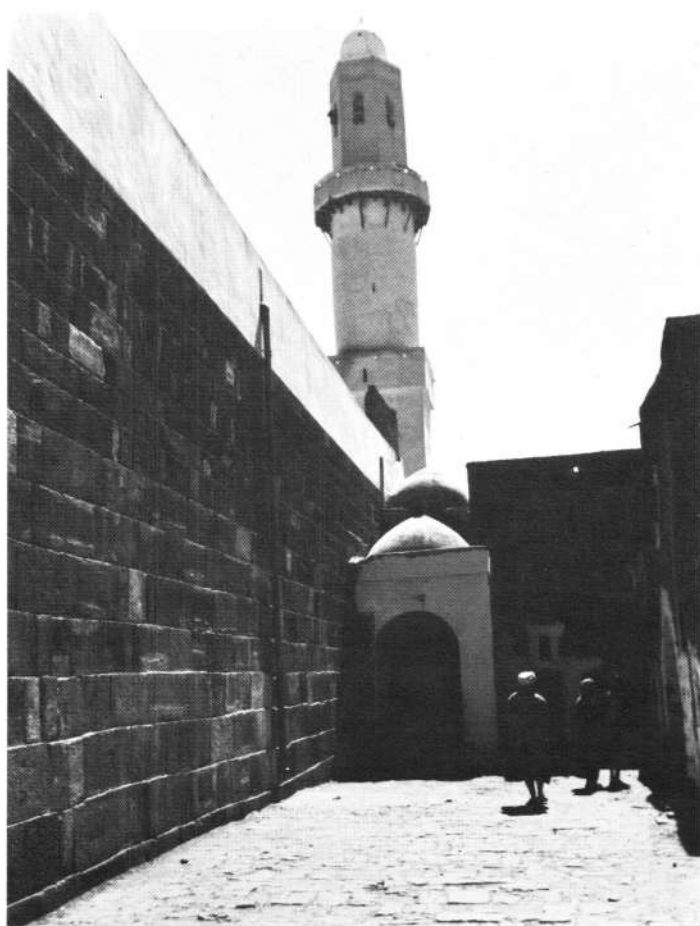
18.5 The Great Mosque. Exterior. The south-east corner. The stepped impression created by leaning out each course of stones is clearly visible.



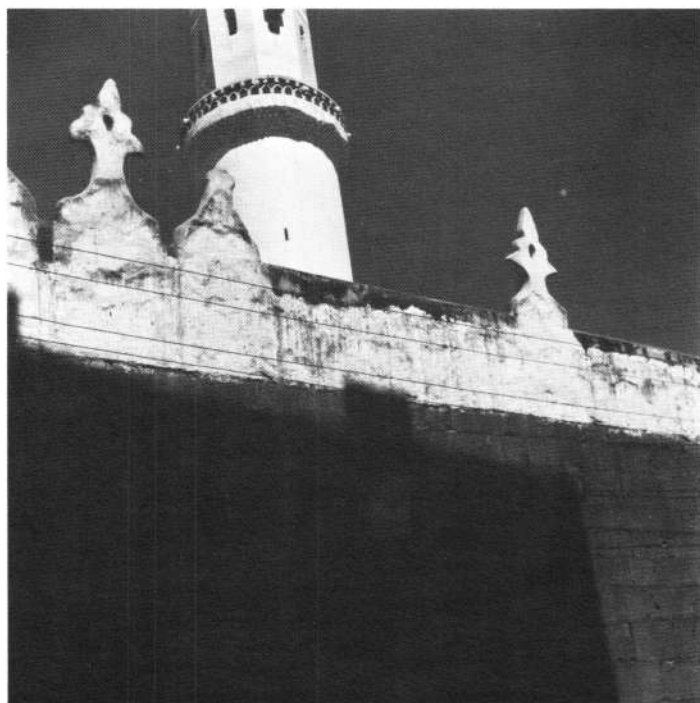
18.6 The Great Mosque. External wall. Detail showing the ledge formed at the top of each course of stones by leaning them outwards.

Within the walls are arcaded spaces on all four sides of a central courtyard (fig.18.1, pls.18.8-15). A monumental door with an early, carved wooden lintel (pl.18.18) is protected by a porch in the centre of the south wall. This leads into the southern hall which extends the full width of the building and is divided longitudinally into four aisles (pl.18.14). The western minaret projects into this space at the western end, while the eastern minaret blocks off the eastern corner of the courtyard.

A *mihrāb* in the southern hall was destroyed in the reconstruction of 1355/1936-37. The upper part of it, somewhat damaged,



18.7 The Great Mosque. Exterior. The entrance to the ablution area on the north-western side.



18.8 The Great Mosque. Exterior. The parapet cresting on the southern, entrance, side.

is retained above the first arch to the east of the doorway in second arcade from the north (pl.18.19). It was replaced by a plain *mihrāb* in the first arcade, also one bay to the east of the doorway.

28 Originally two, one is now blocked.

29 *Masājid*, 30.

30 Author of *Ghallat al-ṣādī 'alā madhhab al-Hādī* (ibid, loc. cit.).

The arcading rests on a great variety of columns taken from earlier buildings or made up from fragments (pls. 18.14-15, 20-21, 27-29). One column is even made by turning a pre-Islamic stone inscription on its side. The advantage of re-using stone columns and fragments, a practice followed elsewhere in the mosque, especially in the northern prayer hall, seems to have been that solid stone columns permitted the minimum obstruction of sightlines to the Imām leading the prayer against the *qiblah* wall.

When large stone fragments were not available, a circular pier of diameter 70 or 80cms was made up of a rough rubble core compacted with a thick layer of gypsum plaster. These piers tend to predominate on the eastern and western sides of the south (and north) hall, and are used without exception in the two outer arcades of the eastern and western side halls of the mosque. Traces of the wooden tie-beams which originally joined the arches, but which were cut at some later date, have been found during recent restoration.

The side halls are entered without interruption from the southern hall. But after a short distance, approximately 12 metres on the west and 8½ metres on the east, walls cross the arcades to close off the southern part of the building from the northern. Both these crosswalls contain *mihrābs*, that on the east is a plain niche, while the western *mihrāb* has a richly embellished surround (pl.18.22).

Small doors near the *central* courtyard penetrate the cross walls to link the southern and northern areas of the mosque. There is also access through doorways²⁸ from the street on the east, and through a single doorway from the ablution area on the west. The eastern doorways have angled reveals, which line up with the line of the east to west arcades, and counteract the angle of the eastern wall. The arches of the doorways on the outside are pointed horseshoe arches, with the bottom voussoirs acting as impost blocks and projecting past the reveals by 3cms (pl.18.23).

In the south western corner of the mosque are four tombs. One, now closed, is under a dome to the south of the ablution area (pl.18.4). According to al-Ḥajārī, 'it is known as the *qubbaḥ* of al-'Awsajah and is the grave of the Imām al-Qāsim al-Mukhtār son of Imām al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, son of the Imām al-Hādī Yaḥyā who died at Dhū Marmar in 728/1327-28. Then the people of Ṣan'ā' after a short time transferred his grave to the side of the Jāmi', and at his side is the grave of his son the Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar, who died in the year 781/1379-80 and the grave of Sīdī Yaḥyā, son of the Imām Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir'²⁹ son of the Imām al-Qāsim al-Mukhtār buried in the grave mentioned above, who died in 729/1328-29. Finally there is the grave of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥamzī, who died in 714/1314-15³⁰ Of these tombs, the best preserved is the last, approached through a richly decorated door from the ablution area (pl.18.24).

On the north side of the western minaret is another and very early tomb, reputedly that of the Prophet Ḥanzalah b. Ṣafwān.³¹ Al-Ḥajārī³² describes what he calls a 'structure' of baked brick and plaster above the tomb and separate from the minaret, although this is now incorporated into it. Perhaps this was a crude form of dome. A small arch is preserved in the wall of the minaret, probably the original opening to the tomb, blocked in the 11th/17th century (pl.18.25).

In several of the western corners are banks of students' lockers for books, roughly built up in brick and plaster and closed with small wooden doors.

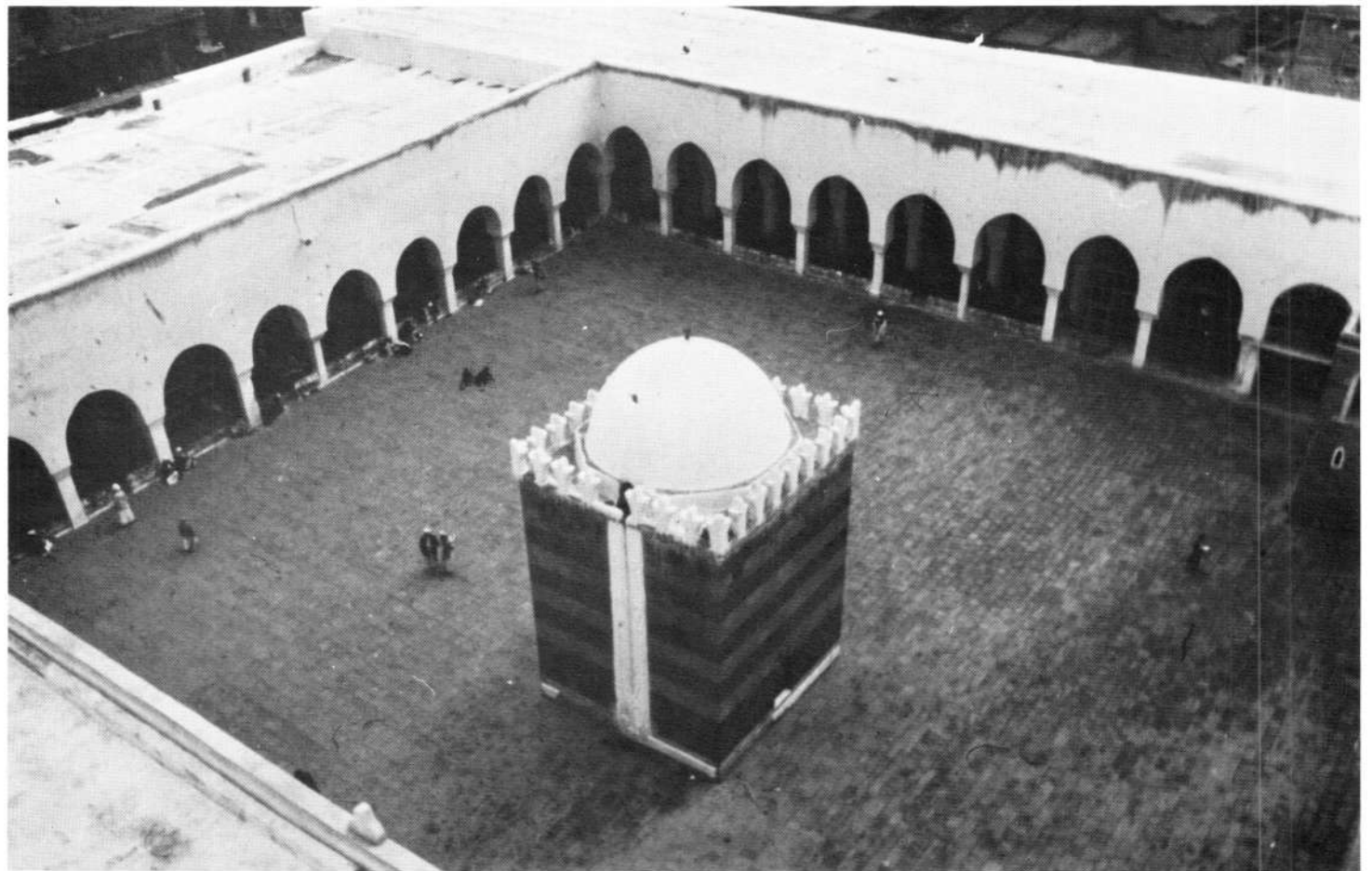
The northern halls: The eastern and western sides of the central courtyard are flanked by halls of three-aisle width which open into the northern prayer hall without a break. The two outer arcades have plain round piers. The arcades onto the courtyard

31 Mentioned by al-Rāzī, op. cit. There are at least four other tombs reputed to be his in various parts of Arabia, one of which is west of Bōr in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt. Ḥanzalah is a pre-Islamic prophet.

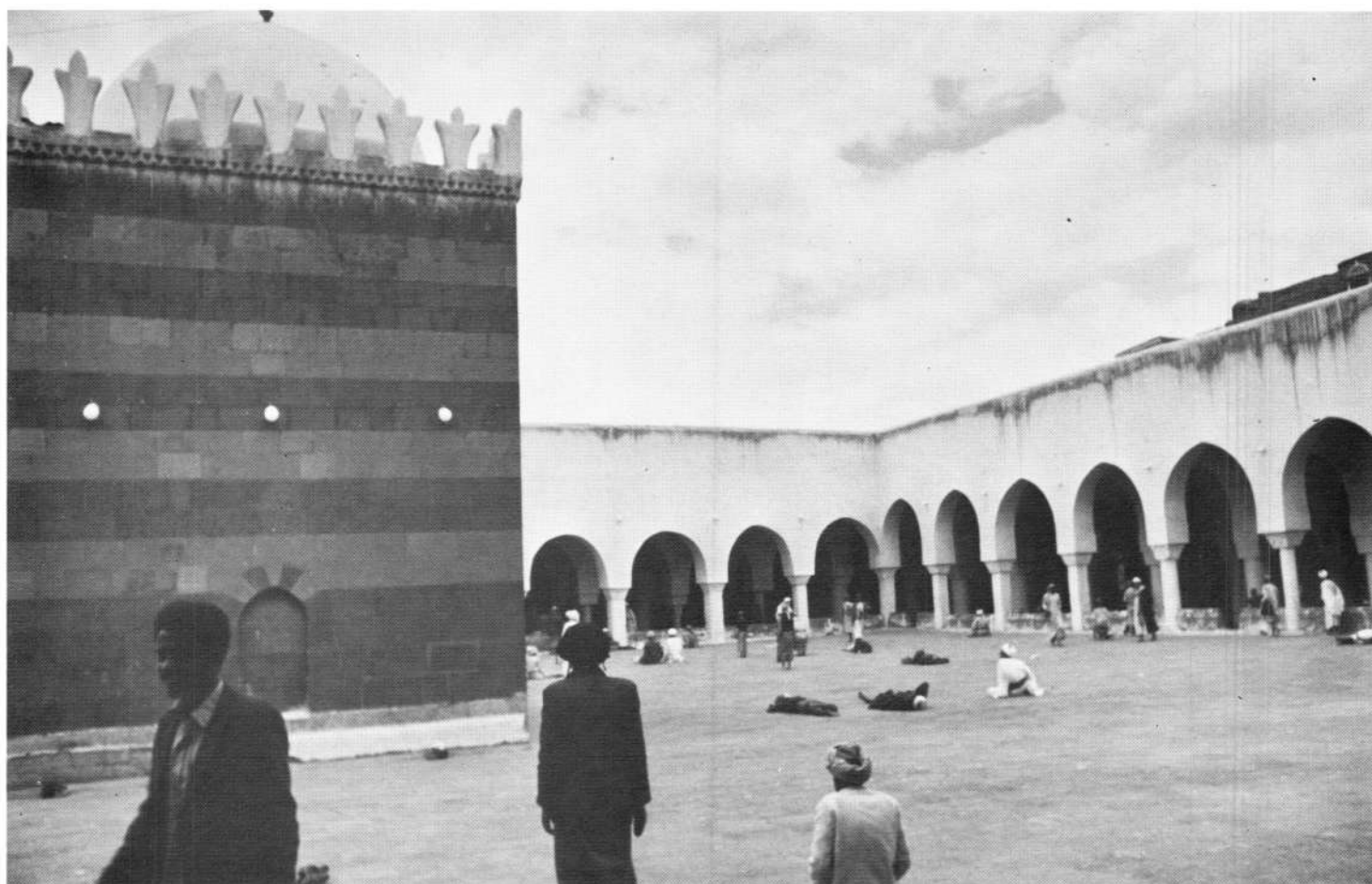
32 Op. cit., 30.



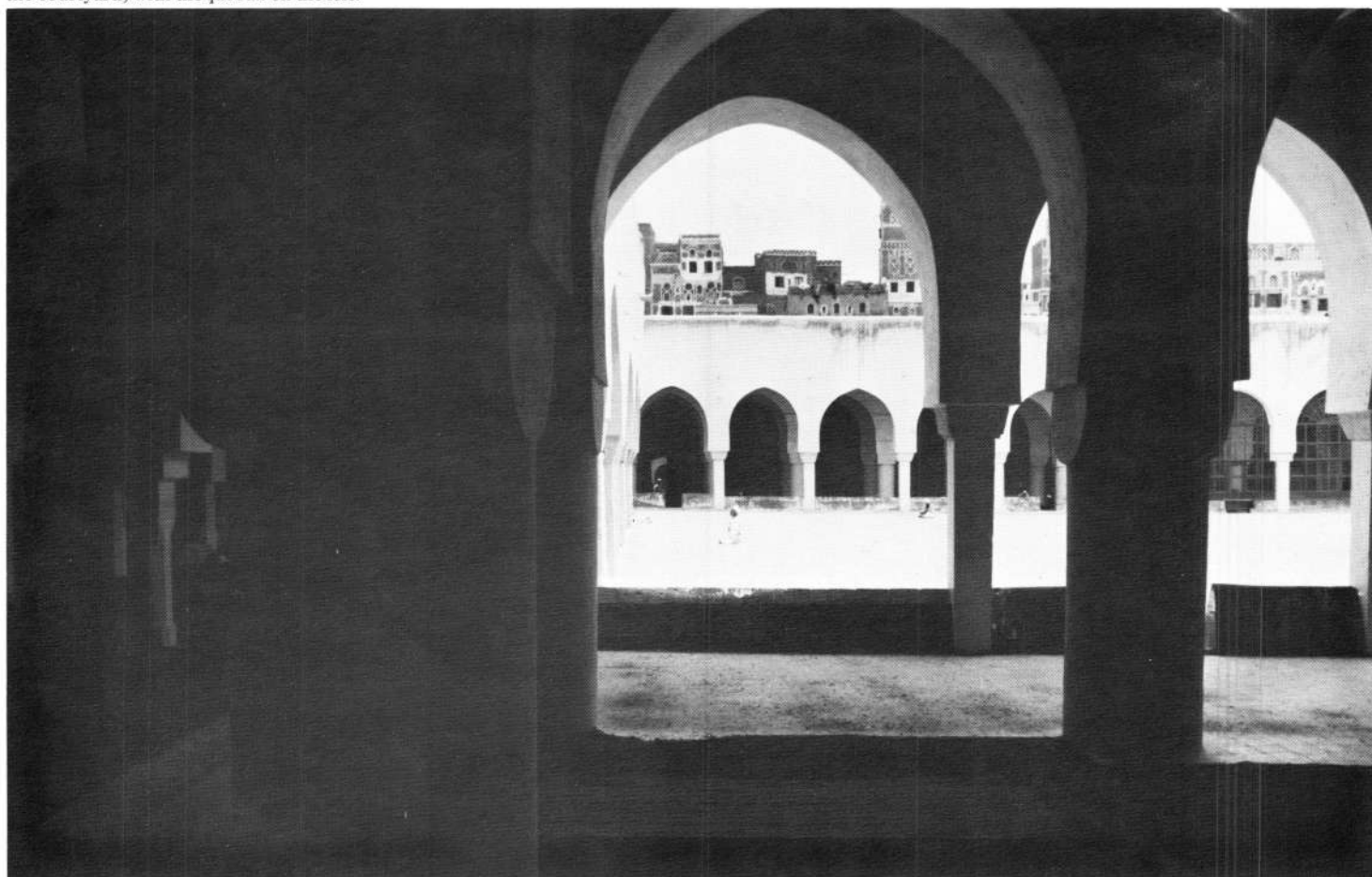
18.9 The Great Mosque. View into the courtyard from the eastern side.



18.10 The Great Mosque. View into the courtyard from the western minaret, with Sinān Pasha's Qubbah in the centre.



18.11 The Great Mosque. View of the northern and eastern prayer halls across the courtyard, with the *qubba* on the left.



18.12 The Great Mosque. View in the court from the western prayer hall. Note the ancient column and capital in the northern prayer hall on the left.

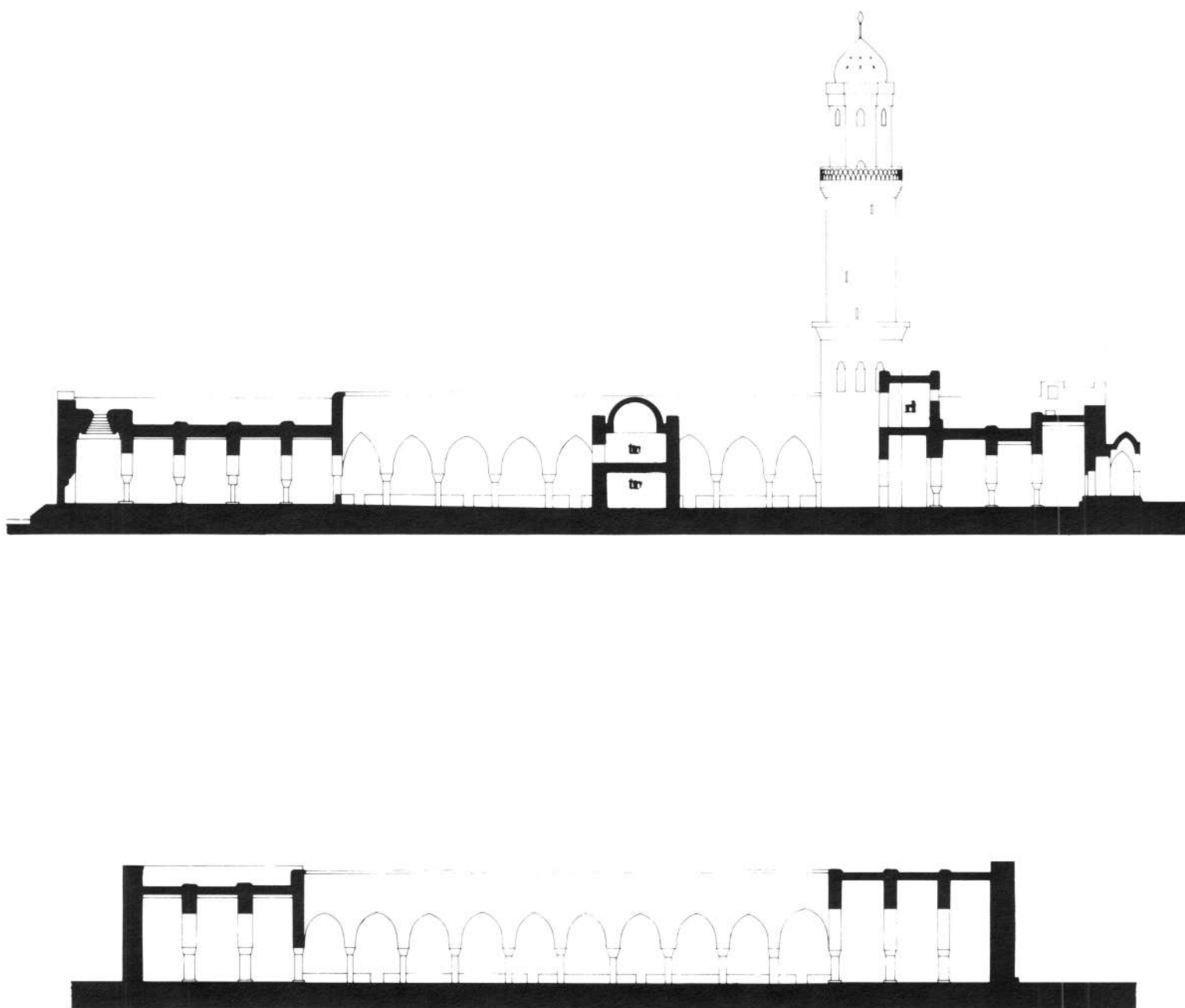
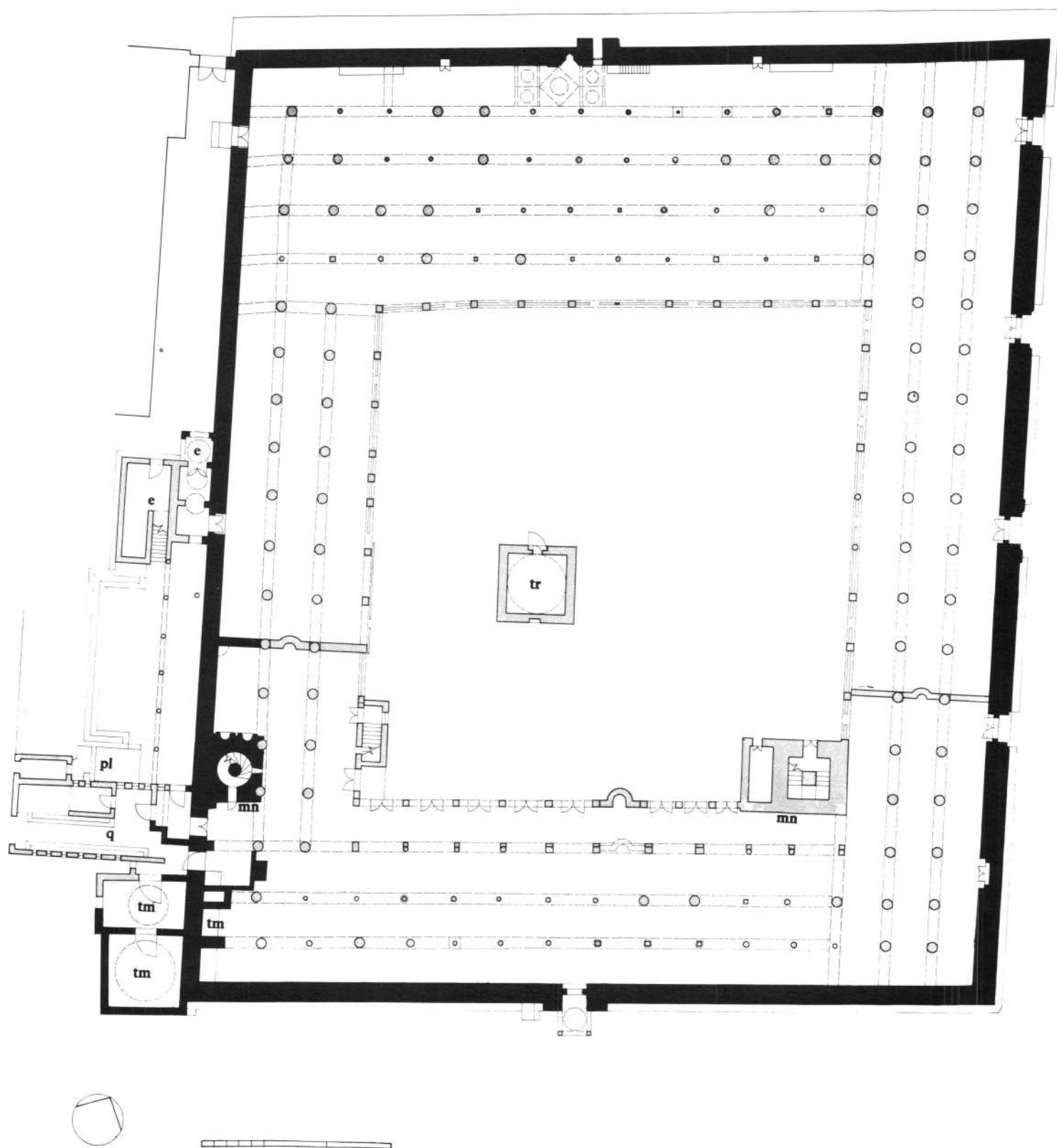
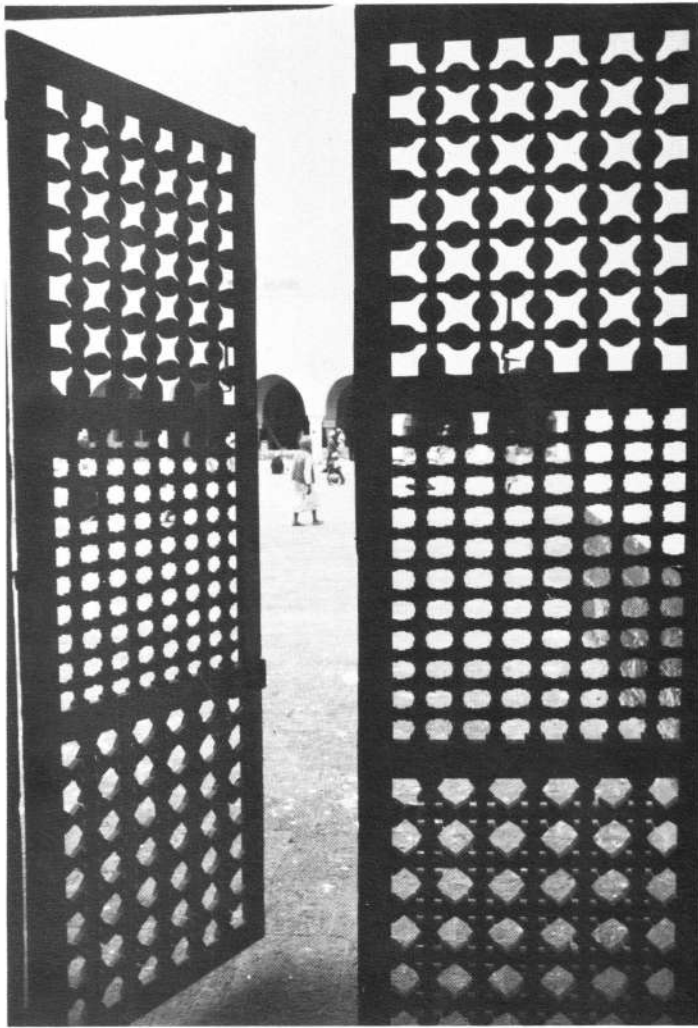


Fig. 18.1 The Great Mosque. Plan and sections.

Key to all figures

a animal stalls	b bathroom	br boiler	c court
cu court upper level	ch changing room	d <i>ḍiwān</i>	e entrance hall
eu entrance hall upper level	f warm room	fr furnace room	g grinding mills
gh <i>ghayl</i> —water level	h excrement room	hr hot room	j grain and fruit store
k kitchen	i lobby	lt laundry terrace	lb lavatory/bathroom
m <i>mafrāj</i>	mn minaret	n <i>mihrāb</i>	nw washing floor
o loading and mounting animals	or restaurant/eating place	p passage	pl pool
plr cold pool room	q public ablution area	r room—general use and sleeping	rr reception room and business
rl library	s store	sh sheep pens	sp shop
t terrace	tm tomb	tr treasury	u shaft
v rain water cistern	vm man in charge	w well	wb water cooling box
wr well ramp	x <i>minbar</i>	y women's room and wardrobe	z <i>manẓar</i>





18.13 The Great Mosque. Old wooden screen doors in the southern prayer hall.



18.14 The Great Mosque. The southern prayer hall with its plaster stripped during complete replastering in 1974.

are quite different, having for the most part plain square columns made of single large pieces of stone. Those in the western hall have plain capitals, those in the eastern hall have curious, roughly-carved capitals in vaguely-shaped leaf forms (pl.18.15). In the centre, however, is a re-used pre-Islamic circular column standing on an upturned capital and carrying another of different design (pl.18.27). The shaft of this column is entirely covered with an entwined ornament with a central belt of twisted strapwork, while the capitals are of vague composite type with stylized acanthus leaves. It seems likely that the shaft and the capital did not originally belong to each other.

The column adjoining this on the south is also circular, a



18.15 The Great Mosque. The eastern minaret seen from the northern side of the court. Note the relatively modern reconstruction to the right, with Imām Yahyā's library above.

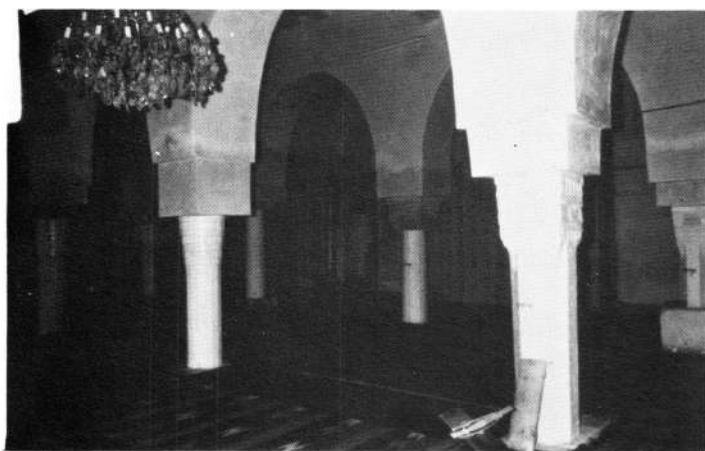


18.16 The Great Mosque. The northern prayer hall, with many columns and capitals of pre-Islamic date.

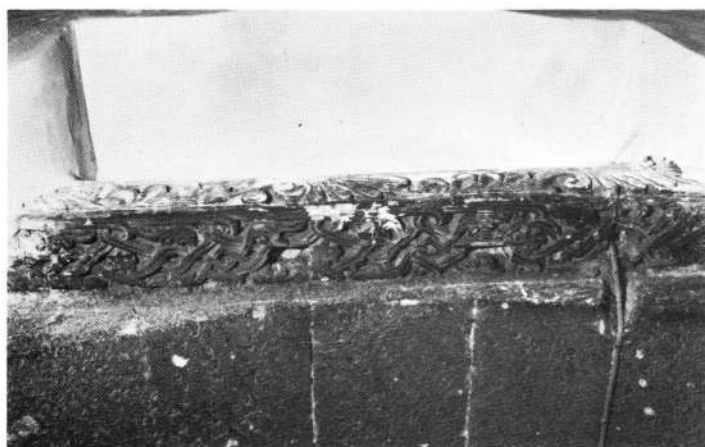
sixteen-sided polygonal shaft of pre-Islamic type.

The northern hall has five aisles, the four northern arcades of which are similar to those of the southern hall, with an assortment of pre-Islamic stone columns, and sometimes capitals, in the centre, changing to larger circular piers with rough cores at the western and eastern ends of the hall (pls.18.12,16,17,29).

The southern row of columns, on the courtyard side, are square single-stone slabs with plain capitals, like those flanking the western side of the courtyard, with the single exception of the column in the north western corner, which has a pre-Islamic (?) capital of bold conventionalized Corinthian type (pl.18.16). There is another similar capital in the third arcade of the northern



18.17 The Great Mosque. The northern prayer hall.



18.18 The Great Mosque. The wooden lintel of the main door in the centre of the south facade. In an ancient style, it contains, among vine tendrils and leaves, rosettes and what appear to be foliated Latin crosses.



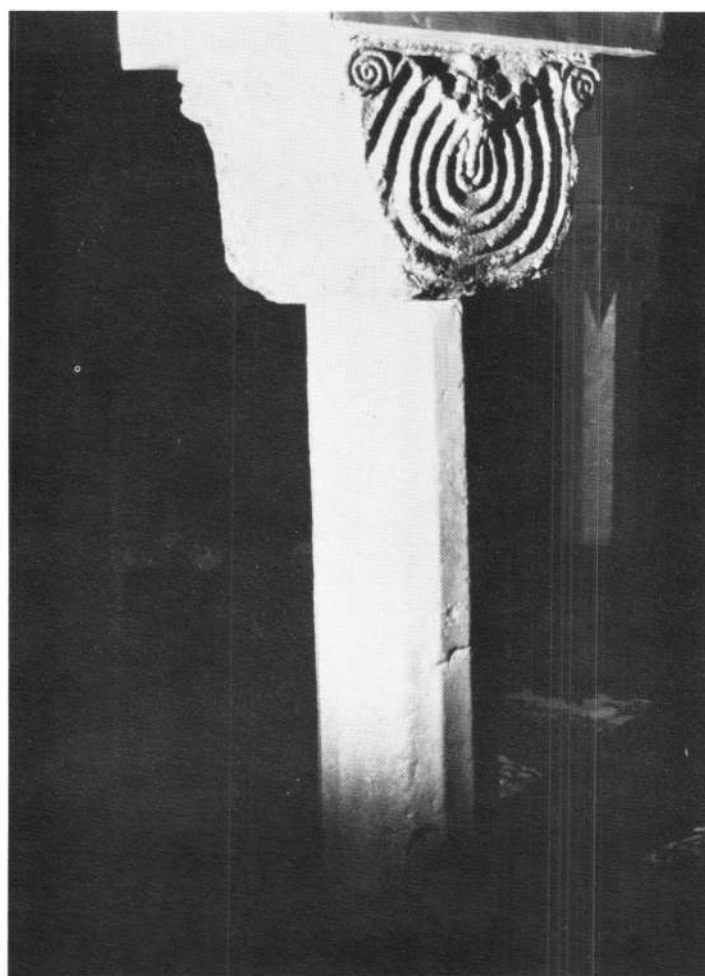
18.19 The Great Mosque. The remains of an old *mihrāb* in the southern prayer hall during redecoration in 1974. Note the panelled ceiling.

prayer hall.

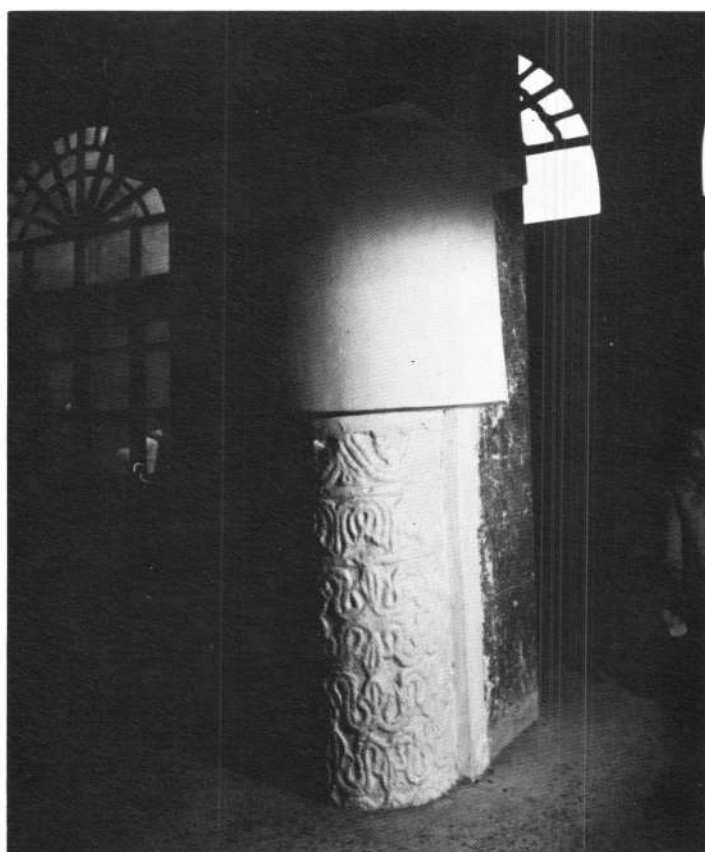
The *qiblah* wall has the *mihrāb* more than five metres to the west of the centre. The upper mouldings of an earlier *mihrāb* remain on the wall two bays further east (pl.18.30).

The decoration and calligraphy of the present *mihrāb* are very crude; it is modern work (pl.18.31). Its position, however, is probably quite close to that of the original *mihrāb* of the mosque. This may be deduced from the fact that the large dome of the ceiling, described below, has a centre-line which is only slightly to the west of it.

To the west of the *mihrāb* are two superimposed bands of splendid *naskhī* script nearly 14m long, each band being approximately 25cms high (pls.18.32-33). These inscriptions contain two raised bosses of a type roughly contemporary



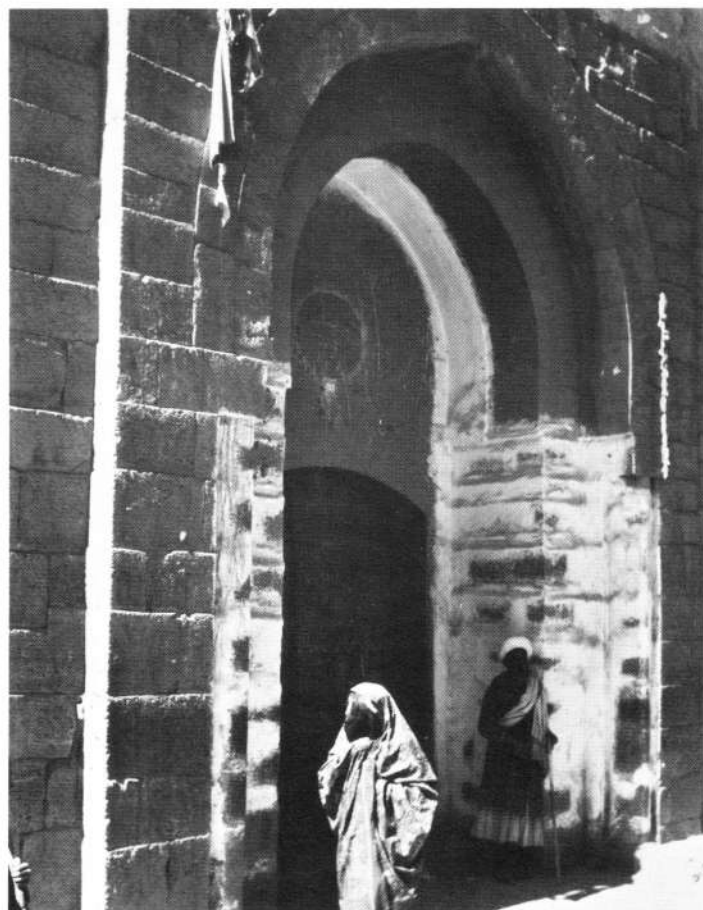
18.20 The Great Mosque. A Christian column and capital in the southern prayer hall, bearing a Greek cross in the centre of each side.



18.21 The Great Mosque. A column shaft in the southern prayer hall, with an overall vine pattern, probably early Islamic.

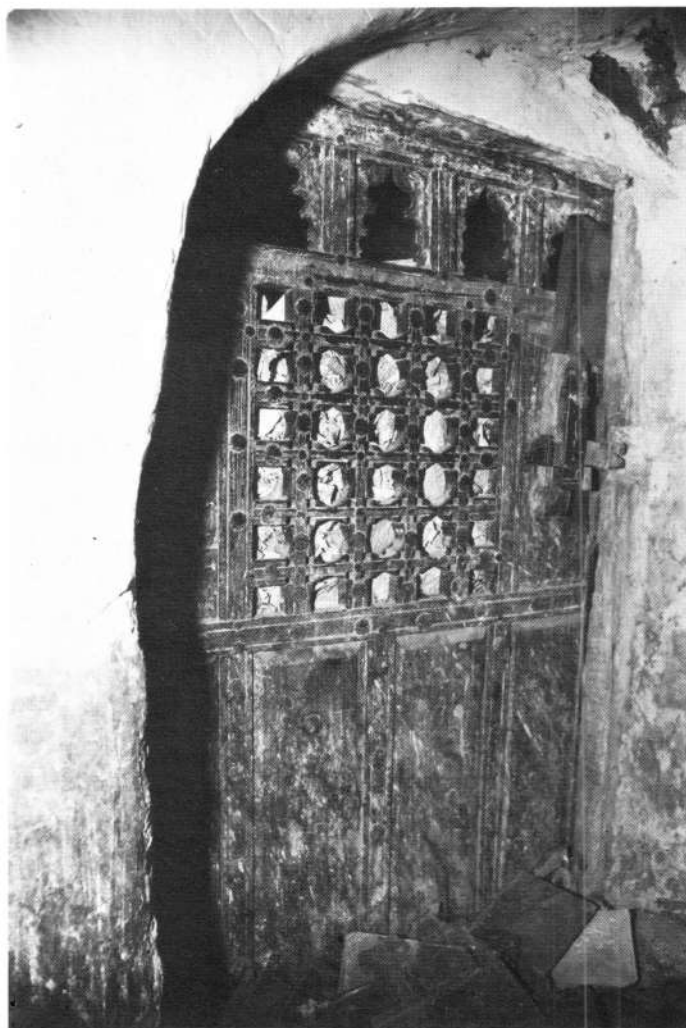


18.22 The Great Mosque. A prayer niche in the western arm of the southern prayer hall.



18.23 The Great Mosque. One of the eastern doorways in the external wall. Note the slight horse-shoe shaping of the arches.

with the Ṭāhirids (10th/16th century). The end of the inscription was altered at a later date to accommodate a reinforcing arch. Below the eastern end of this big inscription there is a later, shorter one.



18.24 The Great Mosque. A screen of wood across the entrance to one of the domed south-western tomb chambers.



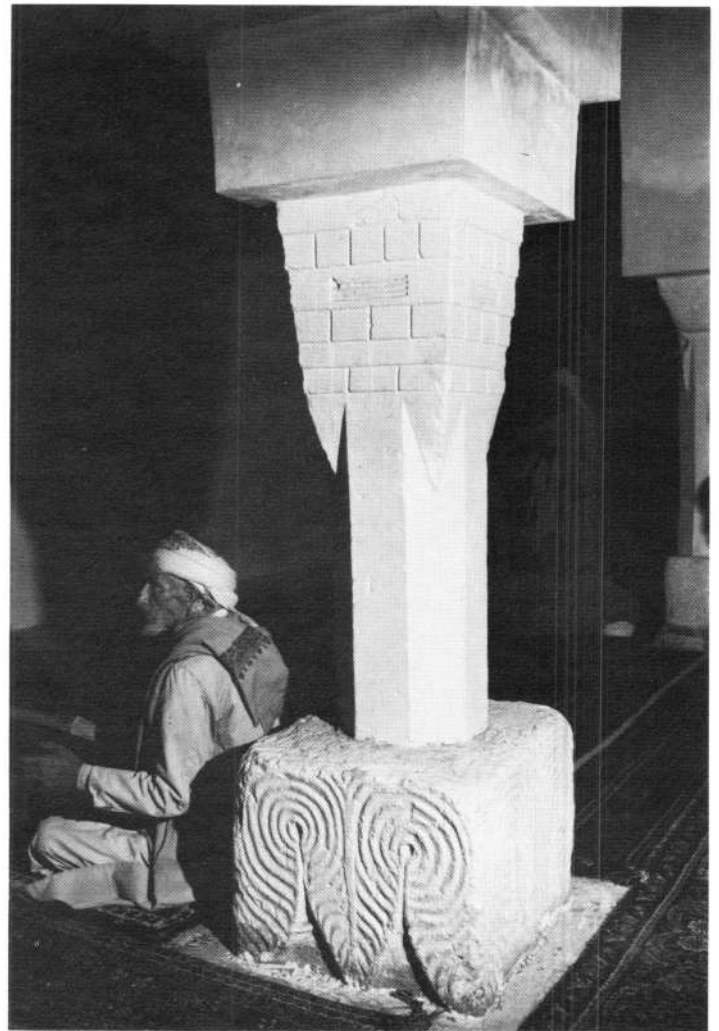
18.25 The Great Mosque. Traces of the plaster niching in the north wall of the western minaret, now removed.

To the east of the present *mihrāb* is the wooden *minbar*, repaired in the year 984/1576, according to an inscription over its gate, by the Ottoman governor Murād Pāshā (pl.18.30). On the wall behind the *minbar* and to the east is another short inscription in plaster relief; this is above the remains of the eastern *mihrāb*.

Between the *minbar* and the *mihrāb* is the door through which the Imām entered the mosque, the door itself plated with metal of pre-Islamic design and workmanship containing Ḥimyaritic



18.26 The Great Mosque. Horseshoe arches on double columns executed in plaster in the north wall of the eastern minaret, now removed. (Photo: P. Costa)



18.28 The Great Mosque. Pre-Islamic capital in the eastern prayer hall. The original Greek crosses in the centre of each side have been chipped away.



18.27 The Great Mosque. Pre-Islamic or early Islamic column and capital in the eastern prayer hall, with an overall vine pattern.

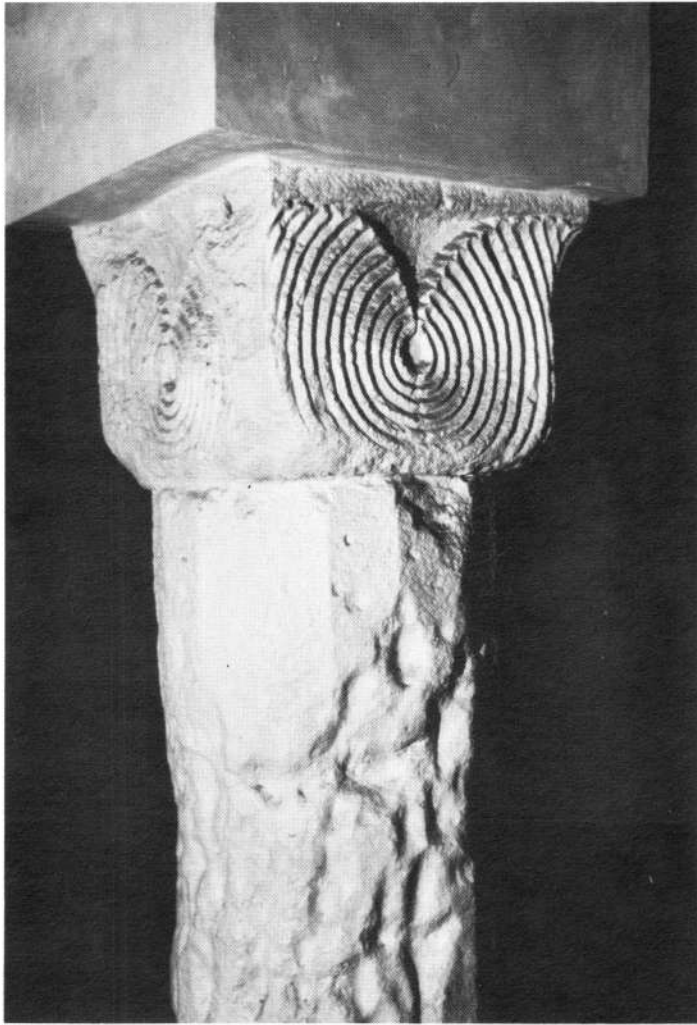
inscriptions (pl.18.34).³³ The three doors of the northern end of the eastern range resemble those further south in having angled reveals externally, surmounted by pointed horseshoe arches which are slightly narrower at their bases than the reveals below (pl.18.23).

The Ceilings: All of the ceilings of the mosque are of wood. Those of the northern and southern halls vary from 4.50 to 5.80m in height to the soffit of the beams, those of the eastern and western halls are higher, the eastern 6.55m and the western 6.11m. The construction of most of the ceilings of the southern and northern halls is a series of beams approx. 20cms square in cross-section running north-south (that is, between the arcades, which run east-west) supporting a series of small cross beams which carry infilling panels of wood. In some cases the latter are decorated, in others not. The decoration usually takes the simple form of a square recess turned diagonally to the surrounding frame of beams, with a painted star or circle within it (pl.23). Painted inscriptions, some of them in Kūfic script, cover many of the beams of the first, second and third aisles from the *qiblah* wall in the northern hall (pl.22).

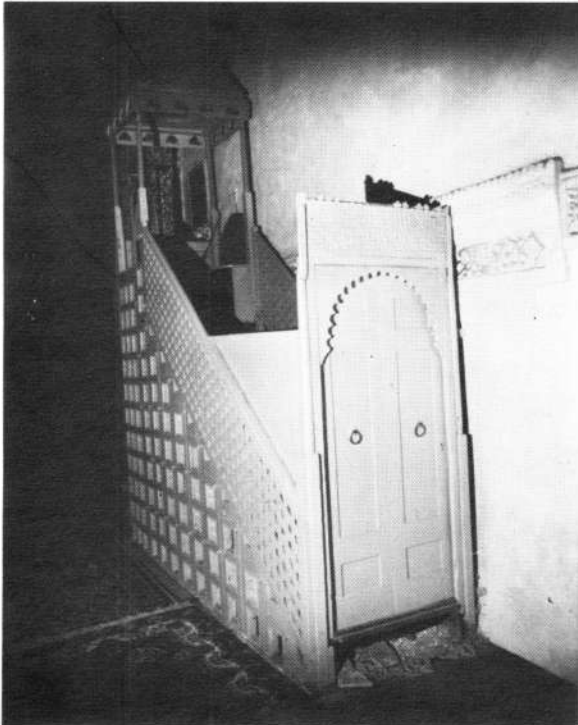
The main exceptions to this type of ceiling are the ceiling in the first bay in front of the *mihrāb* and to the west of it, and the ceilings of the last four bays to the west in the northern hall (omitting the most northerly bay, which conforms to the type typical of most of the mosque).

The ceiling in front of the *mihrāb* and to the west of it is composed of a large corbelled flat 'dome', or 'lantern', flanked on either side by a pair of smaller flat 'domes' (pls.24,18.35). On close examination the corbelling is seen to be made of large flat pieces of wood resting on beams, while the flat circular 'dome' or 'lantern' in the centre is of ancient alabaster, long since turned

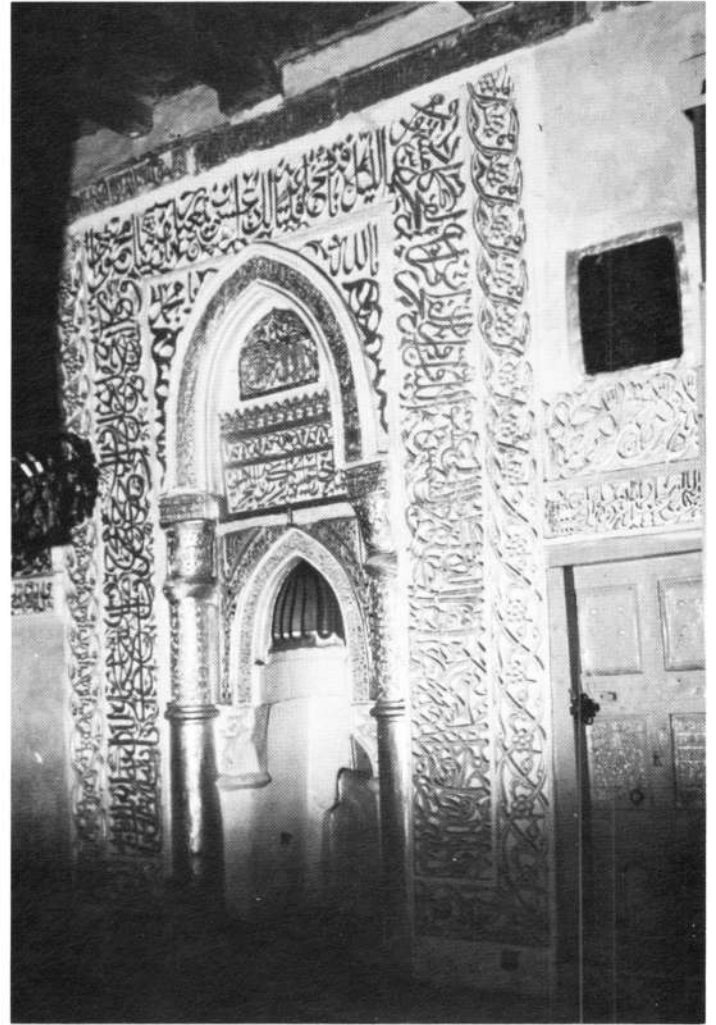
33 Cf. pp. 337, 346a



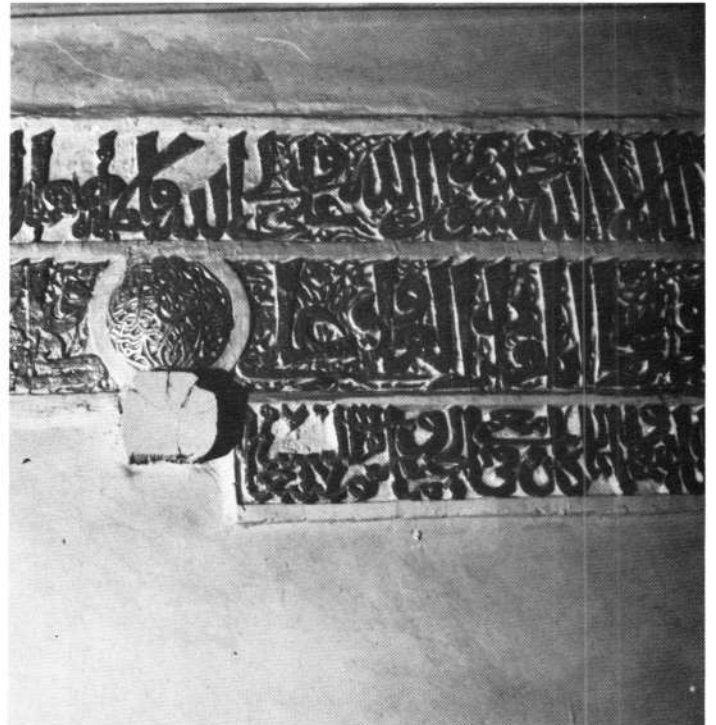
18.29 The Great Mosque. Capital and polygonal column shaft in one piece in the northern prayer hall from an ancient South Arabian building. The base is an inverted capital of later pre-Islamic date.



18.30 The Great Mosque. *Minbar* in the north prayer hall.



18.31 The Great Mosque. *Mihrāb* in the centre of the *qiblah* wall. Redecorated in the present century. Note the adjoining door, and the early Kufic inscription on the wooden strip which runs right around the building under the beams.



18.32 The Great Mosque. Beginning of the *naskhī* inscription on the *qiblah* wall to the west of the *mihrāb*.

black and thickly plastered over on the outside, but originally doubtless translucent so that the light poured in on the centre of the *qiblah* wall.³⁴ Two further beams were introduced at some subsequent date to help support the central 'dome', disguising the original appearance which was of a square placed diagonally in a square formed by beams, *qiblah* and arcade wall, from which the corbelling rose up. The whole 'dome' structure has parallels with similar constructions in Central Asia, which Benjamin Rowland thinks were probably invented in Persia³⁵ (pls.18.36,38). But three-corner brackets under the central 'dome', which have strong redolences of the pre-Islamic architectural style unique to the Yemen, remind us that we as yet know nothing of pre-Islamic timber ceiling constructions in this area (pl.18.37).

The last four bays in the south west corner of the northern hall are higher than the rest of the ceilings in the northern hall. At approximately 7m they are even higher than the ceilings of the eastern and western halls.³⁶ They consist of a palimpsest of fragments of decorated wood, some areas of which are certainly original ceiling panels complete with frame and beams (pls.25, 18.43). It is tempting to believe that some of the beams and panels remain in their original position, but it is impossible to be sure of this without detailed archaeological examination of the structure, impossible at present. Certainly, this theory would help to explain why only this one section of the ceiling should be so much higher, by allowing us to suppose that to stabilize the ancient structure later architects lowered the height of the rest of the ceilings.³⁷ It is possible that a restorer, centuries ago, allowed four bays of the original ceiling height to remain immediately adjacent to the western wall, and that into these bays were collected all the finest fragments of the original ceiling that were not decayed or eaten by insect-attack (pls.21,25,18.35-49).

The ceilings of the western and eastern halls are more richly decorated in carved and painted ornament than the bulk of the ceilings in the northern and southern halls. The ceiling of the eastern hall is the finer of the two (pl.18.48).

Throughout the eastern and northern halls, and in areas of the western and southern halls, long wooden Kūfic inscriptions run along the walls immediately below the ceiling beams. These are of two types (pls.18.41,49, fig.18.2). Those of the eastern, western and southern halls are in a rounded Kūfic; those in the northern hall are in a form of Kūfic which has borders and a hollowed-out central space to each letter.

The central courtyard: The central courtyard is roughly square, 38.5m from east to west and 40.3m from north to south on the eastern side. It is paved with stone, and contains a *qubbah* slightly off-centre, towards the south west. In the south eastern corner, against the flanking arcades, rises the eastern minaret.

The *qubbah* in the centre of the courtyard is a simple building 6m by 5m with walls of banded basalt and tufa, two storeys in height and surmounted by a plain dome (pl.20). There is no decoration internally, the function of the *qubbah* being to serve as a safe repository for precious books and records belonging to the Awqāf. In its present form it does not appear to have ever had any special religious or symbolic significance. There are two



18.33 The Great Mosque. Continuation of the *naskhi* inscription on the *qiblah* wall.



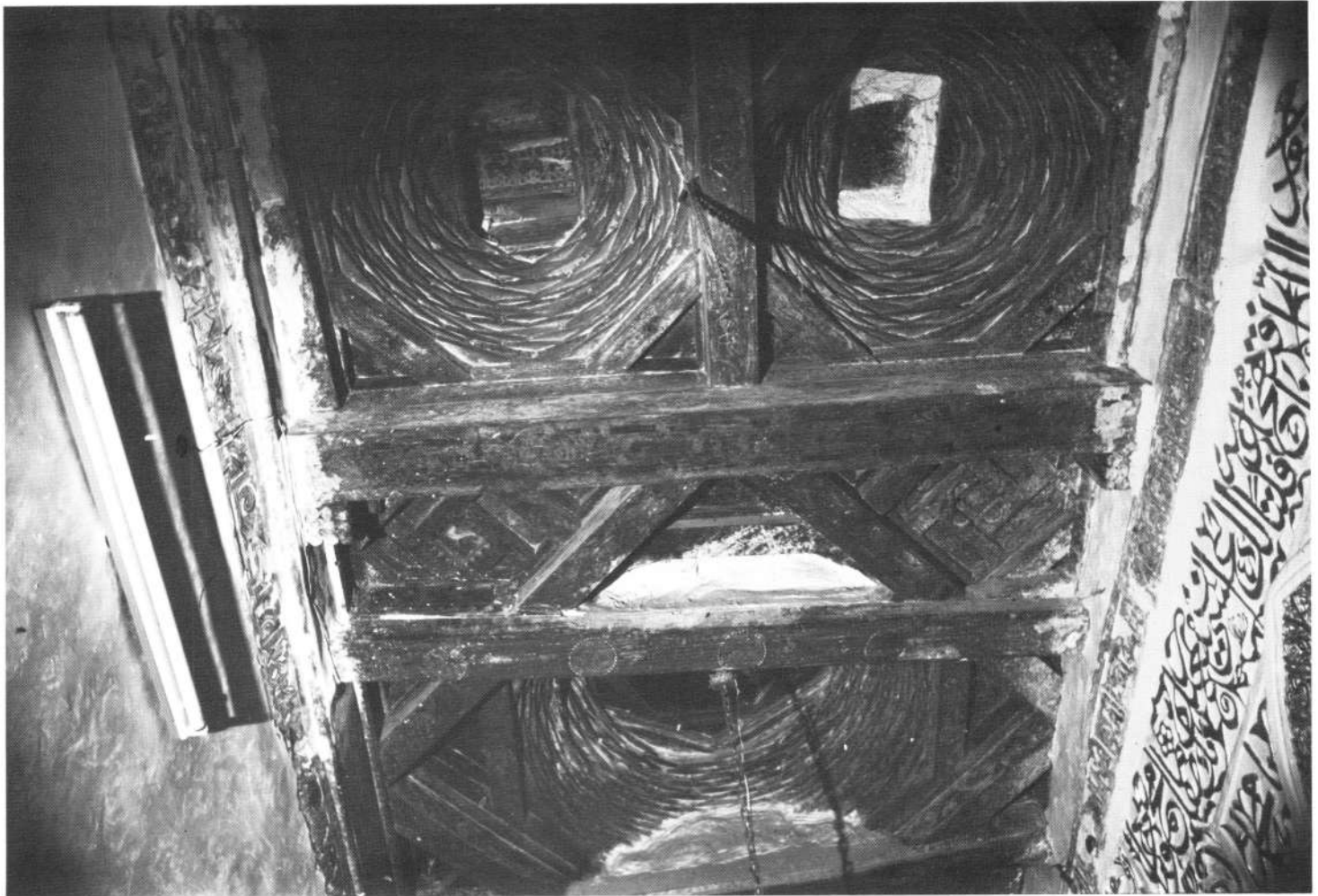
18.34 The Great Mosque. The door of the entry through the *qiblah* wall, to the east of the *mihrab*. Covered sheet metal, the central panels of which have pre-Islamic inscriptions; the lower panels contain Byzantine arches characteristic of the sixth c. A.D.

34 The lanterns of al-Sarḥah mosque (ca. 2nd/8th century) were clearly also of translucent alabaster (cf. P. Costa, 'La Moschea Grande di Ṣan'ā', *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 1974, XXXLV, 493). One is reminded that al-Hamdānī in his *Ṣifāh* gives a description of the ancient palace of Ghumḍān, which stood alongside the Great Mosque until destroyed in the early days of Islam, as having a ceiling at the top, of alabaster so translucent that one could see through it birds flying against the sky.

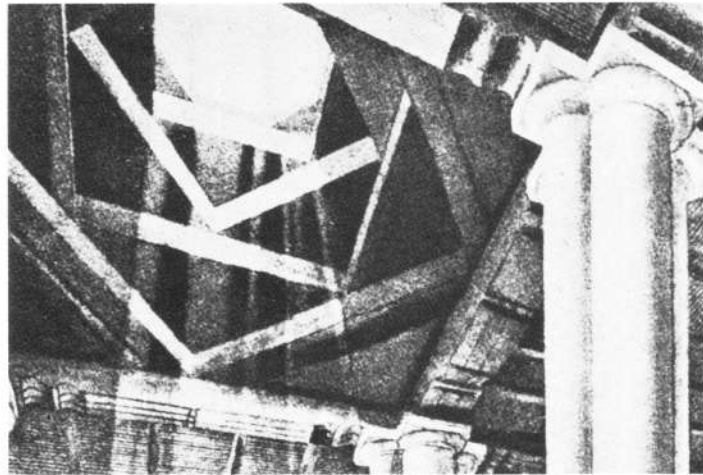
35 Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Harmondsworth, 1967, 173.

36 The 1st/7th century mosques of Basrah and Kufah 'exhibited close affinities to Sasanian royal halls because of their very high ceilings.' D. Kuban, *Muslim Religious Architecture*, Leiden, 1974, I, 13.

37 In a space above this ceiling were found, during the recent restoration, large quantities of early manuscripts, many of them in Kūfic characters and dating from the early centuries of Islam. Included among this material, however, were more recent manuscripts and matter printed up to the end of the last century.



18.35 The Great Mosque. Another view of the alabaster skylights in front of the *mihrab*. The two beams strengthening the large skylight are clearly a later addition.



18.36 Turkmenistan. Nisā, hall in palace, 3rd to 1st c. B.C. Reconstruction of the wooden structure supporting the skylight lantern. (Photo courtesy: Pugachenkova)

floors, each consisting of a single space, the upper one reached only by placing a moveable ladder on the outside wall.

The libraries: Above the south western arcades of the mosque there is a second storey, providing accommodation for the library of the mosque, and approached up a long flight of stairs from the south western corner of the courtyard.

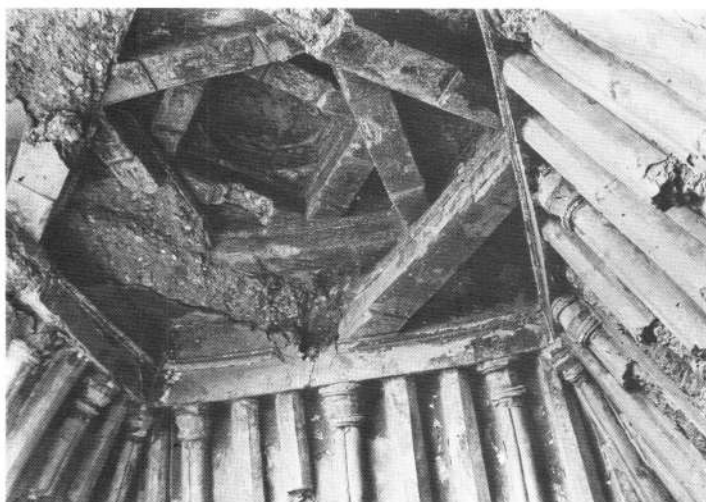
Along almost the full length of the southern side of the courtyard, above the arcades of the hall, there rises the dark grey facade of Imām Yaḥyā's library, a gift to the mosque added in 1355/1936-7. It is approached up a staircase from the south eastern corner (adjoining the minaret), or from the south western staircase of the other library (pl.18.15).



18.37 The Great Mosque. Detail of the skylight lantern. Painted patterns and wooden brackets suggest a date in the early centuries of Islam.

The minarets: The western minaret rises against the western wall, and thus penetrates the roof to emerge well away from the courtyard.

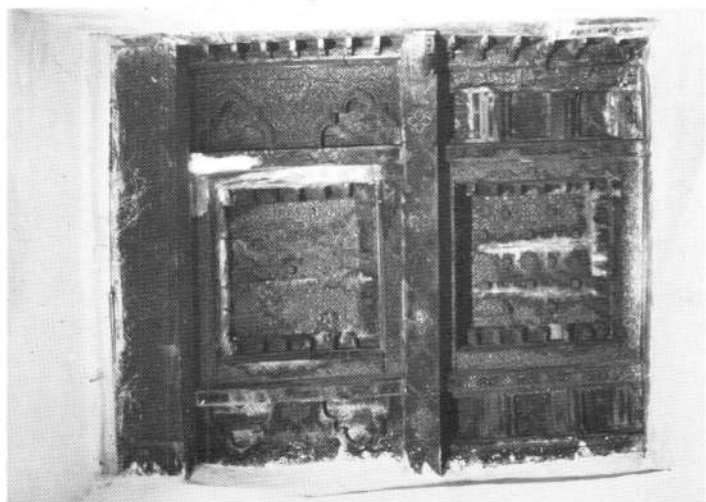
This minaret is approx. 4.25m square at the base externally, and internally is a brick cylinder approximately 2.75m in diameter tapering to slightly more than 1.5m in diameter at the top. It contains a central cylindrical brick core tapering from 1.08m to 0.75m. The whole construction appears to have been done at one period. Externally a square base rises from the paving of the mosque, passes through the roof and rises to a height of approx. 5.5m above it (pl.18.50). The cornice was originally decorated with pointed arches containing scalloped



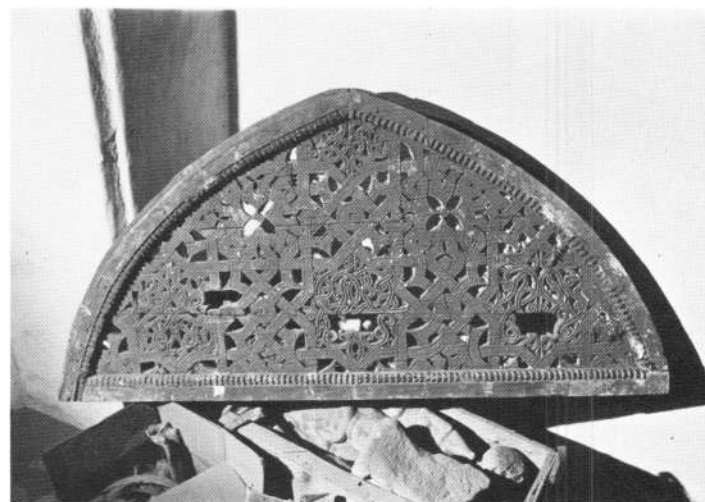
18.38 Bāmiyān. Lantern roof c. 500 A.D. A stone-cut replica of a type of diagonal braced lantern construction closely related to the Parthian example at Nisā and to that in the Great Mosque.



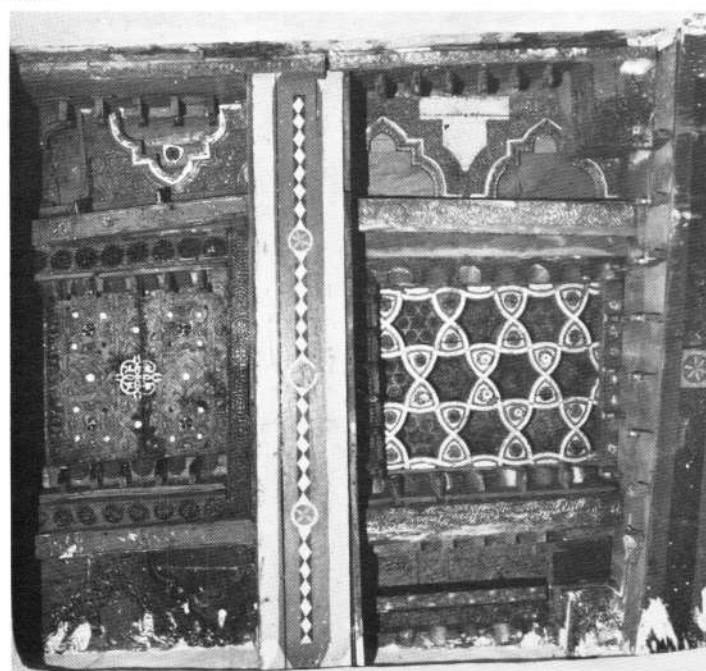
18.41 The Great Mosque. Section of the continuous Kūfic inscription encircling the walls beneath the ceiling beams.



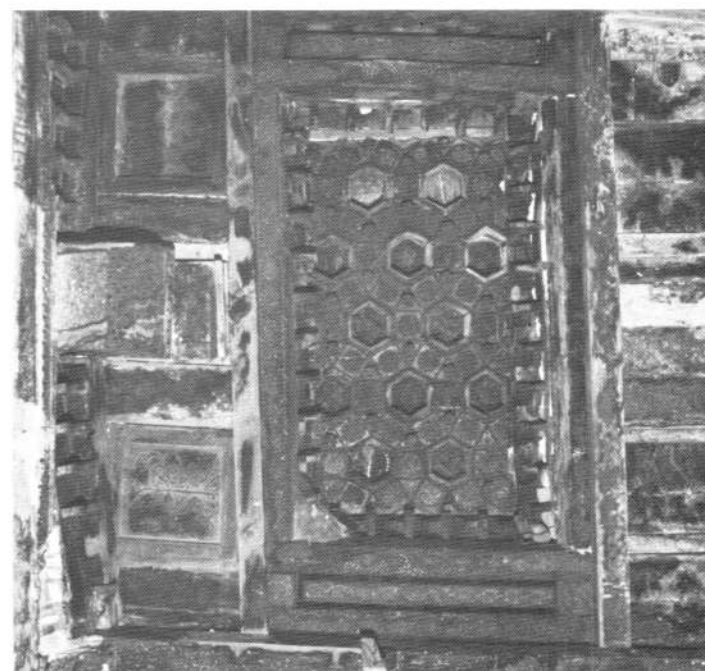
18.39 The Great Mosque. One of the high western bays of the north prayer hall ceiling, containing fragments of ancient woodwork, including two early ceiling bays.



18.42 The Great Mosque. Wooden fanlight with plaited interlace.



18.40 The Great Mosque. Another of the high western bays of the north prayer hall ceiling, containing fragments of ancient woodwork including two early ceiling bays.



18.43 The Great Mosque. Another of the high western bays of the north prayer hall ceiling. Containing bays and other fragments of an early ceiling.

niches. Thereafter the shaft of the minaret changes to a cylinder, up to a height of 23m from the courtyard paving, when a circular plastered balcony on a bracketed wood platform projects from it. Above this, the minaret changes again to a plain polygon, pierced with a small window opening in each side near the top, and capped with a small, slightly ogee-shaped dome without mouldings.

The eastern minaret is externally close to the western minaret in height and basic form, but is markedly wider. An important difference is that the eastern minaret had a blind arcade on all four sides above roof level, composed of three-pointed arches containing scalloped niches each standing on a pair of half-columns (pls.18.9,15). The balcony is entirely of masonry, corbelled out in eight rows of angled bricks from the cylinder below. Finally, the upper windows have heads which are cinquoils instead of simple arches.³⁸

Internally, the plan of the eastern minaret is a square up to the full height of the first storey. Well-built strainer arches forming pointed vaults in brick cross from the sides of the minaret to the squared central core at each landing. There are, curiously enough, two doors into the minaret at its base, one on the east and one on the north. Before the recent renovation there was a row of stucco horseshoe arches standing on double columns on the eastern side of the minaret below the ceiling of the eastern hall. They have now been removed.

The two tombs mentioned by al-Ḥajarī as being on the courtyard side of the eastern minaret have been incorporated into the rebuilding of the library staircase (done in 1355/1936-7). They were tombs of the Ḥasanī descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, one of them dating from 399/1008-09.

The Architectural Origins of the Great Mosque

The Great Mosque is the only Şan'ā' mosque known to date from before the 7th/13th century which has arcades instead of columns supporting the roof.³⁹ The arcades in the Great Mosque are of two types, semi-circular and pointed. The semi-circular arches are lower than the others and restricted to the south and north prayer halls, which might suggest that they date from the rebuilding completed about 265/878, the earliest likely date for any major part of the upper structure to have survived, if the historical sources quoted earlier are to be believed. On the other hand, there is evidence that the ceiling of the northern hall was originally higher and was lowered at a later date, probably in the 5th/11th century. There is, therefore, a possibility that these semi-circular arches may have been lowered at the same time.

The pointed arches certainly date from a later period, probably most of them from the rebuilding done by Arwā bint Aḥmad, the Şulayhid queen in the 6th/12th century.

The use of semi-circular arches in the earlier parts of the mosque may reflect a desire to reproduce the appearance of the first mosque on the site, which in turn may have been influenced by the construction of the Christian church, which was, according to early historians, built with arcades.⁴⁰ The decoration on the imām's door in the *qiblah* wall is of Byzantine type and shows arches on columns.

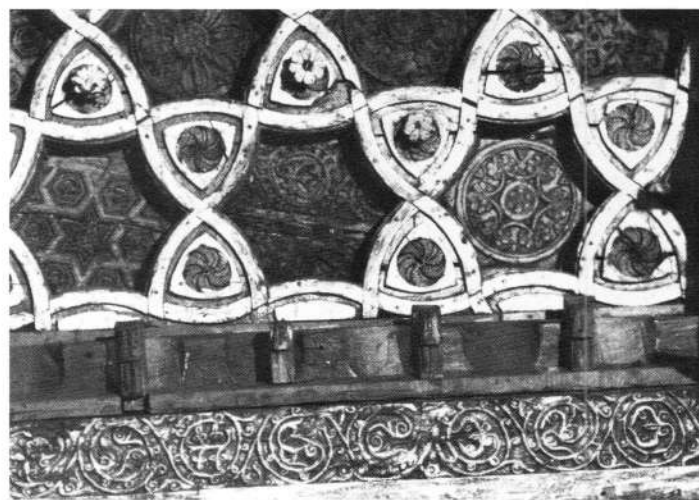
The outer walls are unlikely to have been seriously destroyed in the flooding of the mosque. Presumably, if any parts had fallen the stones could easily have been replaced in position. The date of the oldest part of these walls is not easily determined. They were apparently the walls into which the first 'Abbāsid governor fitted doors (or constructed formal doorways in stone?) ca. 133/750.

The first mosques⁴¹ are thought not to have been surrounded by walls, but simply by a trench, a practice which is thought to have lasted about a century.⁴² In the case of the Şan'ā' mosque, the wall probably dates back to the time of al-Walid (ca. 88/706), at which time the mosque was enlarged to its present size and the position of the *qiblah* wall fixed. The latest likely date for the walls is 136-145/749-754, when doors were added, and the mosque was likely to have been repaired, according to the evidence referred to on p.324a.

It was an early tradition that the entrance of the imām into a mosque should be made on the *qiblah* side of the building: 'It is not fitting that the imām should pass through the people.'⁴³ The existence of a *qiblah* doorway in the Great Mosque of Şan'ā' is likely to date back to an early period if only because of the ancient door which was used.

However, there are three doorways on the *qiblah* side of the mosque, the central one being the one last used by the imām, the two others being blocked. Of the three doorways, that on the north west appears the oldest (pls.18.2,52). It is flanked on the exterior by curious emblems. A pair of pigeons or doves face each other in a bas-relief in basalt on either of the openings.⁴⁴ There are rosettes in the top corners of each block. Each bird stands on one leg and stretches one leg towards the bird opposite. Their claws do not touch, however, and it is possible that they held an emblem which has since been removed. Better evidence for dating the opening is given by the capitals of the columns flanking the doorway, which are almost completely built-in by the closing of the entrance. These have lobes very reminiscent of Samarra I type ornament. This would place them in the second quarter of the 3rd/9th century.

The projecting central doorway itself contains no such evidence of an early date, but on the contrary is apparently rather late (pl.18.54). A deep niche containing a crude stone semi-dome with scalloped fluting is framed by an ogee arch of unrefined shape. A band of polygons serves as decoration above the door;



18.44 The Great Mosque. Section of the early ceiling, edge mouldings and other fragments from a high western ceiling bay.

they have shallow holes in the centre, which may suggest that they were once the bases of polygonal columns. Alternatively, they may have once been decorated with plaques grouted into the front of the polygons. The ogee arch has pronounced roll

38 In 1055/1644-5 'a thunderbolt (şā'iqah) took a part of the eastern minaret in al-Jāmi' al-A'zam and split the eastern wall (jidār) of the Jāmi', Jarmūzi, *al-Sirat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 117.

39 Al-Walid's mosque at Medina 89-91/707-9, like most Şan'ā' mosques did not have arcades, but is described by an eye-witness as having 'very tall columns . . . without arches resting on them.' Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, London, 1959, I, 44.

40 See p.45b.

41 e.g. Kufah, 17/638. Creswell, *EMA*, I, 16 seq.

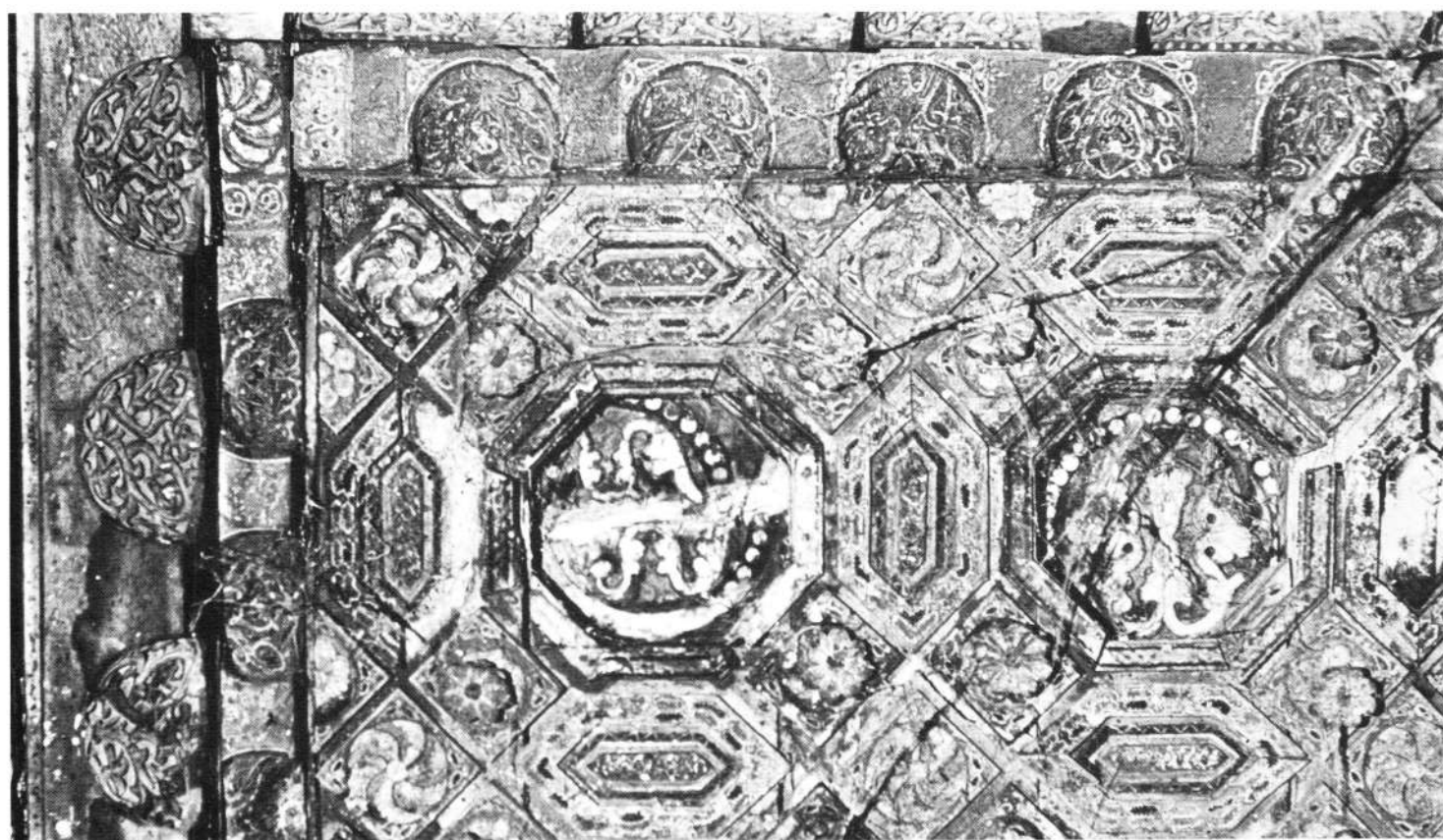
42 Al-Ṭabarī, see Creswell, op. cit.

43 Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Leiden, 1879-81, ed. de Goeje, 347 and 348.

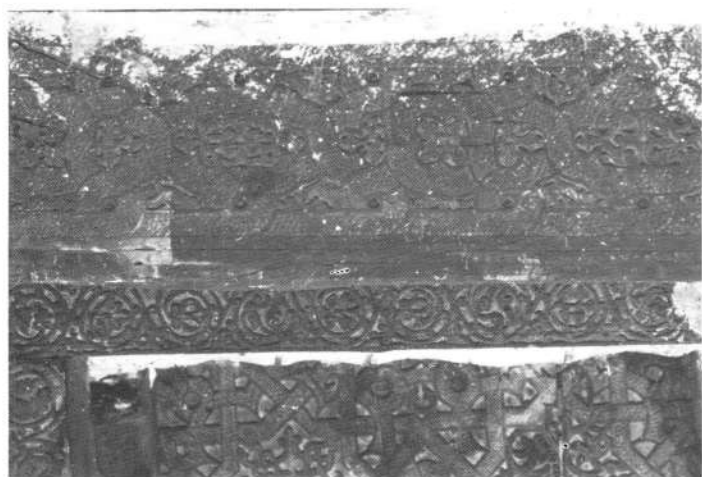
44 It has often been suggested that these birds are Christian, and are therefore evidence that these blocks of basalt, at least, come from a Christian building, possibly the cathedral. As these blocks are approximately the same size as the rest of the blocks, the stones of the mosque walls might even have been taken from the Christian cathedral, from which the mosaics used to decorate the Ka'bah in Mecca were removed in 65/684 (Mas'ūdi, *Prairies*, ed. Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, V, 192-3). On the other hand pigeons (or doves) are a common feature on domes and minarets in Şan'ā', used as a symbol instead of the crescent, e.g. al-Madrasah and Şalāḥ al-Din minarets.



18.45 The Great Mosque. Fragments of early woodwork, including a carved beam end, from a high western ceiling bay.



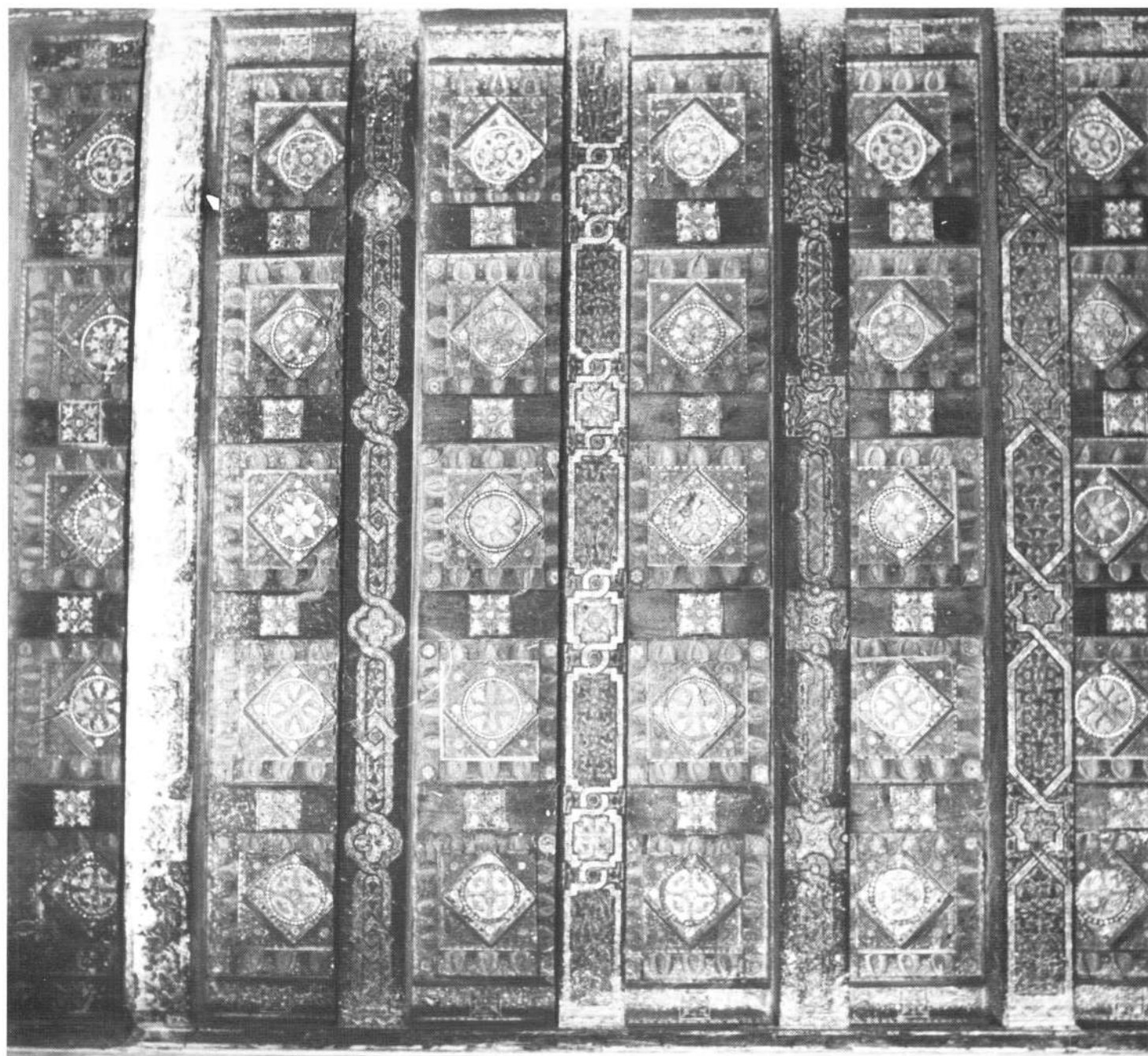
18.46 The Great Mosque. A second section of early ceiling from one of the high western bays.



18.47 The Great Mosque. Fragments of early woodwork from one of the high western bays.



18.49 The Great Mosque. Fragments of early decoration and epigraphy from one of the high western bays.



18.48 The Great Mosque. Part of the carved and painted ceiling of the eastern side of the mosque, dating from the reconstruction of the mid-6th/12th century.

moulding on its outer edge. Two blocks serve as capitals and terminate the row of polygons. On the inside they have circular shields in circular recesses, while on the face each has a bas-relief of a small arch rising from a pair of columns. The frame of the arch has a knotted ornament, which combined with the bold roll moulding on the arch suggests a date no earlier than the 5th/11th or 6th/12th centuries for most of the doorway. Within the arches are two curious emblems of birds holding the inside column with their feet, so that they are perching sideways. The symbolism is difficult to explain, but they are clearly Islamic. There is a Kūfic inscription above the doorway (pl.18.53, fig.18.2c) which is discussed below. On either side, in the main wall of the mosque, there are single large blocks containing what appear to be the remains of bas-reliefs of bulls.

The third doorway, that on the north east, looks as though it was merely a simplified copy of the north western door, meant to balance the facade after alterations at some date later than that of the north western door (pl.18.3). On the other hand, this doorway is not false, for it does penetrate right through the wall thickness, and the reveal is now used on the inside as a cupboard, as is the reveal of the north western door.

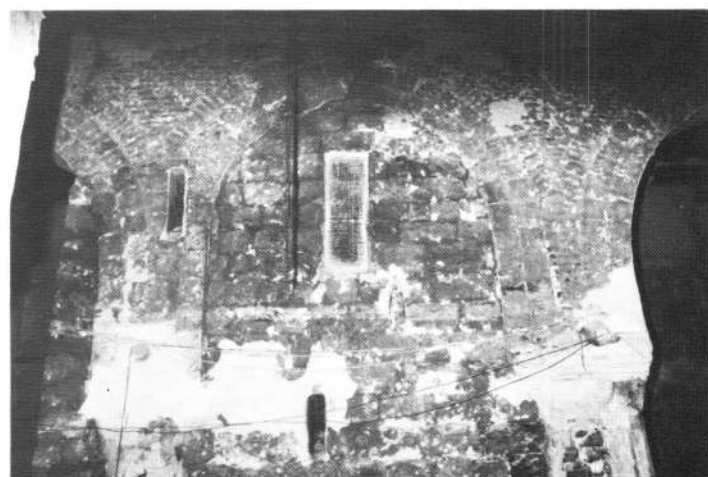
The arch over this doorway is an ogee, which the north western of the three arches is not. It springs from the two bas-reliefs each showing a pointed arch with a double frame rising from a pair of columns. The relief is deeper than that on the bas-reliefs of the central doorway, and the work does not appear to date from the same period. The arches on these little blocks are not ogee like the main arch, so that these stones may have been moved from another position.

The rebuilding of the eastern side⁴⁵ can be clearly seen in the structure. Not only is there an increased height in the eastern hall reflected in the outside wall, which was rebuilt with smaller stones (16 courses in the height of 13 of the older wall), but there is a straight joint on the southern wall between the constructions of different dates. The five doorways of the eastern side are large and fine in construction externally. Their slight horseshoe shape resembles doorway heads of the 3rd/9th century in Egypt and elsewhere.⁴⁶ The inner stonework, into which the wooden doors are actually fitted, does not seem to be original, but a reconstruction of a later date, probably the Ottoman period.

The inner reveals of the door heads of the Bakīriyyah and Ḥammām al-Maydān (1005/1597) are exactly the same. These doors have between them, high up on the outside of the wall, carved tufa panels with raised Kūfic inscriptions, the writing on all of which was subsequently chipped off, except for the *basmalah* (i.e., *bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*) and another pious phrase (see pl.18.55). The ceiling of the eastern wing is the finest complete ceiling in carving and richness in the whole mosque (pl.18.48), and almost certainly dates from Arwā's rebuilding of 525/1130-1.

The date of the rebuilding of the western wing is uncertain, but it is not unlike the eastern wing in height and construction. Although it is not executed with such skilled workmanship, it seems probable that this rebuilding dates from the same period, a conclusion supported by the painted decoration on the ceiling, which has exactly the same patterns as the carved decoration in the eastern wing.

The central axis of the mosque running from south to north was apparently moved to the east to accord with the extra space provided by the re-erection of the eastern wing. The southern door, the *miḥrāb* and the *qubbah* in the courtyard were all now west of the centre. Some attempt was made to correct this by moving the *miḥrābs* in the southern and northern halls towards the east. The original position of the northern *miḥrāb*, to judge



18.50 The Great Mosque. Lower level of the eastern wall of the western minaret, with the plaster removed during the redecoration of 1974. Note the original inscription in the centre.



18.51 The Great Mosque. Inscription on the eastern side of the eastern minaret, above roof level.

by the domes in front of it, was now more than 5m off-centre, so that the new eastern wing apparently extended the mosque by more than 10m towards the east.

The eastern hall is 11.70m wide. If we were to assume that the original outside wall ran along the present edge of the courtyard, so that the eastern minaret touched the outside wall, as the western minaret still does,⁴⁷ then the centre line of the *miḥrāb* dome would lie almost exactly on the centre line of the mosque.

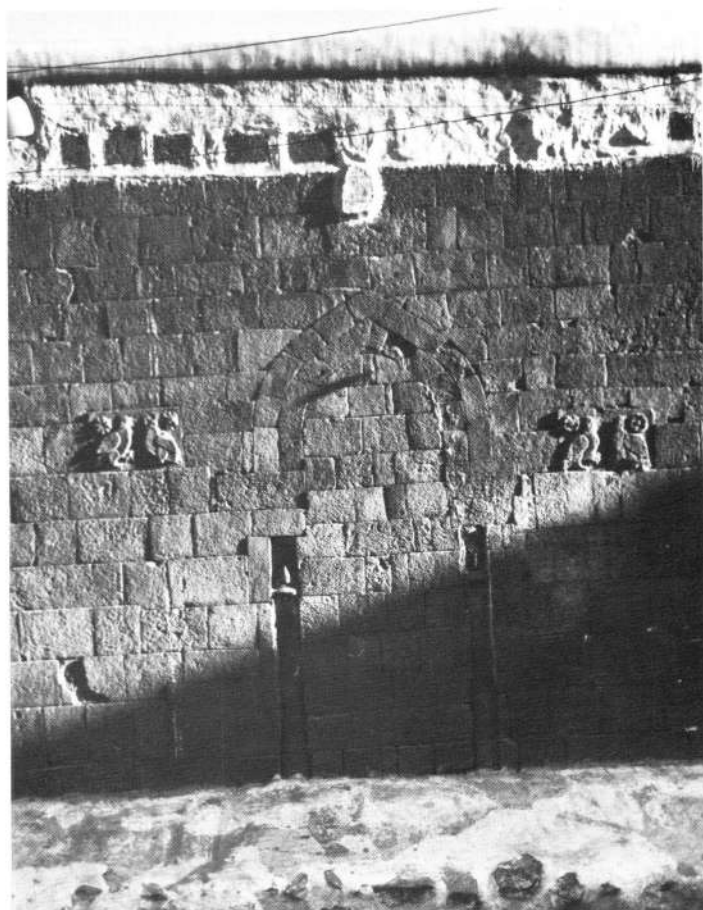
All this evidence seems to confirm that the eastern wall was moved, and that the whole eastern hall is an addition of extra space to the original mosque. The intercolumnations of the last two bays in the northern and southern halls are highly irregular, as would be the case if they had to accommodate the removal of an outside wall 1.35m wide and its replacement by piers averaging 0.75m.

It now seems reasonable to visualize the earlier mosque as 54m wide instead of 66.

47 The eastern and western minarets of al-Janad near Ta'izz both touch the outside walls, this being a mosque founded at the same time as the earliest Great Mosque in Ṣan'a', that is, during the lifetime of Muḥammad. Both were probably rebuilt by al-Walid.

45 By Arwā in 525/1130-1, or possibly the smaller stones of the eastern wall and the straight joint referred to below date from an earlier rebuilding.

46 Cf. the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, Cairo, mid 3rd/9th century.



18.52 The Great Mosque. The most westerly of the three doorways in the northern *qiblah* wall seen from outside. Now blocked.

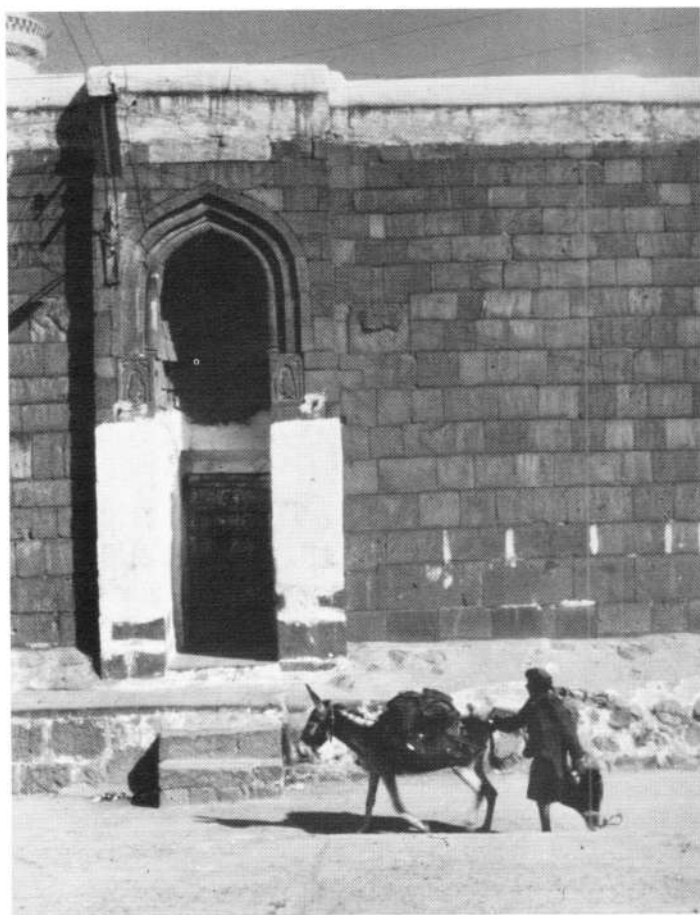


18.53 The Great Mosque. External inscription above the central doorway in the northern *qiblah* wall. (Photo: R. Wilson)

Mosques of the first century after Muḥammad were usually perfect squares in plan.⁴⁸ The historians mention that the *qiblah* wall of the Ṣanʿāʾ mosque was moved forward to the position it is in today. Therefore its first position seems likely to have been roughly 54m north of the present southern wall, or 24m south of the present *qiblah* wall, i.e. within the present courtyard.

The turning of the *qiblah* wall slightly towards the north west during the subsequent rebuilding of approximately 266/879 is evident in the plan. It led to an increase in the intercolumnations at the eastern end of the northern wall to accommodate it.

48 Cf. al-Ṭabarī quoted in Creswell, *EMA*, I, 25f. Both the Basrah and the Kufah mosques (45 and 50/665 and 670) had five aisles on the *qiblah* side and two on each of the other sides, with flat wooden roofs. The mosque at Wāsiṭ



18.54 The Great Mosque. The central doorway in the northern *qiblah* wall seen from outside.

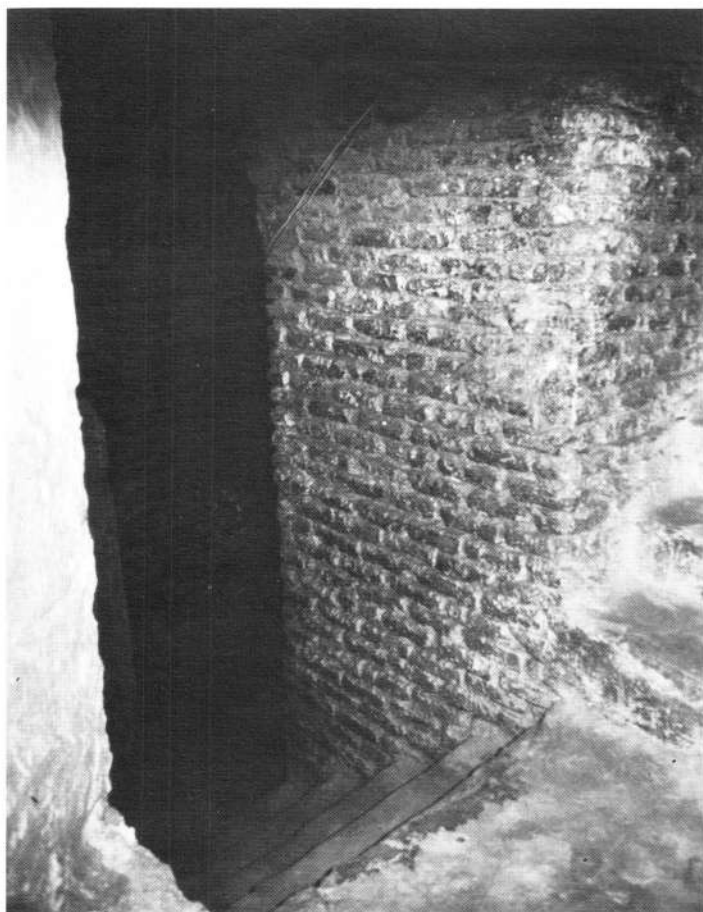


18.55 The Great Mosque. One of the partially defaced inscriptions high up on the outside walls on the eastern side. (Photo: G.R. Smith)

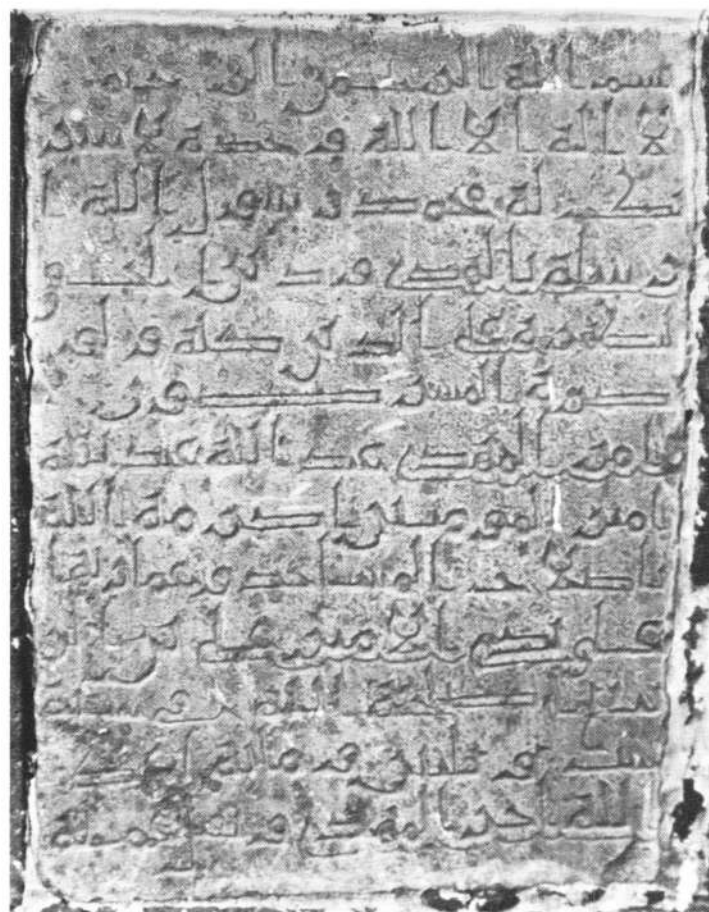
One or two hundred years after this Yuʿfirid rebuilding, the beautiful ceiling of the northern hall was taken down and replaced by the present beamed ceiling, the height of the walls possibly being reduced at the same time. The most likely date mentioned in the histories when this might have been done is the four year period 389-93/999-1002 when the Amīr al-Ḥusayn b. Salāmah is said to have repaired the Great Mosque.⁴⁹ It is unlikely that it is work done for Arwā bint Aḥmad in the 6th/12th century, for the craftsmanship is far inferior in conception and execution to the alterations undertaken under her patronage—if we accept the

was also square (82/701)(ibid, 40-42). Cf. J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris, 1947.

49 *Masājid*, 27.



18.56 The Great Mosque. Interior of the eastern minaret at the lower level.



18.57 The Great Mosque. Kufic inscription in the courtyard. Now built into a wall adjoining the north wall of the eastern minaret.

eastern ceiling as hers—and is also generally earlier in style. There is decoration on these beams which is mainly limited to inscriptions containing passages from the Qur'ān and to small areas of ornamentation.

This beam decoration seems to date from several periods; most of it is early, some of it, however, is demonstrably from the date of the Arwā redecoration, because patterns and calligraphic styles closely related to those in the eastern hall may be observed,⁵⁰ while a few beams have decorations in much later styles.

The *mihrāb* of the northern hall was completely constructed in the present century. Two bays to the east is the upper part of an earlier *mihrāb* decoration. This latter *mihrāb* appears to have been that of the widened mosque, and was possibly that redecoration in 665/1266-67 according to the inscription mentioned by al-Ḥajarī which has now disappeared.⁵¹

Two of the *mihrābs* in the southern hall have decoration which seems to be relatively late. That in the approximate centre of the hall, destroyed by Imām Yaḥyā so that only the top part remains, perhaps dates from the Ottoman work of 1012-16/1603-08. The *mihrāb* in the western arm seems to have been built in its present form a century or so afterwards.

The Central Courtyard

According to al-Ḥajarī⁵² the middle court was 'built' by the Ottoman governor Sinān Pāshā in 1012-6/1603-7 'and he paved it with the stone which is there now'. The same governor also built the dome (*qubbah*) situated in the middle of the court, although

whether it replaced an earlier structure on the same site is not clear.⁵³ The low walls between the columns which flank the courtyard were, according to al-Ḥajarī, built by Aḥmad 'Aṭā in 1326/1908-9. The columns themselves, the square single stones with plain or simplified plant-leaf capitals referred to earlier, may have been part of the work of 'building' the courtyard and contemporary with the *qubbah*, or they may be more recent still. In either case the earlier columns exposed to the weather must have deteriorated so much that they had to be replaced, for the ceilings are on every side earlier than the 11th/17th century, except the part of the southern ceiling replaced by Imām Yaḥyā. That the square columns are unlikely to date from the period of rebuilding of the eastern side, either originally or by Arwā bint Aḥmad in 525/1130-31, is suggested both by their totally different stylistic character from anything medieval known in the Yemen, and by the crude, conventionalized nature of the decorated capitals. The latter fact indeed favours a late attribution for this work, but no later than 1326/1908-9, as no further rebuilding is recorded, other than that within living memory.

The Minarets

The date of the original foundation of the minarets is not known. The western minaret, situated against the western wall on the inside, but a separate structure in brick down to the ground, incorporated two columns of an arcade on its eastern side, as well as the supposed tomb of the Prophet Ḥanzalah mentioned on p.327b. It is therefore clearly a late addition to the

50 Arwā's redecoration of part of this ceiling is confirmed by *al-Badr al-muzīl*, 13.

51 *Masājīd*, 28. See discussion p.348a.

52 *Masājīd*, 29.

53 The references to a large tomb of a prophet on the site of the first *mihrāb* raises the question whether, when the *qiblah* wall was moved forward to its present position, there was not a tomb rebuilt on the site of the original one, which later was demoted, for reasons unknown, to the present *qubbah*.

mosque, but not as late as the inscription built into its eastern side, 603/1206-7. This inscription includes the sentence 'the western minaret was restored from its foundation to the top part of it by order of the Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn . . . Wurdashār' and is discussed below under 'Inscriptions'. The wording of the sentence is not such as would have been used if the minaret were a new construction. (Similarly, the wording presupposes the existence of an eastern minaret at that time).⁵⁴ The eastern minaret was repaired by the same Amīr Wurdashār in the early years of the 7th/13th century.⁵⁵ Both minarets must have been in a considerable state of decay to have warranted this work, which suggests they had reached an age of at least several hundred years. A minaret was built in the Great Mosque before 299/911-2, if we accept the evidence of a key event in al-Janādī's description of the capture of Şan'ā by the 'Qarmaṭian', actually an Ismā'īlī, 'Alī b. Faḍl'.⁵⁶

It could possibly have been added as early as the original building of al-Walīd's mosque.⁵⁷ It seems clear that the eastern minaret was built first and the western one was a copy of it, reduced in size to fit into a bay in the existing southern prayer hall.

The Archaeological Study of the Great Mosque

No archaeological study has so far been possible on the building. During the recent extensive restoration, during which almost all the plaster was removed, it was possible to see some of the joints in the construction and observe the manner of building piers and arches. Three trenches were dug, two along the western wall, and one in the north western corner in the second bay of the northern arcade, which yielded some information about successive floor levels. The lowest observed level was about 95cms below the present floor, and made of packed gravel. Several intermediate floor levels of plaster were observed.⁵⁸ It is to be hoped that systematic researches will be permitted at some future date.

The pre-Islamic Relics in the Great Mosque

In the building of the Great Mosque of Şan'ā a great number of fragments were re-used from pre-Islamic buildings, as described above. These pieces are mainly capitals and fragments or drums of columns. In shape and decoration they display a certain variety of types, but can be grouped in two main categories: Sabaeen and Ḥimyarite.

To the first belong stepped capitals, square or circular in section, decorated with horizontal louvres, and columns with eight or sixteen sides.

To the group of the Ḥimyarite antiquities belong capitals decorated with acanthus leaves, displaying different degrees of formalization, and columns covered with intricate plant-motifs.

It is to be noted that while capitals and columns of the Sabaeen group are monolith, in the Ḥimyarite group the two architectural elements are always separated. It is also worth notice that the Sabaeen pieces are all made of the same kind of limestone, whereas the Ḥimyarite show different kinds of stone.⁵⁹

Early Islamic Relics in the Great Mosque

Several fragments of wood decoration in the four raised bays at the south western edge of the northern hall appear to date from the 1st/7th century. In the second bay from the south there is an

edge moulding decorated with a running vine motif which spirals one and a half times, and contains grapes, vine-leaves and tendrils (pl.18.47). This is close in style to decorations on the bronze soffit of the south doorway of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 72/691.⁶⁰ In bay 3 there are several brackets decorated with motifs in the same style (pl.18.45).⁶¹ These all presumably date from the rebuilding of the Great Mosque ca. 87/705 under al-Walīd.

The intertwining strap ornament on the underneath of the beam over the south door incorporates very conventionalized vine leaves; it is even possible that they may be meant to be interlocked cherubim wings (pl.18.18). There are rosettes in the interstices between the straps. This decoration clearly relates to decoration of the century immediately preceding Islam, an attribution which seems confirmed by the presence of a Latin cross (left hand side). Apparently this is a re-used jamb from a Christian church.

Almost all of the remaining woodwork in ceiling panels 1 to 4 dates from the rebuilding of about 265/879. Several small rich pieces probably belong to the following century and may come from early tombs (pls. 18.43-47).

The domes in front of the *miḥrāb* have already been discussed. Their age is difficult to establish. An objection might be made to a very early date for them on the grounds that the ceiling in which they are placed is low. But it should be noticed that the four high bays against the western wall do not include the aisle against the *qiblah*. So that, even if the theory of an original higher ceiling is accepted, this would not preclude the *qiblah* aisle, and therefore the domes, from being as early as 265/879. The objection to this date would be better founded on the absence of rich decoration similar to that on the beams and panels of the four higher western bays. Following this clue, the domes are either earlier, re-used from another position or even another building, or later, dating possibly from the rebuilding of the northern hall ceiling, which we have tentatively placed at 389-93/999-1002 (p. 344b). This seems to conform better with the little decoration which may be observed on the beams. Perhaps the whole dome construction is an exact copy of a ruined construction of three centuries earlier ca. 87/705, with only the beam decoration changed. Some of the decoration on the dome beams dates from Arwā's redecoration of the 6th/12th century. Even so, they are remarkable examples of early 'dome' construction in front of a *miḥrāb*, incorporating in at least three brackets some even older construction.

Above the outside of the northern door on the western side is a curious projecting bracket in basalt (pl.18.56). It represents an animal's head, possibly a bull. It appears to have no function in its present position, although it has been duplicated in a later crude copy on the other side of the doorhead as though serving as the support for a canopy over the door. A similar pair of projecting stone brackets occurs above a very old door, now blocked up, in Bayt Muṭahhar in the Ṭalhah quarter (see p.494a). The early example on the Great Mosque may be a re-used bracket from an interior reveal, like those above the eastern doors, in which case it might date from Arwā's reconstruction (525/1130-31). But as there is nothing else like it in the work done at that time, this seems highly unlikely, and it should probably be grouped with the defaced bas-reliefs of animals around the central door on the northern side, as an early part of the mosque that may have been re-used from another building.

In the National Museum in Şan'ā is preserved a number of wooden fragments from early ceilings, one from the late 1st/7th or 2nd/8th centuries, and a strip of the early Kūfic from under the beams of the northern hall.⁶²

54 Al-Janādī, in his biography of the Qādi al-Sariyy b. Ibrāhīm al-'Arashānī, says that Wurdashār built the two minarets—the two minarets not existing before that. But this seems to be contradicted by the inscription. Cf. *Masājid*, 28.

55 *Masājid*, 28.

56 Al-Janādī (died ca. 732/1331), *Kitāb al-Sulūk* of Baha 'l-Dī al-Janādī, trans. Kay, 200.

57 Square minarets were built onto the Mosque of 'Amr in Cairo in 54/673. They were called *ṣawma'ah*, sing., the name still usual for a minaret in Şan'ā, and north Yemen in general.

58 P. Costa, op. cit., 496.

59 The pre-Islamic antiquities in the Great Mosque of Şan'ā are described in detail by P. Costa, op. cit., 496.

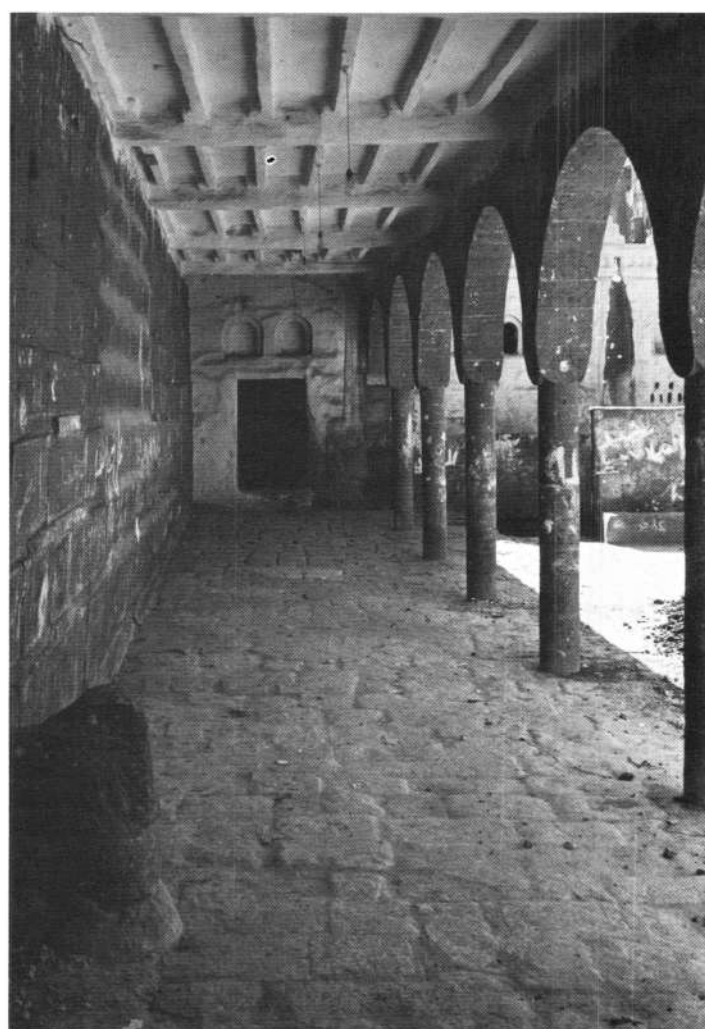
60 Creswell, plate 4.

61 Creswell, fig. 4.

62 Although not early Islamic, there was in the National Museum an important relic in the form of a cupboard removed from the Great Mosque which carries an inscription recording that it is a gift of Sulaymān the Magnificent.



18.58 The Great Mosque. Western doorway to the northern prayer hall. Seen from outside with flanking consoles on either side above it.



18.60 The Great Mosque. Ablution Court, showing on the left the stone along the western wall marking the position of al-Hajar al-Mulamlamah, now reputedly more than a metre underground.



18.59 The Great Mosque. Inscription on boss set in fragment of coupled columns, now in the courtyard, built into the wall.

Some of the Inscriptions of the Great Mosque

Most important in Ṣan'ā' from both the historical and palaeographical points of view are the inscriptions of the Great Jāmi' Mosque.

When the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (705-15) appointed Ayyūb b. Yaḥyā al-Thaqafī as governor in Ṣan'ā', the latter received a letter with instructions to enlarge the Great Mosque. Ayyūb enlarged the mosque by extending it on the north side—'he extended it from its first *qiblah* to where its *qiblah* is now.' The new northern wall contained inscriptions and decorations which were removed in the 4th/10th century by the Qāḍī of Ṣan'ā' who insisted that they would distract the believers as they prayed.⁶³

Doors were provided for the first time in the early 'Abbāsīd era and the Kūfīc inscription in courtyard (no. 1 *infra*) tells us that the governor, 'Alī b. al-Rabī', was instructed in 136/753-754 to have repairs carried out to the mosques of Ṣan'ā'. We can safely assume that the Great Mosque would be included in those mosques to have been repaired.

We are told by an 11th/17th century Zaydī historian that the Ṣulayḥīd queen, Arwā bint Aḥmad, built the eastern side (*al-jānīb al-sharqī*). Certainly the structure of the Great Mosque has been extended on the eastern side, but this statement should nevertheless be regarded with caution as stated above. Since there is no record of such a rebuilding in the earlier historians who deal with the Ṣulayḥīds and since the inscriptions in the eastern wall are of undoubted antiquity (nos. 4-10 below) and must pre-date the Ṣulayḥīds, it is suggested that any rebuilding of the eastern

⁶³ *Masājīd*, 24.

wall during Ṣulayḥid times was of a minor nature. If we take a brief look at the inscriptions of the ceiling, however, in the northern prayer-hall, these can be ascribed stylistically to the Ṣulayḥids and are clearly 6th/12th century work. This theory is strengthened by the phrase, *tafarraq a'dā' Allāh*, 'may God's enemies be scattered' or perhaps even 'God's enemies have been scattered', a not uncommon Ismā'īlī/Fāṭimī slogan⁶⁴ used on coins and originally referring to the Fāṭimid capture of the Aghlabid residence of Raqqādah in al-Qayrawān, North Africa. All this would seem to point to considerable Ṣulayḥid repair work on the ceiling ruined by 'Alī b. al-Faḍl, the so-called Qarmaṭian leader, but in fact the official Fāṭimid *dā'ī*, after his conquest of Ṣan'ā' a century before.

Two inscriptions (nos. 2 and 3 below) are preserved in the walls of the minarets, both indicating that they were rebuilt by the Ayyūbid amīr, Wurdashār b. Sāmī. We know too from written sources that the ablution rooms (*maṭāhīr*) were re-built during this period by the Qāḍī of Ṣan'ā'.⁶⁵

The evidence for the renovation of the *miḥrāb* in 665/1266 seems to have been covered over now by plaster, for it rests simply on the report of a scholar writing in the 1930s that an inscription on the *miḥrāb* gives this date for the renovation. This inscription can no longer be found.

Inscription no. 1

13 lines, simple Kūfic.

Situated on the north wall in the chamber of tombs called al-'Awsajah in the courtyard next to the east minaret.

Cf. al-Ḥajārī, *Masājīd*, 26.

See pl. 18.57

Arabic text

1	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
3	محمد رسول الله ا
4	رسله بالهدى ودين الحق و
5	ليظهره على الدين كله ولو
6	كره المشركون
7	امر المهدي عبد الله عبد الله
8	امير المؤمنين اكرمه الله
9	باصلاح المساجد وعمارتها
10	على يدي الامير علي بن الر
11	بيع اصلحه الله في سنة
12	ست وثلاثين ومائة اعد
13	الله اجر المهدي وقبل عمله

Translation

- 1 In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
- 2 There is no god but God alone; no part-
- 3 ner does he have. Muḥammad is the Apostle of God. He
- 4 sent him with the Guidance and the Faith of Truth and
- 5 to make it triumph over every (other) religion, even though
- 6 the polytheists are averse.
- 7 Al-Mahdī, the servant of God, ordered
- 8 —Commander of the Faithful, may God make him noble—
- 9 the mosques and their constructions to be repaired
- 10 at the hands of Amīr 'Alī b. al-Ra
- 11 bī', may God make him righteous, the year
- 12 one hundred and thirty-six. May God make ready
- 13 the reward of al-Mahdī and accept his deed.

Commentary

lines 3-6. Qur'ān, IX, 33.

line 7. There is a scribal error here, with no loop for the *bā'* of 'abd'. The scribe has, therefore, followed the normal practice of repeating the phrase correctly.

line 8. The 'Abbāsīd Caliph we know by the name al-Mahdī was not the Caliph in 136/753-54 when this inscription was supposedly made. He became Caliph in 158/775, succeeding al-Manṣūr who

must have been Caliph when the stone was inscribed.

line 10. 'Alī b. al-Rabī', i.e., 'Alī b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Maddān al-Ḥārithī, cf. above, chap. 7, *History of Ṣan'ā'*, Appendix to 1, *List of governors* etc.

lines 12-13. 136 is equivalent to 753-54. Cf. Qur'ān, XXXIII, 29.

Inscription no. 2

7 and 2 lines, *naskhī*, no dots.

Situated in the eastern wall of the east minaret.

See pl. 18.51

Arabic text

1	... عمارة هــ[هـ]
2	[المـ]نارة الامير الاجلـ[ل]
3	[الكـ]بير الاعز المختار ملكـ[ك]
4	[الا]كراد مصطفى امـ[م]
5	[...]ومير (؟) علم الدين ور[ر]
6	[شـ]ار بن سامي الشاكانيـ[ي]
7	[انفـ]ق عليها من ماله لو[و]
8	...
9	...

Translation

- 1 ... the building of th[is]
- 2 [min]aret Amīr, he of the highest rank,
- 3 the great, the mightiest, the chosen one, king
- 4 of the Kurds, Muṣṭafā, Am (?)
- 5 īr (?) 'Alam al-Dīn Wur[d]
- 6 -ashār b. Sāmī al-Shākānī.
- 7 He spent from his own wealth on it for ...
- 8 year six hundred and three
- 9

Commentary

lines 2-4. These are indeed strange and extravagant epithets used for the governor of Ṣan'ā' under the Ayyūbids. Cf. above chap. 7, *History of Ṣan'ā'*, *The period of the Ayyūbids*. They are used again in Inscription no. 3, line 6. There are clearly only two indentations here in the first letter of Wurdashār's father's name, giving rise to al-Ḥajārī's invention, *Masājīd*, 27, Banāmī! This is a scribal error and it is evident from the histories that his father's name was Sāmī; cf. Smith, *Ayyūbids*, I, passim and personal name index.

line 8. 603/1206-07.

Inscription no. 3

21 lines, rough *naskhī*, no dots.

Situated in the eastern wall at the base of the west minaret.

Arabic text

1	...
2	[الـ]مسجد الجامع بصنعا امر ببنا[ئه]
3	رسول الله صلى الله عليه
4	قبل مسجد الجند وأعيدت عما
5	رة هذه المنارة الغربية من
6	اساسها الى علوها بامر
7	[ا]لامير الكبير الاعز المختار ملك
8	الاکراد مصطفى ...
9	علم الدين وردشار بن سامي
10	الشاكاني انفق عليها من
11	ماله في سنة ثلاث وستمائة
12	بعد ان كملت عمارة الجبابة
13	مضلى العبيدين في مقدم صنعا
14	ومضلى العبيدين وضع على عهد
15	النبي صلى الله عليه وأعيدت
16	عمارته من اساسها الى علوها
17	واحتفرت البئر التي فيه وعمرت
18	هي وضيعتها عمارة اخرى
19	بامر الامير علم الدين ورد

⁶⁴ Qāḍī Nu'mān, *Ifritāh al-da'wah*, ed. Farḥat al-Dashrāwī, Tunis, 1975.

⁶⁵ *Masājīd*, 28.

20
21

شار انفق عليه من ماله ووقف
الضيعة والبئر على مصالح الجبانه

Translation

1
2 [the] Great Mosque in Ṣan'ā', ordered its building
3 the Apostle of God—may God bless him—
4 before the mosque of al-Janad. The rebuilding was carried out
5 of this western minaret from
6 its foundation to its very top at the command of
7 the great Amīr
8
9 'Alam al-Dīn Wurdashār b. Sāmī
10 al-Shākānī. He spent on it from
11 his own wealth in the year six hundred and three
12 after the building of the Jabbānah had been completed,
13 the Place of Prayer of the Two 'Īds in front of Ṣan'ā'.
14 The Place of Prayer of the Two 'Īds was positioned in the
lifetime of
15 the Prophet—God bless him—and its rebuilding was carried
out
16 from its foundation to its very top.
17 The well in it was dug and was constructed,
18 it and its estate as another construction
19 at the command of Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Wurda-
20 shār. He spent on it from his own wealth and made a *waqf* of
21 the estate and the well for the benefits of the Jabbānah.

Commentary

line 1. Illegible.

line 7-8. Illegible after these words.

line 9. For 'Alam al-Dīn Wurdashār, the Ayyūbid governor, cf. Inscription no. 2 above with references.

line 11. 603/1206-7.

line 12. For the Jabbānah, cf. above, *The mosques* etc. This must be a reference to the rebuilding of the Jabbānah at this time.

line 17. This must be the well in the Great Mosque.

Inscriptions nos. 4-10

1 or 2 lines remaining of 3 or 4 lines, though identical inscriptions in simple Kūfīc.

One is situated approximately 6 metres above the ground, built into the northern wall, while the other six, about the same distance from the ground, are set in the eastern wall.

See pl. 18.55

Arabic text

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بركة / من / الله / *

Translation

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Blessing from God

Commentary

These are extremely interesting inscriptions. In all cases after the *basmalah* and the expression *barakah min Allāh*, they have been deliberately mutilated and the remainder of the inscription has been systematically chipped away. Stories fairly current in Ṣan'ā' that these inscriptions were tampered with by the late Imām Aḥmad can be immediately dismissed, for it is clear that the mutilation is not recent. Nor too can the deletions have been by accident. We are left, therefore, with the problem of explaining this unusual phenomenon. Bearing in mind the comments of at least one late historian that the eastern side of the Great Mosque was added by the Ṣulayḥid queen, Arwā bint Aḥmad, in the 5th/11th century, first thoughts turned on the possibility that these inscriptions might have contained Ismā'īlī remarks repugnant to some later Sunnī or Zaydī ruler of the city. On

stylistic grounds, however, this is unlikely. It can be said with confidence that these inscriptions date from a period before the 5th/11th century, and they probably should be considered as belonging to the 2nd/8th century.

While we should regard the style of the inscriptions as being the most important criterion in their dating, we must recall that their mutilation must also be explained. If they are indeed 2nd/8th century inscriptions and since there can be no doubt about the far from recent deletion of all but their initial pious phrases, it is tempting to suggest that they are in fact the work of one of the Umayyad officials in Ṣan'ā' and that they were mutilated by the 'Abbāsīd officials who took over after the Caliphate changed hands in 133/750. We know that the 'Abbāsīds ruthlessly destroyed, wherever possible, not only all literary traces of their predecessors, but also the Umayyads themselves. Is it not possible therefore that the new 'Abbāsīd governor of Ṣan'ā' obliterated any mention of the Umayyads on any inscription upon which he could lay his hands? At the same time it would not be proper to delete the *basmalah* and an expression such as *barakah min Allāh*.

A strong word of caution must here be added however. Probably because of the dearth of epigraphic material available to the scholar, it is not at present possible to state categorically that these are inscriptions executed prior to the year 133/750 and the question of exact dating is best taken no further at present.

A final comment is necessary here to link what has been said above to the historical and architectural evidence presented in the description of the Great Mosque. In particular the above should not be taken as an argument that the eastern side dates from the 2nd/8th century. If the inscriptions are as old as this, they could without difficulty have been built neatly into the northern and eastern walls at a later date in order to appear as they do today. Indeed there is no evidence to suggest that they were originally part of the Great Mosque at all.

Summary of the History of the Great Mosque

Of the earliest mosque, built at the order of the Prophet Muḥammad, probably nothing remains unless it be a few fragments of ornament now gathered with others in the high western ceiling. From the position of the natural rock al-Mulamlamah, which still survives beneath a later marking-stone, it seems likely that the western edge of the mosque has not changed from this earliest building. Its *qiblah* wall lay across the present courtyard, with the building probably encircling a smaller square courtyard. The southern limit of the mosque apparently coincided with the present southern wall. To the north of the *qiblah* wall, half under the present prayer hall and partly beyond it, was the large tomb of an early prophet. It is possible that some of the arcading may survive from this earliest mosque, reincorporated in the second mosque—but, as that mosque is reported to have been a new structure, this seems unlikely.

The rebuilding of al-Walīd, ca. 86-96/705-715, was probably responsible for the general external character of the mosque as it remains today. Much of the stonework of the northern, western and southern sides may date from this time, and in the remainder of the walls, many of the stones. In al-Walīd's mosque the plan was greatly enlarged, and took the shape it has today, except that it was later widened to the east. The prophet's tomb to the north of the mosque was demolished, perhaps only partially at first, to make way for the moving of the *qiblah* wall and the whole of the prayer hall further north, more than doubling the size of the courtyard. The general character of the arcading probably dates from this period, when capitals, shafts, bases, wooden decoration and possibly at least one door were removed from the ruins of the

Christian cathedral further east (from which some mosaics had already been removed in 65/684 to decorate the Ka'bah in Mecca).⁶⁶ This Christian material was mixed indiscriminately with other pre-Islamic material of indigenous South Arabian style, taken from the great ruined palace of Ghumdān alongside, and possibly from some Sabaeen temples, and this pre-Islamic material was used to build the columns under the brick arcading. There was a richly decorated *mihrāb* to this mosque, which was afterwards stripped of its ornament by a zealous Qāḍī. The five lanterns allowing top light to fall on the centre of the *qiblah* wall were probably added at this time, if they were not moved from the first mosque—or even from a pre-Islamic building.

The mosque was subsequently repaired on the order of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph in 136/753-4, according to the inscription preserved in the courtyard. This phase may have seen the erection of a single minaret, the eastern, standing when the Qarmaṭians came in 299/911-12. Alternatively, this minaret could have originally been built during al-Walīd's building (86-96/705-715), which would be the only likely date if the eastern minaret was enlarged before 133/750.⁶⁷

In 262/875-6, the mosque was ruined in a great flood, and had to be extensively repaired, but was not completely rebuilt, to judge by a remark of Ibn Rustah.⁶⁸ The close resemblance between the fragments in the western bays of the prayer hall and the ceiling of the Shibām mosque, known to have been built at about this time, suggest that the Ṣan'ā' mosque was given a similar high, richly decorated ceiling, afterwards destroyed and lowered.

While the colour on the ceiling was still fresh and bright the mosque was deliberately flooded by a leader of the Qarmaṭians in 299/911-12. He allowed the water to remain 'until the freshness of the decoration in the ceiling was lost.' This doubtless caused considerable damage to the structure, and may have directly resulted in the need, probably within a century, to lower the ceiling and replace it by one of plainer design, preserving only

four bays of the higher ceiling at the western end, into which the surviving wooden fragments were gathered.

The eastern wing was moved more than ten metres further east, thus widening the courtyard and enlarging the northern and southern prayer halls, at a date which it is not yet possible to establish with absolute certainty. The evidence of the defaced inscriptions, which were almost certainly intended for the eastern wall, in view of their exact relationship to the openings, and the form and construction of the openings themselves, with their close stylistic similarity to those of the Great Mosque in Damascus, argue for an Umayyad date, before 133/750.

The eastern wing was rebuilt and the northern wall, or its central porch, altered by Queen Arwā bint Aḥmad in 525/1130-31. She added a magnificently carved, painted and gilded ceiling to the eastern wing, and probably the slightly less splendid one on the old western wing. The ceiling of the northern prayer hall was partly redecorated with painting in the same style, and some calligraphy.

The two minarets were 'restored' in the early years of the 7th/13th century. They do not seem to have been substantially altered since, except for repairs after damage to the eastern minaret in the 11th/17th century.

A new *mihrāb* was made in 655/1266-67, which was removed when the present *mihrāb* was added during this century.

The domed building for *waqf* documents in the courtyard was built in 1012-6/1603-7, and the courtyard (re-)paved. It is possible that a central building existed in the courtyard before this date, and not inconceivable that it originally had some other function, probably again on the pattern of al-Walīd's other mosques, such as that at Damascus, and later mosques at Aleppo and Homs, a treasury raised on columns or arches, possibly with a fountain underneath it.⁶⁹

In 1355/1936-7, Imām Yaḥyā built a library over the first aisle of the southern hall, and an extra aisle was built into the courtyard at the same time to support it.⁷⁰

Supplementary Note

At the moment of going to press, radio carbon dates for certain wooden parts of the Great Mosque were received from the Research Laboratory of the British Museum. The three samples of wood submitted to the Laboratory came from the Ṣan'ā' Museum to which they were removed, at the suggestion of Dr Paolo Costa, at the time of the extensive restoration of the northern prayer-hall in 1974. The three dated pieces are as follows:

1 A section of the wooden frieze running continuously round the upper wall of the northern prayer-hall immediately below the beams, with a carved Kūfīc inscription (see p. 339, pl. 18.42).

The radio-carbon dating is 1060 A.D. with a margin of ± 50 years, i.e., between 1010-1110 A.D. This strongly supports among others, the Fāṭimī Tayyibī tradition that Queen Arwā renovated the Jami' (see p. 324b), as the year 1060 falls inside the Sulayhid period, but she is unlikely to have done so any later than 1086 A.D. (see p. 59a) when she removed to Dhū Jiblah. (The statement (p. 324a) that Yahyā b. al-Husayn records she built the eastern side of the mosque in 525/1130-31 is an error to be corrected – he gives no date for this.) On stylistic grounds also the inscription looks Fāṭimīd.

2 A projecting end beam, ornamented with winged motifs, from the four high panels at the extreme western side of the northern prayer-hall (exhibited in London at the Nomad and City Exhibition at the British Museum of Mankind in 1976 (see Kirkman, *City of Ṣan'ā'*, 72). The radio-carbon dating is 1160 A.D. ± 60 years, i.e., between 1110-1210 A.D. It might therefore fall in the Hamdānīd or Ayyūbīd period.

3 A carved, pierced, tympanum, a fanlight from the four high panels (p. 339, pl. 18.42) at the extreme western side of the northern prayer-hall also, likewise exhibited in London (see *City of Ṣan'ā'*, loc. cit.). The radio-carbon dating is 1170 A.D. ± 60 years, i.e., between 1110-1230 A.D. It might therefore fall in the Hamdānīd or Ayyūbīd period.

The authors wish to express their grateful appreciation of the work carried out on these specimens and the valuable results obtained, to the Trustees of the British Museum and in particular, to Dr Richard Burleigh, Director of the Research Laboratory.

66 See p. 48a.

67 Cf. the erection of minarets during al-Walīd's rebuilding of the mosque at Medina, in Sauvaget, op. cit.

68 Ibn Rustah, op. cit., 110, regarded the mosque as ancient when he saw it in or about the year 290/903: 'some local *faqīhs* have mentioned that it was built at the command of the Apostle of God and in his lifetime.'

69 See Creswell, I, 201-2.

70 Work appearing late for proper discussion here is Finster, Barbara and Jürgen Schmidt, 'Die Freitagsmoschee von Ṣan'ā'', *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 9, 1978, and 10, 1979. However, we do not agree with the main conclusions regarding dating reached in these articles.

Chapter 19

The Smaller Mosques of Ṣan‘ā’

Smaller Early Mosques

The *Jabbānah* or Muṣallā al-Idayn (fig. 19.1, pls. 19.2,3;29) is a large open-air prayer place outside the walls to the north of the city. It was originally built during the lifetime of the Prophet, by one of the Companions, Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī, acting on his direct instruction, according to al-Rāzī.¹ The site, tradition asserts, was the camp of the Abyssinians.² Al-Rāzī says it was called Jabbānah Banī Juraysh, i.e. Juraysh b. Ghazwān. It is said they were the people of Khurāsān and they were rich. The original building consisted of a paved courtyard surrounded by four walls, with a single entrance, through the *qiblah* wall.³ When the Great Mosque was rebuilt during the reign of al-Walīd, the Umayyad Caliph (86-96/705-15), the Jabbānah was ‘renovated’ at the same time.⁴

It was then repaired in 280/893-4, and again in 407/1015-16, when it was ‘surrounded with plaster and stones’.⁵

The next renovation was in 602/1205-6, a fact recorded in a stone inscription in the *qiblah* wall; at the same time a *waqf* garden was created adjoining it to the west, together with a wall and pool.⁶ Another stone inscription tells of the destruction of the Jabbānah in 965/1557-8, after which it remained in a ruinous state for two years, before it was restored in 967/1559-60,⁷ by the Amīr Iskandar al-Kurdī. It was repaired again in the period 1098-1130/1686-1718.

The present Jabbānah is twice as big as the Jabbānah referred to above, it having been enlarged by Imām Yaḥyā in the early 14th/20th century by moving the southern wall. It is reported that he built the wall ‘of a firm, well-built construction according to the lines of the previous building.’⁸ This probably does not mean that the whole Jabbānah was rebuilt; crenellations, doorways and other features may be an accurate reflection of the early designs. The *mihrāb* was rebuilt and redecorated ca. 1387/1968. The doorway in the *qiblah* wall next to the *mihrāb* remains, but after the period of the earliest building other entrances were built, and there are now two in the eastern wall and three in the southern wall. The *minbar* incorporates a curious throne made of

a pre-Islamic capital. There is a pre-Islamic (Sabaeen) inscription built into the outside of the *qiblah* wall.

The Mosque of Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī (pls. 19.4-6) was built by one of the Companions of the Prophet while he was building the Jabbānah, ‘and he used to sit on it, on the days when the building was going on in the Jabbānah’.⁹ Today women go to it, among other mosques, with votive offerings (*nadhīr*). If Farwah was indeed buried there, his tomb is no longer identified. But in the tenth century al-Rāzī regarded this as one of the four early mosques in the Yemen,¹⁰ this suggests that the original building was still standing at this time; it was renovated by Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī in 407/1016-7.¹¹

There are two parts of the mosque which could date back to this period, if not to the earliest building. These are the columned area next to the ablution pools, apparently an early porch, which incorporates pre-Islamic material, and the two-domed chamber near it to the east. The latter has a stepped wall of black basalt on the inside, which resembles the wall of the Great Mosque. In addition it has rough stalactite-type pendentives under the dome which appear to be early examples of this feature, a *muqarnas* (pl. 19.6)¹²

In 997/1588-9 the mosque was altered again.¹³ The large domed prayer hall was built by the Ottoman governor Ḥasan Pasha of the same type as those of the Janāḥ mosque (see below p. 375) and apparently the porch was roofed with eight domes at the same time, that is early in the 11th/17th century according to al-Ḥajarī.¹⁴ In 1390/1970 the domed porch was demolished, the walls of the domed chamber were pierced on two sides by wide arched openings, and a modern flat-roofed prayer hall was built on the northern and western sides, through which the minaret now rises. In the course of these alterations most of the seventeenth century *mihrāb* was destroyed, and a new *mihrāb* built to the north.

Two domes which cover tomb chambers in the north east

8 *Masājid*, 41.

9 Ibid, 39. According to al-Rāzī, 142, Farwah said to the Prophet, ‘*Innī fī bayt qawmī wa-‘adadī-him*, I am the head of the house of my tribe and the greatest number of them.’ This is an expression often used in the genealogies of a ruling house in a tribe, perhaps also exercising spiritual authority. If so the implications are interesting.

10 Ibid, 232-3.

11 Ibid, 224.

12 The earliest perfect forms of this architectural element known are on the tomb of Davāzdah Imām at Yazd in Persia, 427/1037.

13 Date given on the inscription at the bottom of the minaret.

14 *Masājid*, 89.

1 Ob. 460/1073. That this is still on its original site is testified by *Masājid Ṣan‘ā’*, 39.

2 Mu‘askar al-Ḥabashī. *Masājid*, 39. ‘It was a field belonging to Abū Ḥammāl al-Abnawī which he gifted to God and His Apostles.’ It was in the Persian part of Ṣan‘ā’.

3 Cf. description of al-Hamdānī, *Iḥlāl VIII*, Baghdad, 1931, 86.

4 *Masājid*, 39, quoting al-Rāzī.

5 Ibid.

6 See also p. 349a.

7 *Masājid*, 41. It should be noted that the Jabbānah contains only one inscription today, and this is too worn to be read. Cf. 19.2.

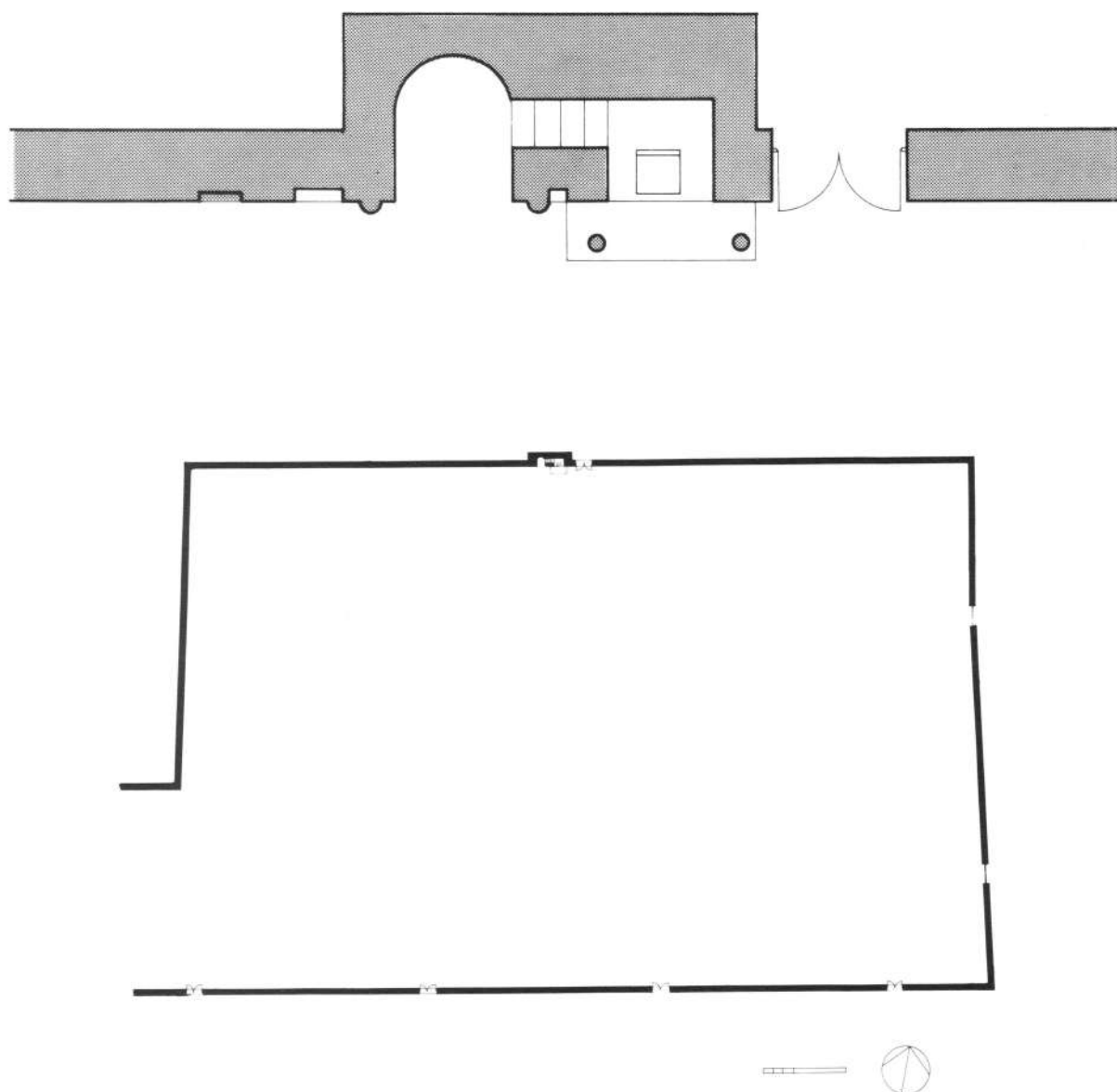


Fig. 19.1 Al-Jabbānah. Plan and detailed plan of the centre of the *qiblah* wall.

corner of the building date from the 11th/17th century, and are those of the son the governor Ḥasan Pasha and Iskandar b. Ḥusām al-Kurdī (ob. 971/1563-4).

Other mosques, for which no early documentary references exist, may yet be grouped into the general category of an early type by comparing them with mosques in other Yemeni towns for which an early date can be established with certainty, such as Shibām-Kawkabān.¹⁵ Mosques of this early type—the *apadāna* type, named after and partly derived from the Persian royal hall—have roofs with beams which rest directly on stone or wooden columns, without the introduction of arches. This was a widely spread type in early Islam, the mosques of Kufah, Wāsiṭ, Baghdād and Samarra conforming to it. Typical of this early style in Ṣan‘ā’ are the mosques of al-Ṭāwūs and al-Jilā.

Ṭāwūs mosque (fig. 19.2, pls. 19.8-11) was named after one of the second generation Companions (*tābi‘*), Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yāmānī, who died at Mecca in 106/724-5.¹⁶ His father was of Fārs and married a *mawlā* woman of Āl Hūd—

he was probably of the Abnā’. It is therefore possible, from his *nisbah*, that this mosque was founded to house his tomb. A tomb chamber indeed survives at the southern end of the prayer hall covered by two domes, and still containing a plaster tomb, without, however, retaining any identification.

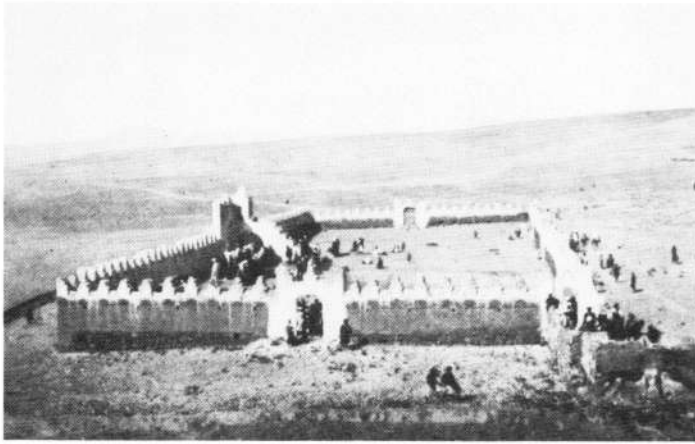
The mosque is built as a columned hall with an entrance court and a porch opening onto the street. The hall is high, with two rows of two tall columns, perhaps built up of pre-Islamic fragments and afterwards plastered, which carry transverse beams supporting the roof. Light enters the room through six small alabaster windows with semi-circular heads, high in the side walls. In addition there are two fanlights made of three circles of gypsum tracery containing coloured glass.

The *qiblah* wall has a strongly articulated treatment, dividing the surface into a central *mihrāb*, flanked by two cupboard recesses. The *mihrāb*, with a heavily-moulded, scalloped niche fronted by a low pointed arch carried on two colonnettes with high capitals, is framed in a larger arch carried on larger columns with the same capitals; that in turn is set within the

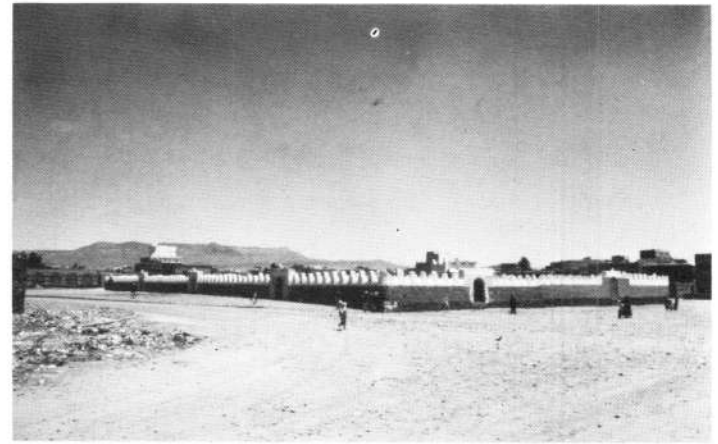
¹⁵ The Shibām mosque almost certainly dates from the mid-third/mid-ninth century with, possibly, later embellishments, such as the ceiling, in the early 4th/10th century; see Lewcock, Ronald, and Smith, G. R., ‘Two Early Mosques

in the Yemen’, *AARP*, London, 1973, IV, 117-130.

¹⁶ al-Rāzī, 319.



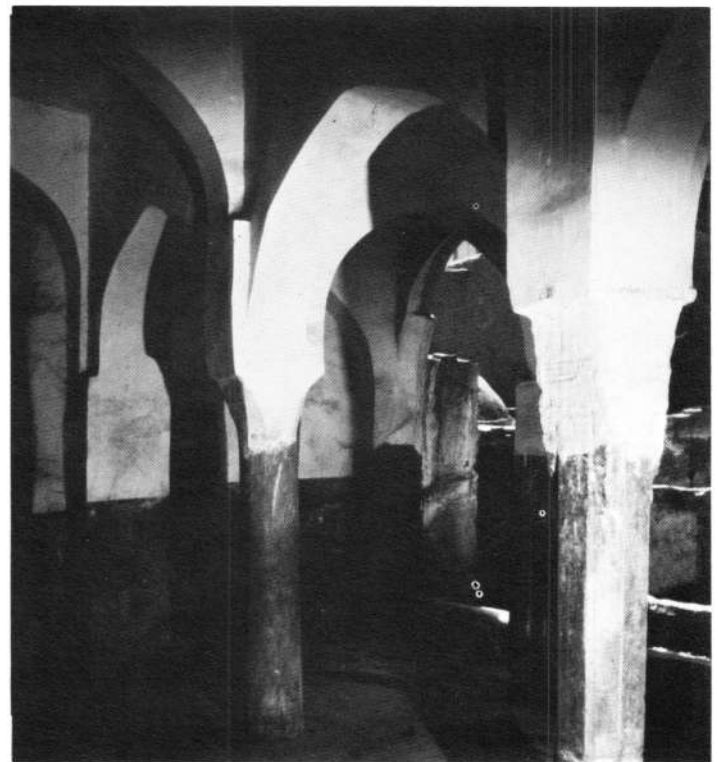
19.1 Al-Jabbānah as it was, in a photograph taken fifty years ago. (Mittwoch)



19.3 Al-Jabbānah. Showing its greatly enlarged form after the alterations made under Imām Yahyā.



19.2 Al-Jabbānah. The inscription to the west of the *mihrāb*.



19.4 Mosque of Farwah b. Musayk. The porch leading to the ablution area, containing pre-Islamic column shafts.

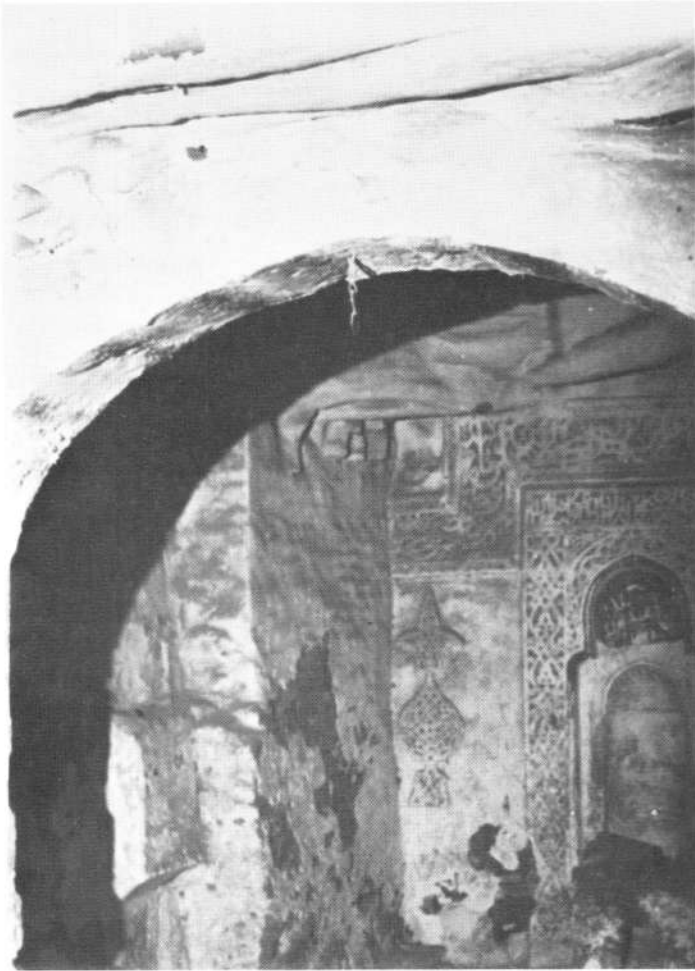
rectangular band which projects beyond the face of the wall. There are two brackets for lamps on either side of the *mihrāb*. Above these, and above the cupboard recesses, strips of what were once calligraphic ornament run across the flanking wall spaces, surmounted by pointed arches of the same calligraphic bands, containing inner scalloped arches with ornamental beaker patterns inside them.

The whole of this decoration, which is very fine in proportion and general design, is so obscured by centuries of whitewashing that it is difficult to discern the detail. It seems likely to be work of the 9th or 10th/15th or 16th century. It is possible, however, that this plaster ornament is redecoration retaining the general form of an earlier scheme.

The tomb chamber is composed of two rooms, an outer room covered by a dome supported on a combination of squinch arches and stepped pendentives, and an inner tomb-room of truncated triangular shape with a lesser dome. The tomb is of plaster, aligned along the north wall. Originally the two rooms were separated only by a wide archway. There are three high windows of alabaster and one low metal grille opening into the street outside.

Al-Jilā'/*al-Jalā'* mosque (fig. 19.3, pls. 19.12-14) was originally a synagogue. There is no record in Arabic sources available to us of the date of its original construction, but just as Jewish houses in the old city of Ṣan'ā' closely resemble Muslim houses, synagogues were similar to mosques. Whatever distinguishing features this synagogue once had were completely removed when it was converted, and the structural shell remains which belongs to the early *apadāna* type. The Arabic sources maintain that this mosque was built 'in the place of the synagogue of the Jews', but architectural evidence points rather to alteration and adaptation than a completely new building.

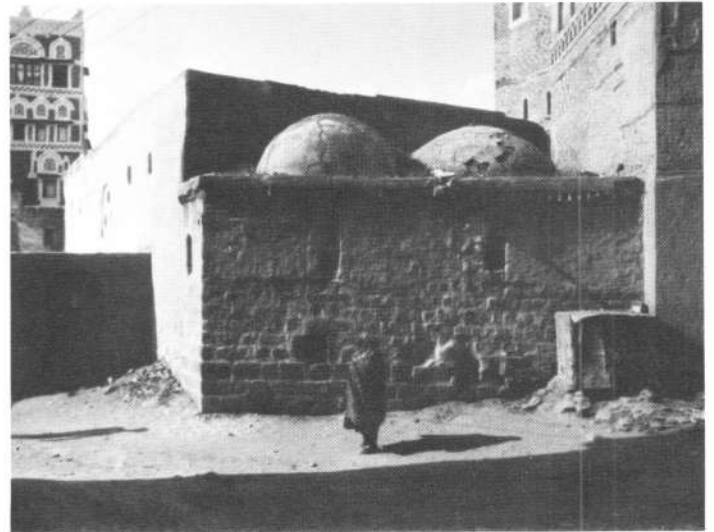
Al-Jilā' mosque has three rows of four columns carrying transverse beams across the prayer hall. All the columns are built up of pre-Islamic fragments which in most cases have been simply plastered and whitewashed. Only the two columns flanking the *mihrāb* have a plaster palmette capital overlaying the original stone forms. There are small plaster bracketed shelves for lamps on some of the columns. At the eastern end of the *qiblah* wall there is a blocked-up doorway which once led in from the street; presumably this was a door of the synagogue, which was closed when it became a mosque in order to ensure passage through the



19.5 Mosque of Farwah b. Musayk. Interior of the tomb chamber.



19.6 Mosque of Farwah b. Musayk. Rough stalactite (*muqarnas*) supports for the corners of the dome in the tomb chamber.



19.7 Mosque of al-Ṭāwūs. Exterior, with the tomb in the foreground.



19.8 Mosque of al-Ṭāwūs. Interior before repair.

ablution area. This doorway has a low curved head; a plaster shelf for a lamp has since been built across part of it. During its life as a synagogue this building would have had one section of the floor higher than the rest, to act as a women's area.¹⁷ The columns which seem least likely to have been truncated by a later general raising of the floor to make it level throughout are those at the eastern end, and this indeed appears to be an area of the building which was added subsequently as it is distinct in construction (see pls. 19.12 and 19.13); it was apparently partitioned

17 Joseph Qāfih *Jewish Life in Ṣan'ā'* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1969, 78, see p.400a.



19.9 Mosque of al-Tāwūs. Another view of the interior, showing the decoration of the *qiblah* wall.



19.10 Mosque of al-Tāwūs. The interior of the tomb at the narrow end, the floor covered with fragments of old manuscripts. The tomb platform on the right.

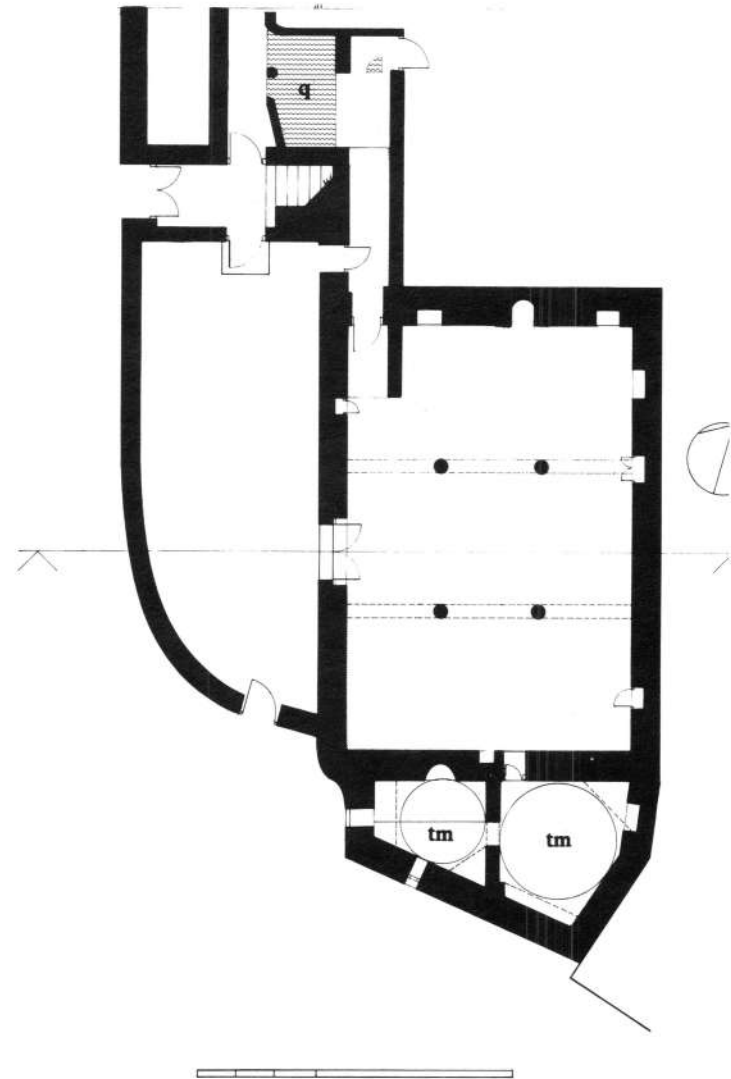
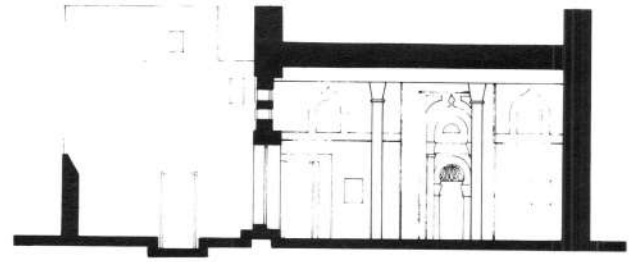


Fig. 19.2 Mosque of al-Tāwūs. Plan and cross-section.

Key to all figures

a animal stalls
cu court upper level
eu entrance hall upper level
gh *ghayl*—water level
k kitchen
m *mafrāj*
o loading and mounting animals
plr cold pool room
rl library
t terrace
v rain water cistern
wr well ramp

b bathroom
ch changing room
f warm room
h excrement room
l lobby
mn minaret
or restaurant/eating place
q public ablution area
s store
tm tomb
vm man in charge
x *minbar*

br boiler
d *ḍiwwān*
fr furnace room
hr hot room
lt laundry terrace
n *mihrāb*
p passage
r room—general use and sleeping
sh sheep pens
tr treasury
w well
y women's room and wardrobe

c court
e entrance hall
g grinding mills
j grain and fruit store
lb lavatory/bathroom
nw washing floor
pl pool
rr reception room and business
sp shop
u shaft
wb water cooling box
z *manẓar*



19.11 Mosque of al-Jalā. Exterior from the court.

off from the rest of the hall, the partition being where the second row of columns now stands.

In synagogues there was a raised 'ark' for storing holy scrolls along the northern wall. In the remainder of the walls there were small cupboards for books. There was a court in front of the synagogue with a basin for washing the hands, and lavatories were on the far side of the court away from the prayer hall.

In al-Jilā' all of these features were easily converted for the use of the Muslim community after the decision had been taken to remove the Jews from the old city and prohibit them from returning there.

In 1091/1680-1, the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan turned the synagogue into a mosque, an event recorded in verse inscribed on the inside wall of the mosque.¹⁸

The plaster decoration of the *qiblah* wall contains panels of very fine patterning, and a fluid calligraphy. The *miḥrāb* is a typical example of the work of the late 11th/17th century.

Another early mosque of the *apadāna* type is the mosque of Ma'ād. This has a pre-Islamic inscription incorporated in the outside of the east wall, the construction of which resembles that of the Great Mosque. Internally, the front pair of columns consists of pre-Islamic column drums, sixteen-sided below and eight-sided above. The back pair of columns is a modern replacement. One of the front columns stands directly in front of the *miḥrāb*, as happens also at Shibām.¹⁹



19.12 Mosque of al-Jalā. Interior.

¹⁸ p.400a.

¹⁹ Lewcock and Smith, op. cit. al-Ḥajari, *Masājīd*, 114, says of this mosque that it was one of the buildings erected by the ancestor of the Ma'ād family, who are found today in the district of Hamdān. Its ablution places were built in the 10th/16th century by the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā.

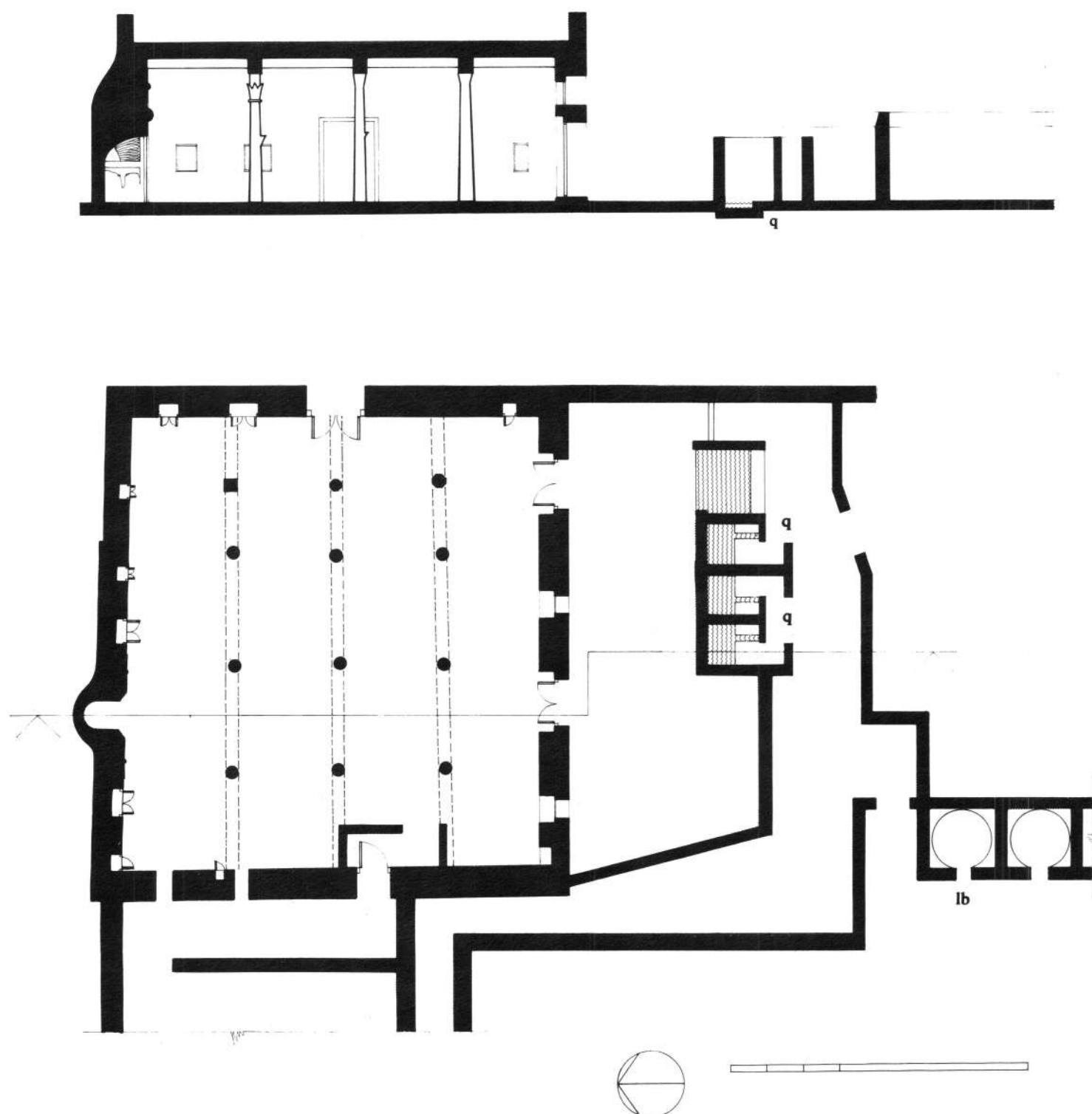
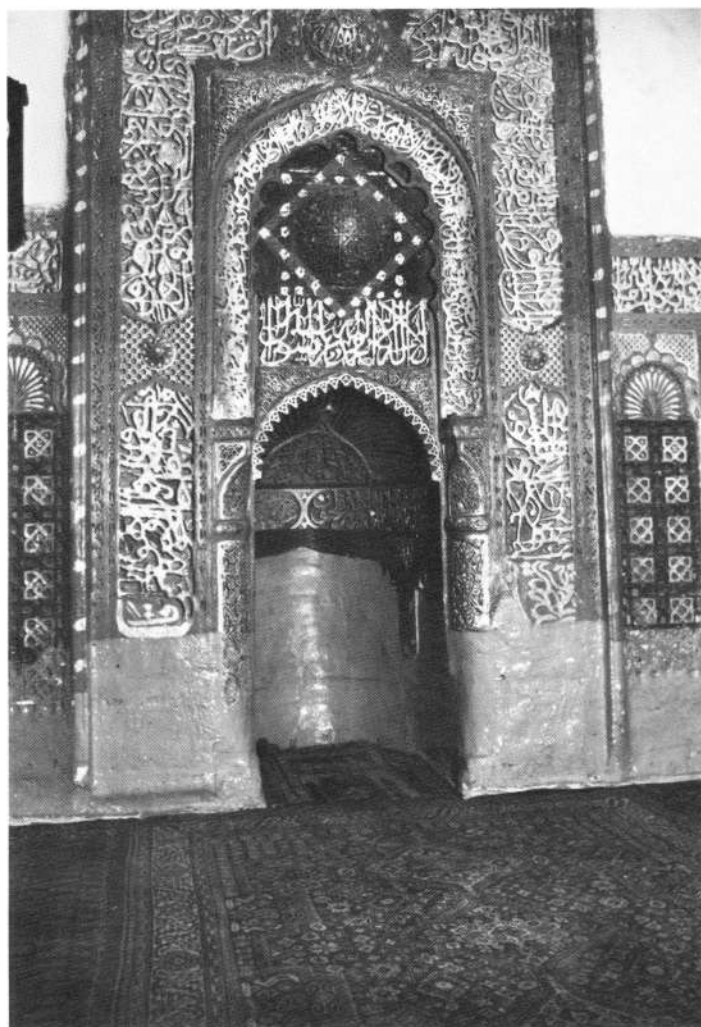


Fig. 19.3 Mosque of al-Jalā. Plan and section.



19.13 Mosque of al-Jalā. *Mihrāb* and flanking cupboards.



19.15 Mosque of al-Shahīdayn. Interior of the prayer hall.



19.14 Mosque of al-Tawāshī. Interior of the prayer hall.

Ḥami' al-Tawāshī is also of the *apadāna* type, with high plastered columns originally grouped in two rows of three carrying transverse beams (pl.19.15). It is recorded that the mosque was built by an ambassador of the Sultan of India, named al-Tawāshī,

in 1028/1618-9 during the latter's stay in Ṣan'ā'.²⁰ An extension at an early date added four columns, with longitudinal beams to the southern side. A still later extension was made with low arcades, in 1103/1691-2.²¹ The external wall has been rebuilt in this century. The capitals of the columns are plain, and the *mihrāb* and decorative inscriptions on the walls are dated 1098/1686-7; they contain work by the same hand as that which executed the *mihrāb* at al-Jilā' mosque described above. The minaret is an addition made by Shaykh 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḍilā'ī al-Sirayhī in 1103/1691-2.²²

None of the ceilings of this group of *apadāna* mosques is decorated in the elaborate manner of the mosque of Shibām, Ṣarhah, or the early Great Mosque (pls.22,23,25,26;18.41-47). Instead they are the humblest kind of utility construction, rough beams plastered over and painted with whitewash.

Arcaded Mosques Earlier than the 10th/16th Century

The foundation of the *mosque of al-Shahīdayn* near the market may be dated to an early period by the ancient calligraphy on some of the remaining inscriptions built into its walls.²³ The name ('the Two Martyrs') comes from an incident which is recorded as happening about 40/660-1, when two infant sons of the 'Alī'id governor of the house of Hāshim were murdered by

²⁰ *Ghāyat al-amānī*, Cairo, 1388/1968, 813. *Masājid*, 69.

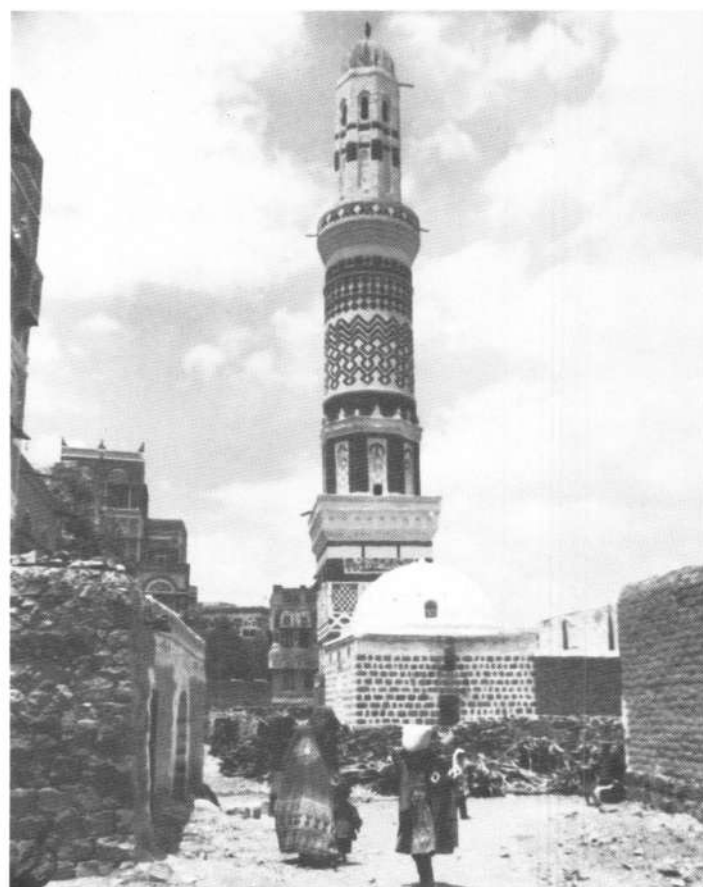
²¹ *Masājid*, loc. cit.

²² Cf. illustrations, Lewcock and Smith, op. cit.

²³ See pl. 19.16.



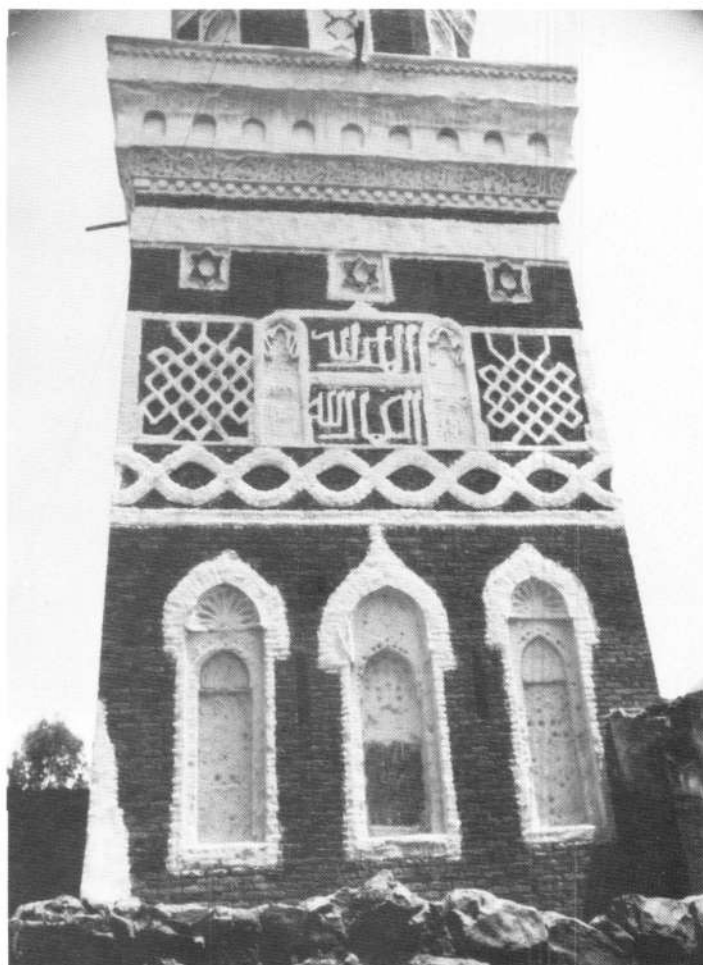
19.16 Mosque of al-Shahidayn. Early inscription in the southern entrance on the outside wall of the tomb chamber.



19.18 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Exterior.

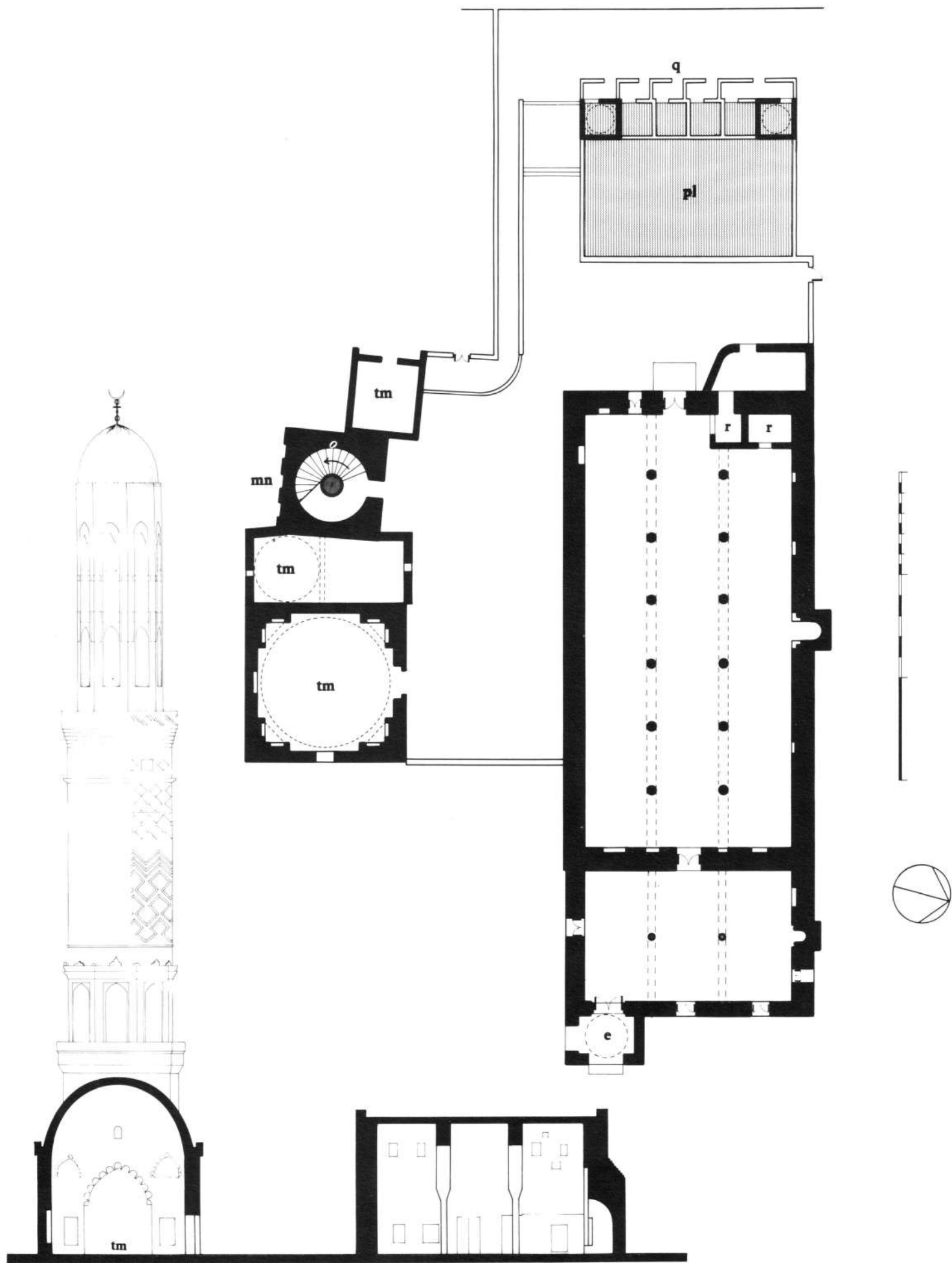


19.17 Mosque of al-Shahidayn. Interior of the tomb chamber adjoining the southern door of the prayer hall.



19.19 Mosque of al-Madrasah. The lower storey of the minaret from the south-eastern side.

Fig. 19.4 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Plan and sections.



the incoming Umayyad governor.²⁴

Although the building was extensively rebuilt in 1321/1903, much of the original mosque remains. The prayer hall is constructed with four rows of three columns (with an annex containing another three columns); the stones of the columns are largely pre-Islamic, including some fine capitals and shafts (pl. 19.14). The arcades run transversely across the columns, and rest on modern plaster capitals of vaguely palmette design a favourite pattern used in redecoration since the 12th/18th century. Again the *miḥrāb* stands directly behind the central row of columns, a feature characteristic of early mosques.

A tomb chamber built into the south west corner of the mosque is entered from the courtyard. It contains three small wooden tombs which are simple and unembellished (pl. 19.17). The minaret was built after 1302/1884-5.

The mosque of *Ibn al-Ḥusayn* near the Sā'ilah is another ancient foundation, known originally as Masjīd al-Ṣawma'ah. It was built, or rebuilt, by al-Ḥusayn b. Salāmah, a *mawla* of the Banū Ziyād, the rulers of Zabīd, at the close of the 4th/10th century.²⁵ It was further renovated by Imām Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, who died in 656/1258-9. In 1355/1936-7 it was extensively redecorated in a folk idiom with bright painting (pl. 38) and an additional bay was added at the southern end. At the same time a splendid high minaret in patterned brickwork was built in the entrance court; it carries a stone inscription recording the date.

Ḥamī' al-Madrasah (fig. 19.4 and pls. 19.18-19.32) is said by al-Ḥajari²⁶ to stand on the site of a structure which was the original small mosque built by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the renowned Companion of the Prophet. It was originally called Masjīd al-Azhar. This was rebuilt or extended in 664/1265-6, for this date appears on an inscription inserted into the wall of the minaret on the northern side. Indeed it is said by the worshippers that the main prayer hall as it now stands was built at this time. In 845/1441-2 a restoration and addition(?) was made by Sharaf al-Dīn, a fact recorded on a stone found in the south eastern corner which is now in the Ministry of Public Works. It was further extended by Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā in 926/1519-20 along with the erection (or rebuilding?) of the minaret, presumably in the form in which it remains today. At the same time he built the ablution places, the well and the cemetery to the north, in which his son is buried,²⁷ probably in the large free-standing tomb structure now known as al-Abyaḍayn. Finally, to the south of the gateway, a small tomb was built for Sayyid Zayd b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Imām al-Qāsim who died in 1123/1711-12.

There is some evidence in the outside stonework of the southern wall of the prayer hall that it is of ancient construction. This early stonework stops short of the south western corner, suggesting that the earliest mosque, if the sources are right, may have been approximately two-thirds of the area of the present prayer hall, and that a substantial part of its outer walls remain.

Internally, the prayer hall has short cylindrical stone columns, 3m high, arranged in two transverse rows of six columns each. These carry square capitals with curved and bevelled corners growing from the columns, and from these high stilted four-centred arches rise to support the transverse walls on which the roof rests. On stylistic grounds these arcades and the capitals date from the same period as the separate prayer hall alongside, which is discussed below;²⁸ but local opinion has it that the columns and

probably the present walls of the prayer hall date from 664/1265-6, except for a few earlier sections.

A separate prayer hall further east is entered through a doorway from the main prayer hall, the *qiblah* walls of the two being contiguous. There is a separate doorway to the street in the south east corner. This room has a bold *miḥrāb* design which is matched by a niche above the windows in the southern wall (pls. 19.24 and 19.25). Both have as their essential pattern a large five-cusped arch with the bottom lobe turning into a convex circle on each side. The five concave cusps are three-quarter circles, the lower four of the *miḥrāb* containing shell motifs, the central one having a pattern which appears to be calligraphic. In the case of the *miḥrāb* these large cusps frame the smaller arch of the *miḥrāb* recess, itself a scalloped semi-dome standing on two engaged columns; at the back of the *miḥrāb* is an emblazoned shield in low relief.²⁹ Around the whole is a wide calligraphic band with three projecting bosses, on the eastern side of which is a plaster bracket, presumably for an oil lamp. The entire *miḥrāb* is obscured by centuries of whitewash so that the inscriptions cannot be read.

The *miḥrāb* and possibly the whole room, appear to be additions made in 845/1441-2 by Sharaf al-Dīn.³⁰

Returning to the main prayer hall, the *miḥrāb* has an upper arch which closely resembles that of Qubbat Ṭalḥah, discussed below;³¹ this suggests a date for it in the second half of the 11th/17th century; it seems likely to be a later addition to an earlier *miḥrāb* of which the lower part remains.

The south eastern tomb, a free-standing building with a fine interior embellished with recessed panels and squinches crowned with cusped arches (pls. 19.26, 19.28-29), is also reputed to be the work of Sharaf al-Dīn. This seems unlikely, however, for in spite of its architectural sophistication the decoration is simpler and in a cruder style. It seems more probable that it was erected by Imām al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā who also added the minaret in 926/1519-20. The dome, which was rebuilt in the early years of the 14th/20th century, appears to have been originally pierced with a pattern of top lights; these have been plastered over internally.

The minaret, like the tomb a freestanding building, is oriented so that its sides point to true north, not slightly east of north, as do the axes of the mosques of Ṣan'ā'. It is hard to see any explanation for this deviation unless the minaret was sometimes used for an astronomical or chronometric purpose.

The minaret, entirely built in baked brick, rises in three stages, first square, then polygonal, then cylindrical, to a circular balcony which is corbelled out from the main drum. Above this level the minaret continues in polygonal form before being capped by a fluted dome. The lower square storey has the same twisted rope ornament as is used as a cornice to Shibām mosque.³² Below there are three arches on each face, the central one containing long inscriptions on the northern and southern sides, the remainder patterns of baked ceramic green discs and rosettes set into the plaster and now whitewashed over (pl. 19.32). The same green discs act as a field to the twisted rope ornament; exactly similar discs were used for decoration in Byzantine buildings in Greece and Turkey.³³ Six pointed stars containing circles complete the decoration of the lower storey, above fields containing calligraphy and lattice patterns. A heavy cornice with guttae, a calligraphy band and a row of arched niches crowns this level and separates it from the polygon which rises above. This in turn has an arched niche within a rectangular field on each face.

Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i.

29 Although there is a no *miḥrāb* exactly like it, the curious large circular curves of the *miḥrāb* are reminiscent of the floor patterns of the Tomb of Ghani Bek al-Ashrafi in Cairo, 830-1/1427. In particular the low relief pattern at the back of the *miḥrāb* closely resembles those of the doors in this Cairo tomb.

30 Cf. p.69a seq.

31 Cf. p.44.

32 Lewcock, and Smith, op. cit.

33 E.g. twelfth and thirteenth century Christian churches at Mesembria, cf. A. Grabar, *Byzantium-Byzantine Art in the Middle Ages*, London, 1966.

24 Cf. above p. 52, n.16. As the first Umayyad Caliph, Mu'awiyah, appointed his governor over Ṣan'ā', Busr b. Abī Arṭāḥ al-'Amirī al-Qurashī, and despatched him there, 'Alī's governor, 'Ubaydullāh b. al-'Abbās departed and left his infant sons, Qutham and 'Abd al-Raḥmān in the city under the care of their maternal uncles.

25 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 4.

26 *Masājid*, 96; *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 662.

27 Ibid, loc. cit., says the son was Ibrāhīm who died in 933/1526-7.

28 The style is similar to work of the 6th/12th century in Cairo, e.g. Mosque of



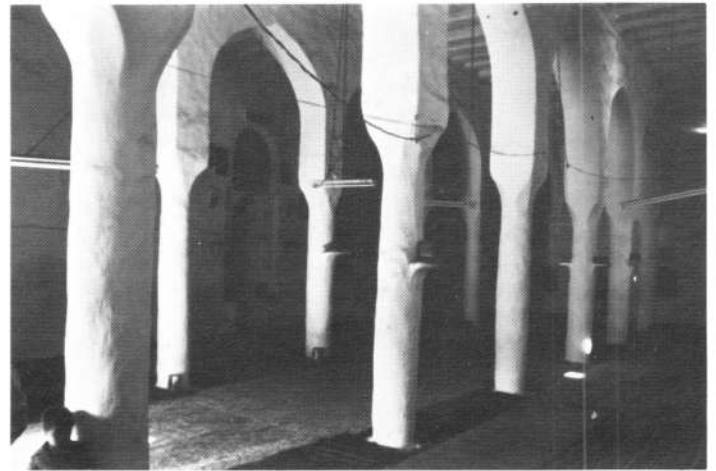
19.20 Mosque of al-Madrasah. The ablution cubicles on the left, with the entry to the courtyard of the mosque through a wading pool (*masfa*), centre.



19.21 Mosque of al-Madrasah. The ablution cubicles to the west of the great tank.

A smaller cornice with tri-lobed pinnacles completes this storey. The high cylindrical shaft is patterned on a theme of diamonds and chevrons, the diamonds reappearing on the outside wall of the balcony. A single arched niche in each side of the polygon above is penetrated by a high lancet window; the dome is fluted with sixteen deep flutes which relate to the geometry of the polygon below. The minaret was originally crowned, as the minaret of the neighbouring Şalāḥ al-Dīn mosque still is, by a bronze pigeon or dove which swung as a weather vane.³⁴

This minaret is believed to be the earliest example in Şan‘ā’ of the patterned brick minaret which has since become the



19.22 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Interior of the prayer hall.

commonest type. The practice of picking out the relief patterning in whitewash against the red brick may not go back to its original design, but may be derived from the habit of using this type of decoration on Şan‘ā’ houses.³⁵ Evidence that the whitewashing of the relief on the minarets is fairly recent may be seen from the minaret of the Mūsā mosque (pl. 19), which was picked out in white for the first time in 1973, and from the minarets of Jāmi‘ Ibn al-Ḥusayn³⁶ and Jāmi‘ al-‘Alamī,³⁷ which retain their original brick relief without white painting.

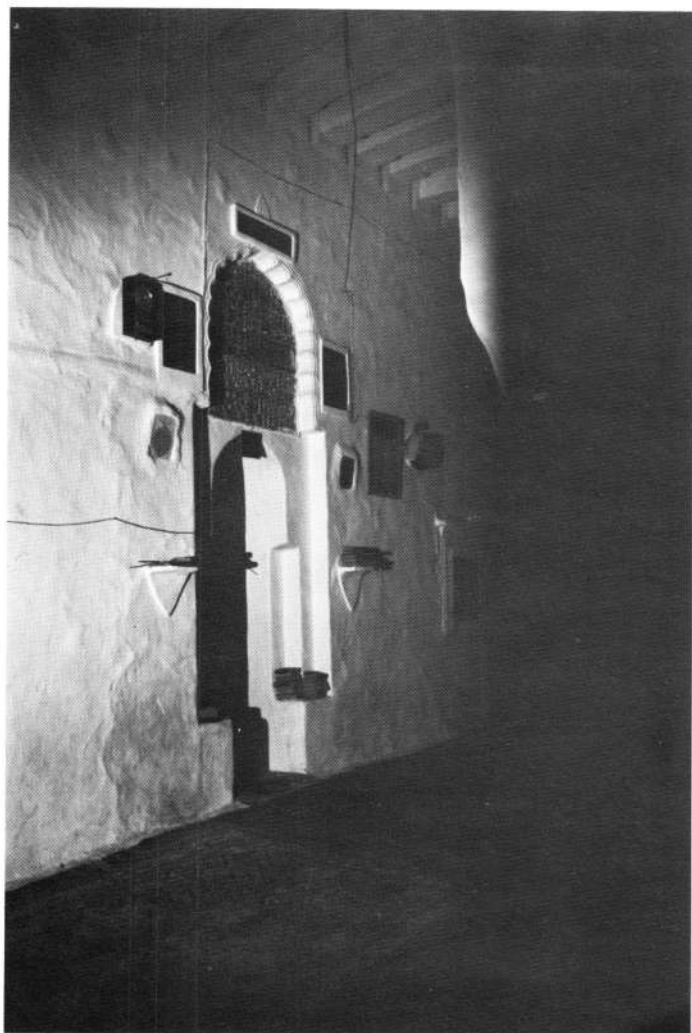
The origins of the patterned brick minaret are eastern Islamic. Patterned brickwork characterized the minarets of the Ghaznavids

34 For the possible symbolism of this feature see p. 340, n. 44.

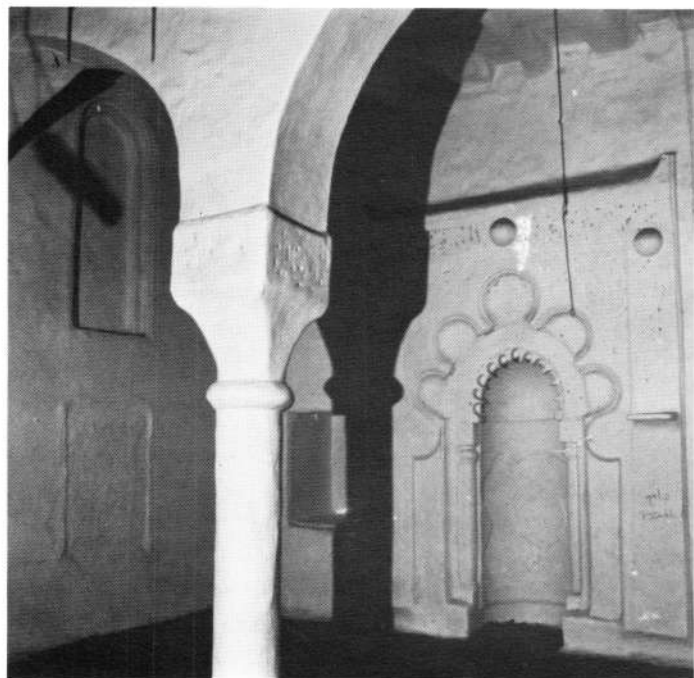
35 Cf. p.340b.

36 Built 1355/1936-7. See p.361a.

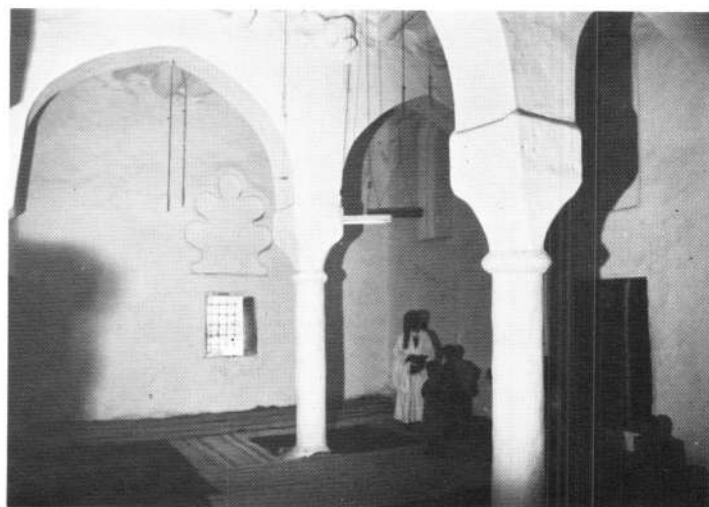
37 Built ca.1240/1824.



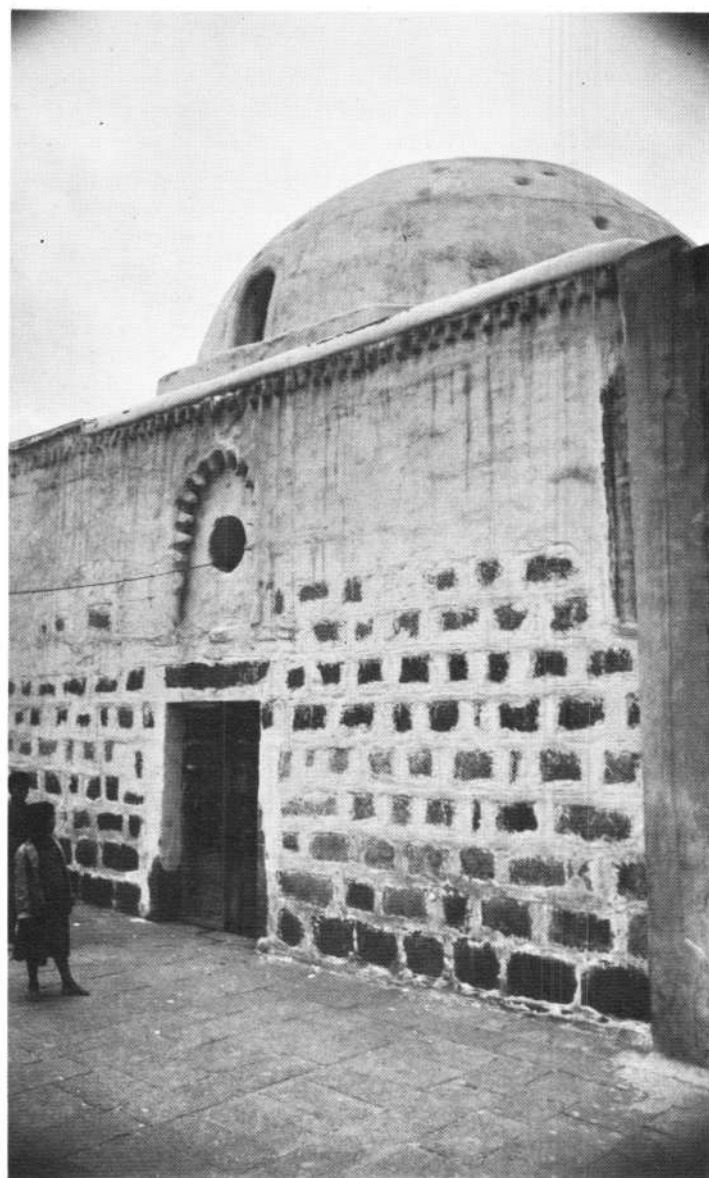
19.23 Mosque of al-Madrasah. The *mihrāb* of the prayer hall.



19.24 Mosque of al-Madrasah. The *mihrāb* of the side chamber.



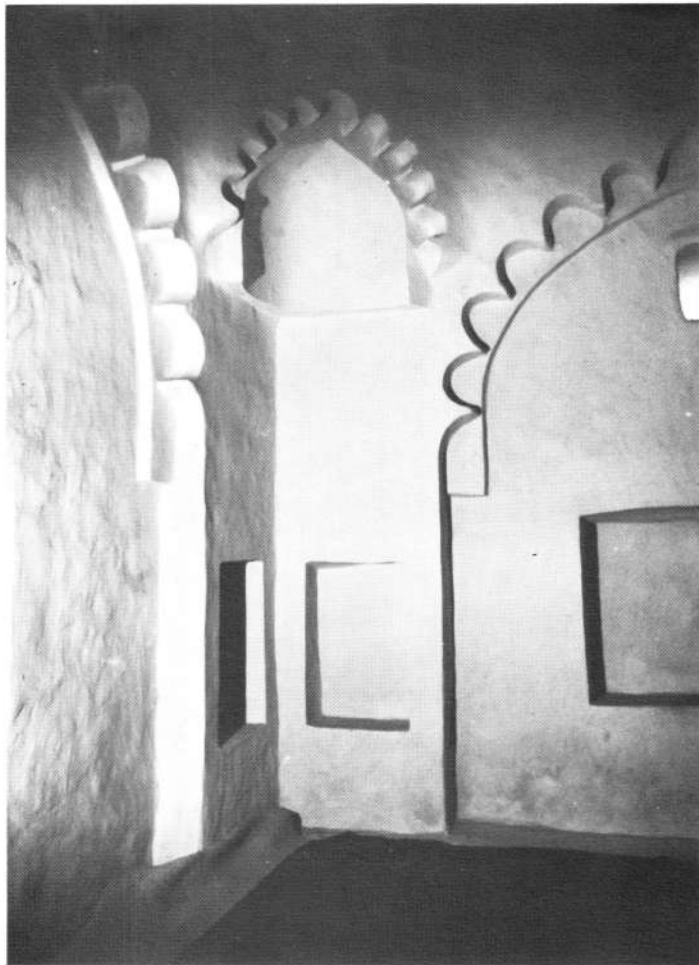
19.25 Mosque of al-Madrasah. The wall opposite the *mihrāb* in the side chamber, containing a blind five-lobed arch.



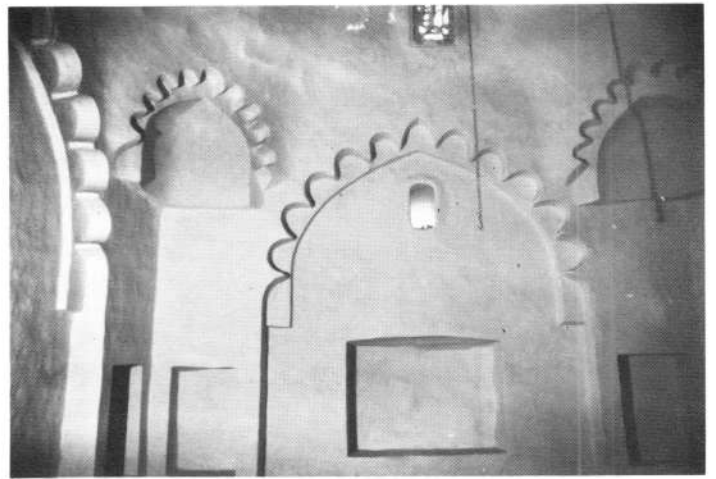
19.26 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Exterior of the outer tomb.



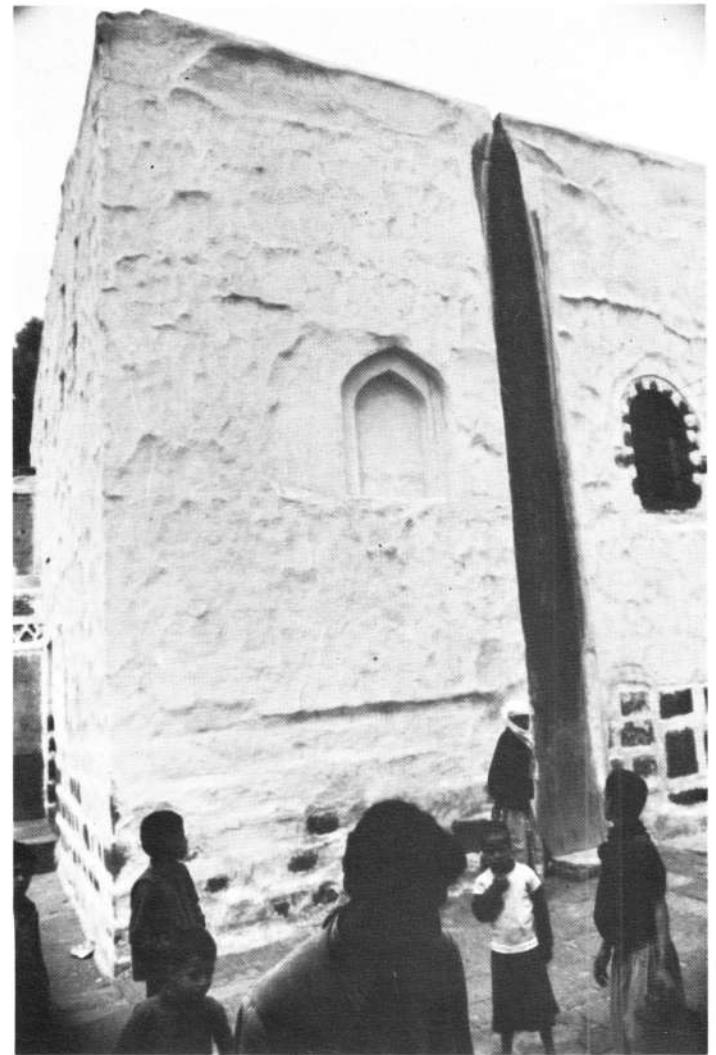
19.27 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Inscription on the outer tomb.



19.28 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Interior of the outer tomb.



19.29 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Interior of the outer tomb.



19.30 Mosque of al-Madrasah. South west corner of the prayer hall.

in the early 6th/12th century, and appeared at about the same time in Iran and Iraq, in which countries it remained fashionable for many centuries.

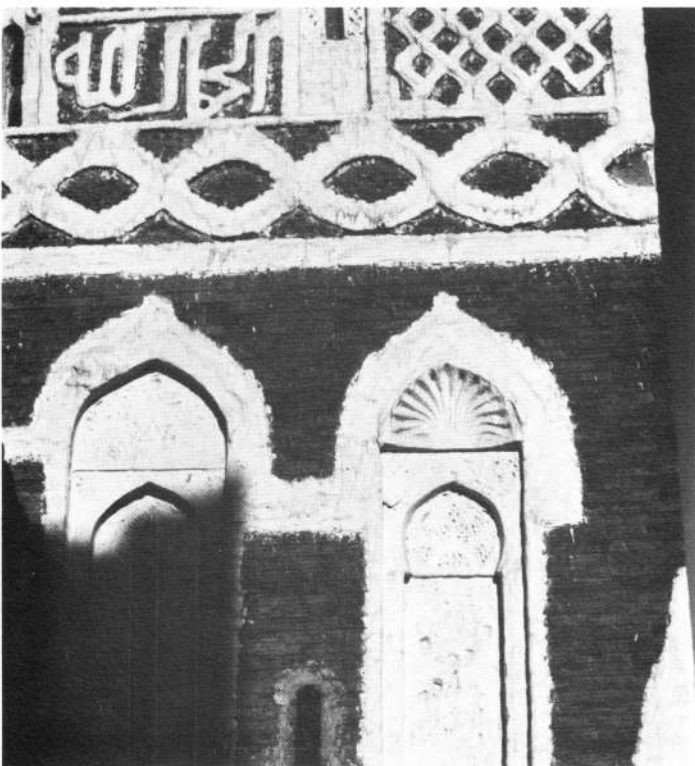
Between the minaret of al-Madrasah and the large domed tomb a narrower tomb with two domes separated by an arch was inserted. This seems to have been done some time afterwards, and is a lower and thinner-walled, though richly decorated, plastered construction. The domes are carried on squinch arches filled with stalactite ornament, and fine calligraphic bands run around the walls above and below the squinches. The transverse



19.31 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Inscription found near the second tomb.



19.33 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Inscription on the minaret.



19.32 Mosque of al-Madrasah. Detail of the lower storey of the minaret shown in pl. 19.19.

arch separating the two domes has a scalloped archivolt with an ornamented lower face.

The early 12th/18th century tomb of Sayyid Zayd³⁸ is now in ruins, but appears to have been decorated in a simplified form of the same style.

The ablution area is well arranged, with a large pool backed by a row of smaller pools divided by walls for private ablutions. A low domed ablution room terminates the row at either end (pls. 19.20, 21).

Al-Filayhī mosque (fig. 19.5, pls. 19.34-48; 27) is said by al-Ḥajārī³⁹ to have been built by al-Ḥājj Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Filayhī, of a family from the Thulā district, who was afterwards buried there, in 665/1266-7, a date recorded on an inscription inside the mosque. It was extended in the first half of the 10th/16th century, the Imām al-Mutawakkil adding areas to the north and west.

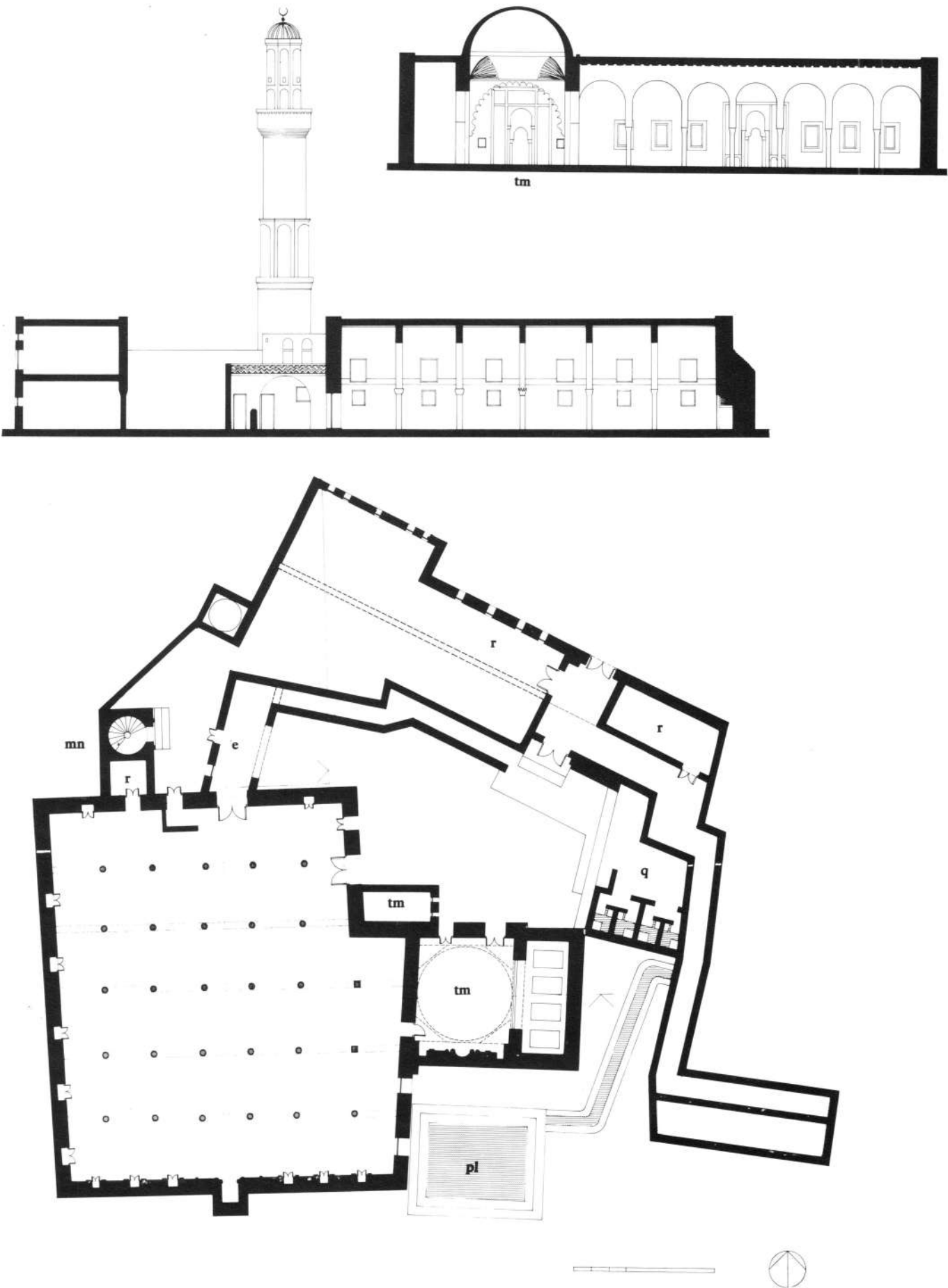
The prayer hall of the mosque is very large, extending more than 18 by 20m, with three rows of six columns in the front part and two rows by five columns behind.

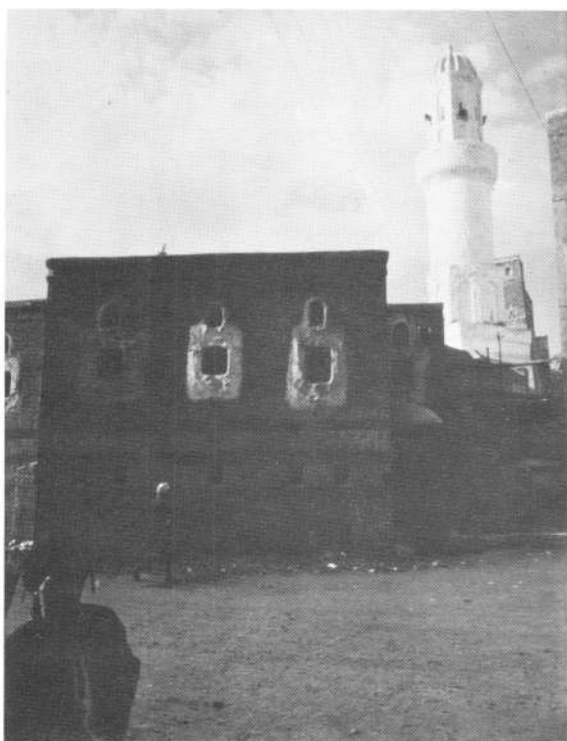
The shafts of the columns are made of small circular blocks of hard stone mortared together. Above them rise capitals of two types. The two transverse rows on the south, and the two on the north, have capitals similar to those described in the mosque of al-Madrasah (above), although painted differently in recent times. The central row has capitals of a different type, an exaggerated

38 See p. 361a

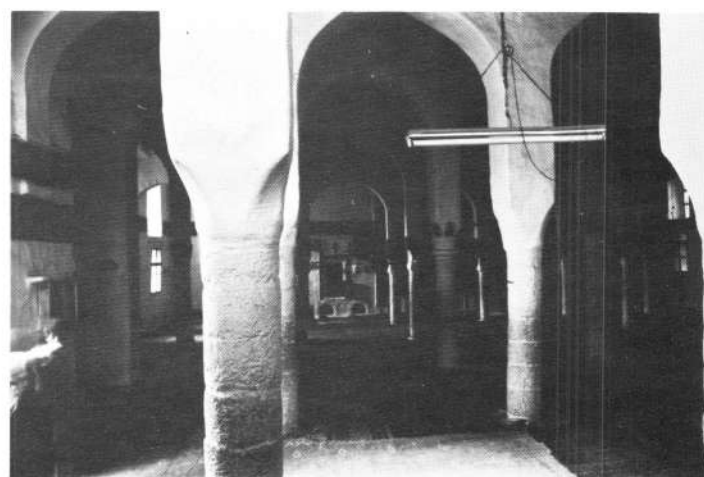
39 Op. cit., 90.

Fig. 19.5 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Plan and sections.





19.34 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Exterior with some of the cabins for students over the ablution section appearing in the foreground.



19.36 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Interior of prayer hall.



19.37 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Interior of prayer hall.



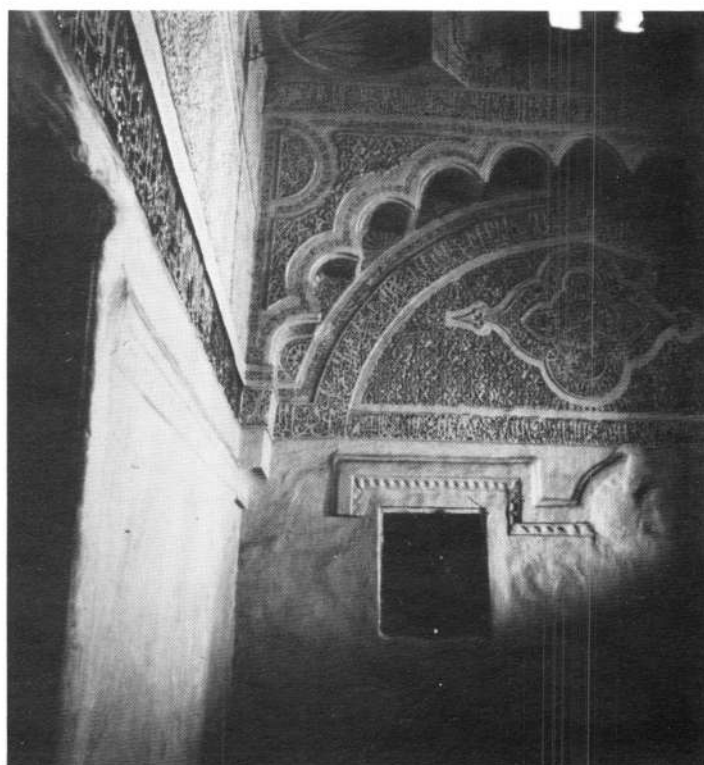
19.35 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Courtyard with the two tomb chambers on the left.

palmette which in other mosques seems characteristic of the 12th/18th centuries or later. There is relief decoration on the upper arches of the arcades which is apparently work of the same century.

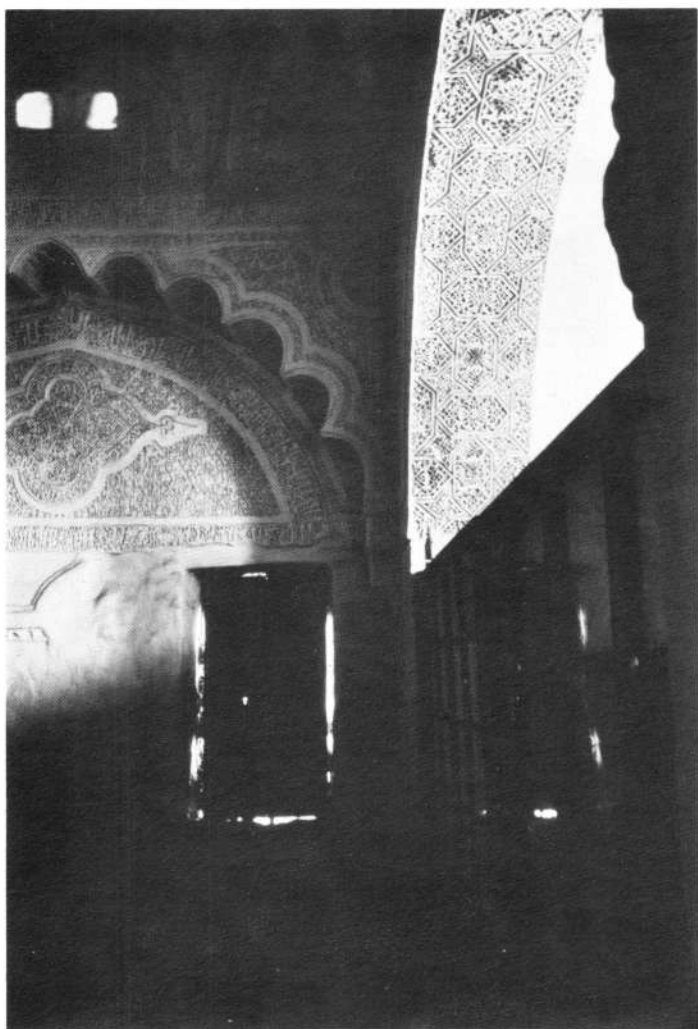
The arcades are stilted high above the capitals, those of the southern two rows having four-centred arches like those of the mosque of al-Madrasah, while the remainder have semi-circular arches. Furthermore, only the first four arches in each row inside the door have pointed arches; the two eastern arches in each of these southern rows are semi-circular.

From this evidence and a consideration of the plan it seems likely that the original mosque survives in the south western part of the prayer hall, the original *qiblah* wall being replaced by the present central transverse row of columns at the same time as the tomb chamber to the west was built, that is in the first half of the 10th/16th century.

Subsequently, the mosque was repaired, and the capitals in the central row of columns (which at that time stood next to the *qiblah* wall) were replaced by more ornate examples. Al-Ḥajarī mentions that Imām al-Mahdī 'Abbās 'added to it and rebuilt its



19.38 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber, interior, at the entrance end.



19.39 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber, another view.



19.41 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Arch across the annex containing the tombs.



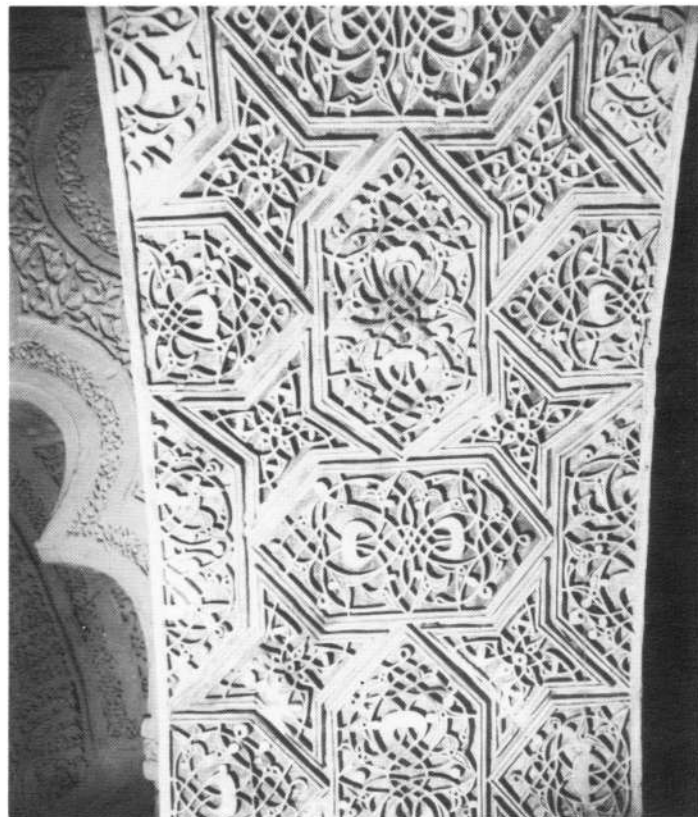
19.40 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Arch across the entrance end, showing the decoration.

ablution places' in 1170/1756-57.⁴⁰

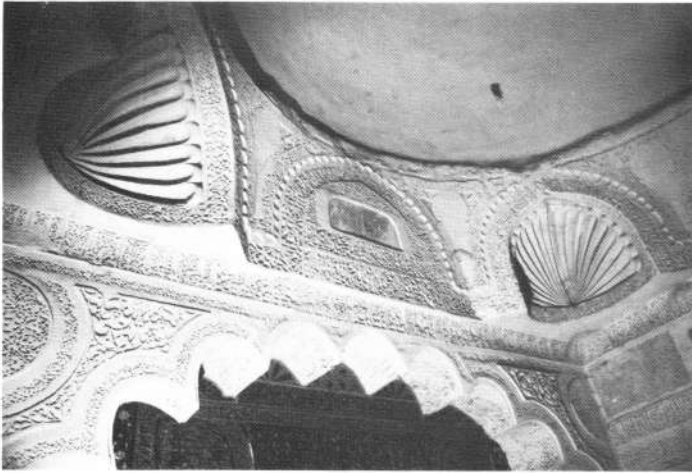
The northern part of the present prayer hall seems to be work of the late 12th/18th century, when the *qiblah* wall was moved forward again adding two transverse bays in which the capitals of the new columns were made to match those of the south.⁴¹ Al-Ḥajarī reports that in 1194/1780-81, Sidi Muḥsin b. Muḥammad Fayi' made a 'useful' extension to the north of the previous

⁴⁰ Ibid, 90.

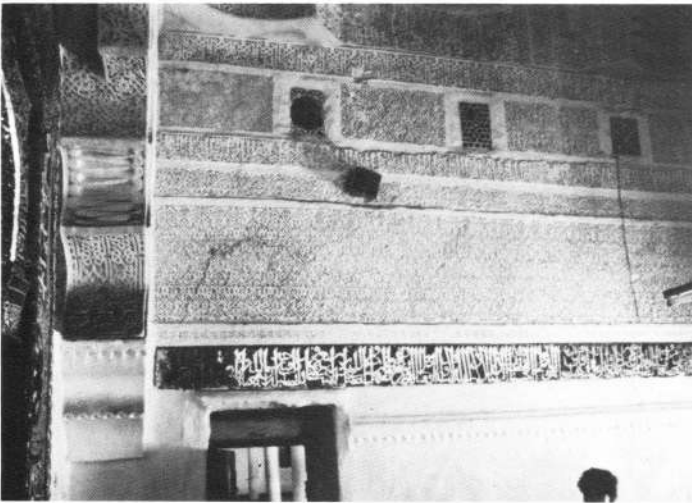
⁴¹ The southern capitals were then in a much better state of preservation than they are now, apparently; for the northern capitals have roll mouldings and impost blocks of which only the faintest traces remain in the southern ones.



19.42 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Detail of the decoration on the soffit of the arch over the tombs.



19.43 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Squinch arches carrying the dome.



19.44 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. General view of the wall adjoining the main prayer hall.



19.45 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Detail of the wall decoration.

extensions 'upon which he expended a great deal of money'.⁴²

The most interesting part of the mosque is the domed tomb chamber to the west (pl. 27, pls. 19.38-48), which is magnificently decorated in gypsum plaster. Following al-Ḥajarī, this appears to have been built by al-Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā in the first half of the 10th/16th century.⁴³ This dating accords with a certain similarity of the decoration to that of the 'Āmiriyyah mosque at Radā', known to have been built ca. 918/1512. It is a style which owes a good deal to the precedent of the Rasūlid royal tombs of the Ashrafiyyah in Ta'izz, built in the 8th/14th century.⁴⁴

Although the dome has lost all its ornament, the walls below that level, the *miḥrāb* and the squinch arches supporting the dome retain their original splendour. Panels of intricate geometrical and floral ornament intermingle with bands of calligraphy in two contrasting styles, elaborated Kūfic and flowing superimposed *naskhī*. An unusual feature is the use of linenfold pattern in some of the archivolt of the large scalloped arch which frames the *miḥrāb*. This has the aesthetic advantage that folds resemble the flutes of the squinch arches above, thus linking the two elements across the varied wall-space between them.

The decoration of the soffit of the arch separating the tomb chamber from the main domed space is outstanding. The stucco relief retains its ancient colouring, much faded, of olive, blue and vermillion, outlined in white. The design and workmanship of

this pattern place it among the finest of its kind in the Yemen, although many other areas of pattern and calligraphy in the room almost equal it.

The *miḥrāb* (pl. 27) is visually recessed by being set within its scalloped arch. It is beautifully designed and proportioned, one arch on columns being set within another, the height of the first, the top of the *miḥrāb* niche, being emphasized by circular bosses at the same level in the surrounding calligraphic frame. These mark half the height of the outer frame, which turns at the upper corners by the felicitous device of curving the line of the inner frame up and outwards to form a lozenge-shape on each side. Finally the inner and outer bands of the frame intertwine, so that they appear to be made of two continuous straps passing under and over each other.⁴⁵

The four tombs in the adjoining chamber are entirely plain.

Al-Ḥajarī mentions two 'graves' near (?) the mosque, both dating from the 8th/14th century, one of which is the grave of the father of Imām Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā.⁴⁶ It is possible that the tomb chamber referred to above was originally built to house his tomb, although the decoration is apparently later. The other tomb is probably that which is now closed, in the south western corner between the entrances to the prayer hall and the tomb.

The prayer hall retains only a little decoration that equals in quality that of the tomb, partly, no doubt, because it was several times rebuilt subsequently. Even so, the *miḥrāb* has good late

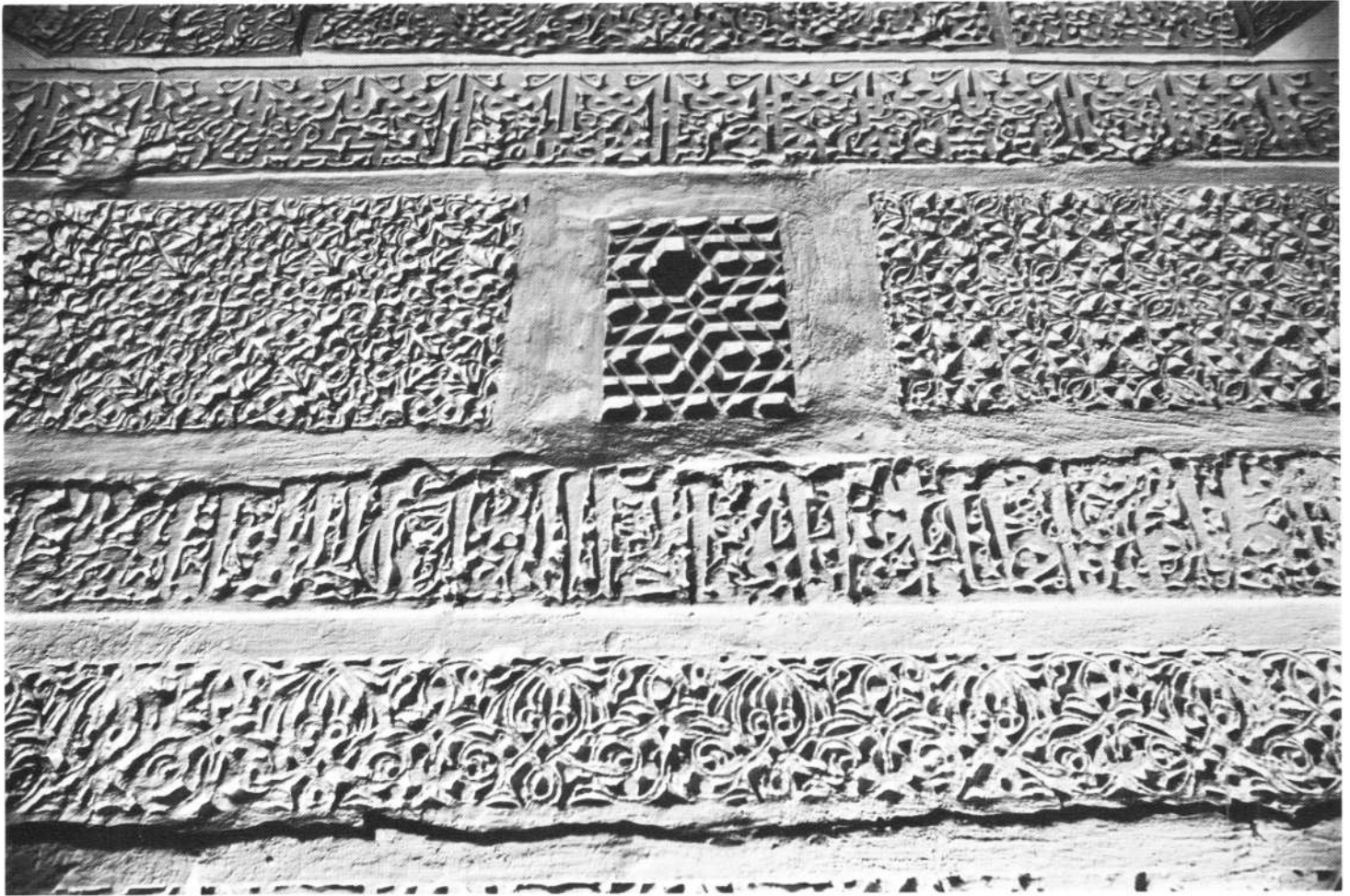
⁴² Ibid, 90.

⁴³ Ibid, 90.

⁴⁴ Cf. Lewcock and Smith, 'Three medieval mosques in the Yemen', *Oriental Art*, London, 1974, XX, 2.

⁴⁵ There is some resemblance in this work to the decoration of the Mausoleum of Ṣāhib 'Aṭā in Konya, Turkey. 679/1280, cf. O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London, 1971, plate 211.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 91.



19.46 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Part of the surface decoration of the wall adjoining the main prayer hall. Note the foliated Kūfic inscription at the top and the *naskhī* inscription below.

ornament, and there are remains of ornate *naskhī* inscriptions.

Between the mosque and the street outside is a range of buildings with internal ablution facilities below and lodgings for poor members of the community above.

The minaret is strongly reminiscent of that of the mosque of Farwah b. Musayk (see above). It is therefore likely to be work of the 10th/16th century.

The *mosque of al-Washālī*, known after the Imām al-Washālī (ob. 910/1054-5), the Wushālīs being a famous Sayyid house, is a well-preserved mosque dating from 696/1296-7, and closely resembles the mosque of al-Madrasah in style, plan, and detailed design (pl. 28, pl. 19.49). There is a small adjoining prayer hall with a second *miḥrāb* of the same date. There is no minaret. The arcade adjoining the mosque to the east is possibly the work of the renovations of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn in the early 10th/16th century referred to by al-Ḥajarī.⁴⁷

The *mosque of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn* was built by the Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Imām al-Mahdī ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. The former died in 793/1390; his large domed tomb lies to the west of the entrance courtyard, and contains both his tomb and that of his son al-Manṣūr ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, who died in 840/1436, as well as the tomb of his wife and other relatives.⁴⁸

The prayer hall, on the east of the courtyard, belongs to the same type as the 7th/13th century parts of al-Madrasah and al-Filayhī. That is, it has transverse arcades with characteristic capitals (closely resembling those of the other two mosques) above which are high stilted four-centred arches. The latter have been re-decorated with scallops in relief around the edges, apparently

during work on an extension made by Shaykh Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī in 1128/1715. There is an inscription in plaster recording this extension inside the mosque. The *miḥrāb* dates from the same period.

The tomb chamber is not open; externally it has fine scalloped arches retaining traces of ogee frames in deep relief and an alabaster plaster dado of strong key patterning (pls. 19.51-2).

The chief glory of the mosque is its minaret, which rivals that of al-Madrasah and is in a closely parallel style. It was built by the Ottoman governor Sinān Pasha, in the early 11th/late 16th century, as is recorded on a white carved stone inscription above the doorway. The minaret is crowned by a deeply fluted dome which carries a bronze weather-vane in the form of a pigeon or a dove.

Like al-Filayhī and a number of other mosques, this mosque has above its entrance a range of rooms intended as lodgings for students (pl. 19.50).

The *mosque of al-Abhar* (pls. 19.54-55) was built by Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad’s wife, al-Sayyidah Fāṭimah, daughter of the leader of the Kurds of Dhamār, in 776/1374-5; it was known originally as the mosque of Bint al-Amīr.⁴⁹

This first building survives on the northern end of the site, and the minaret over the entrance arch appears contemporary with it. The latter is modelled on the minarets of the Great Mosque, with the addition of a high band of fluting around the base of the main cylindrical shaft. The prayer hall was extended to the south by the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn (d.1161/1748),

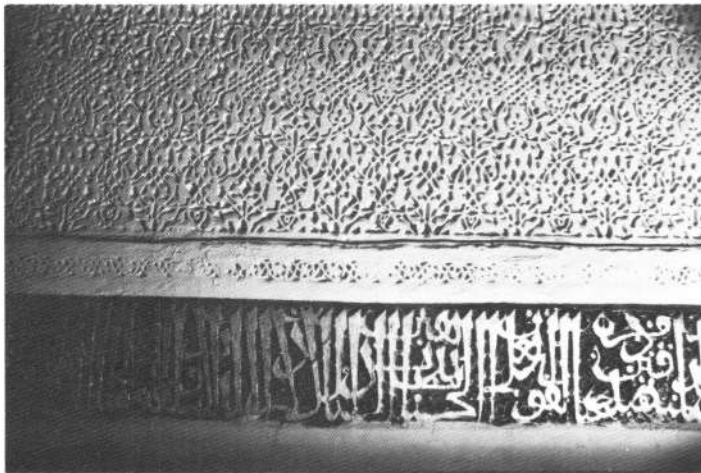
⁴⁷ Ibid, 127.

⁴⁸ *Masājīd*, 61.

⁴⁹ *Masājīd*, 5.



19.47 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Another part of the surface decoration of the wall adjoining the main prayer hall.



19.48 Mosque of al-Filayhī. Tomb chamber. Lower level of the surface decoration of the wall adjoining the main prayer hall.

who also built the domed tomb (see below). The interior of the prayer hall has been redecorated recently.

The *mosque of Jamāl al-Dīn* was built before 793/1390, for in that year the oath of allegiance to the new Imām, al-Mahdī Aḥmad, was taken there. There is no minaret. The small prayer hall is fronted by a double arcade which appears to be a later addition (pl. 19.55). The interior is well preserved with high arcades of the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn mosque type, without later decoration, resting on simple capitals on cylindrical columns (pl. 19.57)



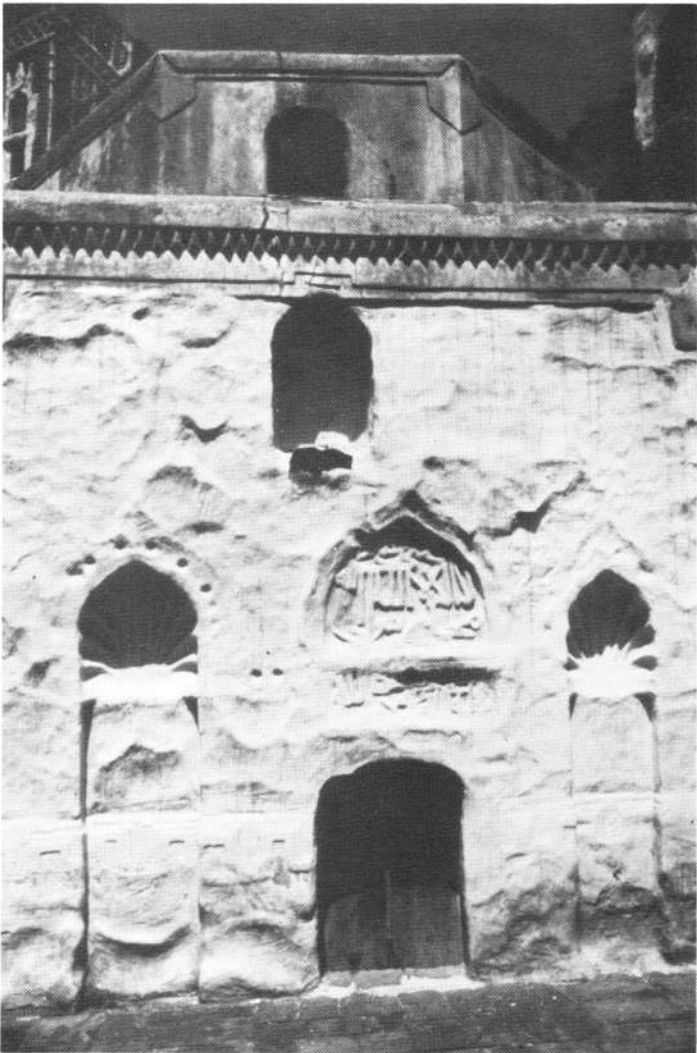
19.49 Mosque of al-Washālī. Interior of the large prayer hall.



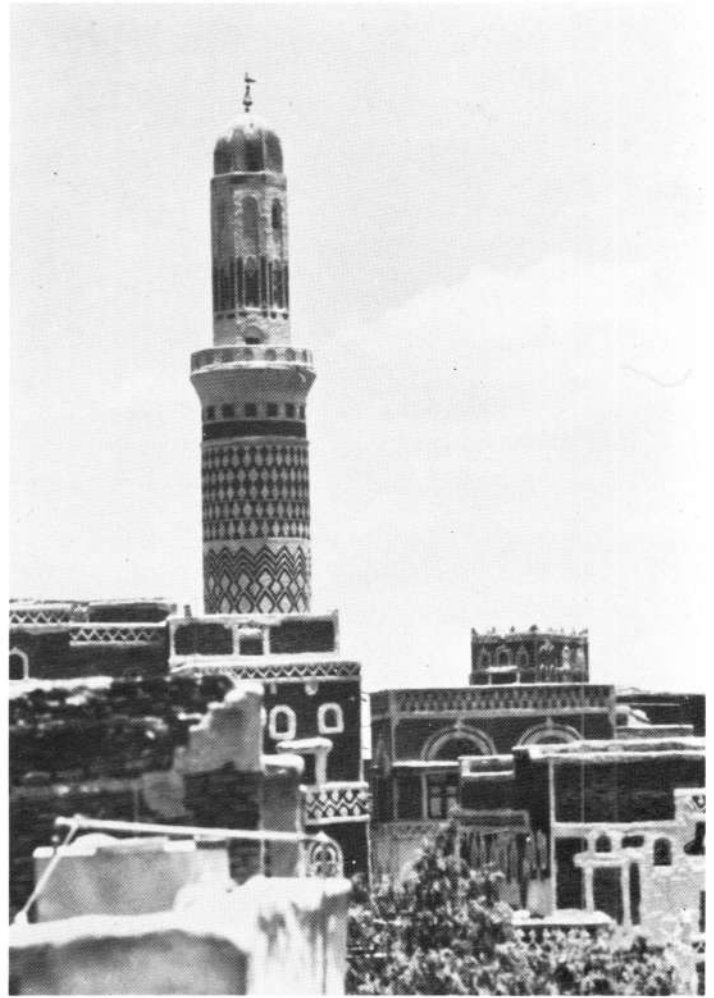
19.50 Mosque of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Exterior from the street. The upper windows are those of the students' cabins built over the ablution block.



19.51 Mosque of Ṣalāh al-Dīn. Courtyard, with a tomb on the left and the minaret at the back. Entrance to the prayer hall from the arcade on the right.



19.52 Mosque of Ṣalāh al-Dīn. The facade of the courtyard tomb.



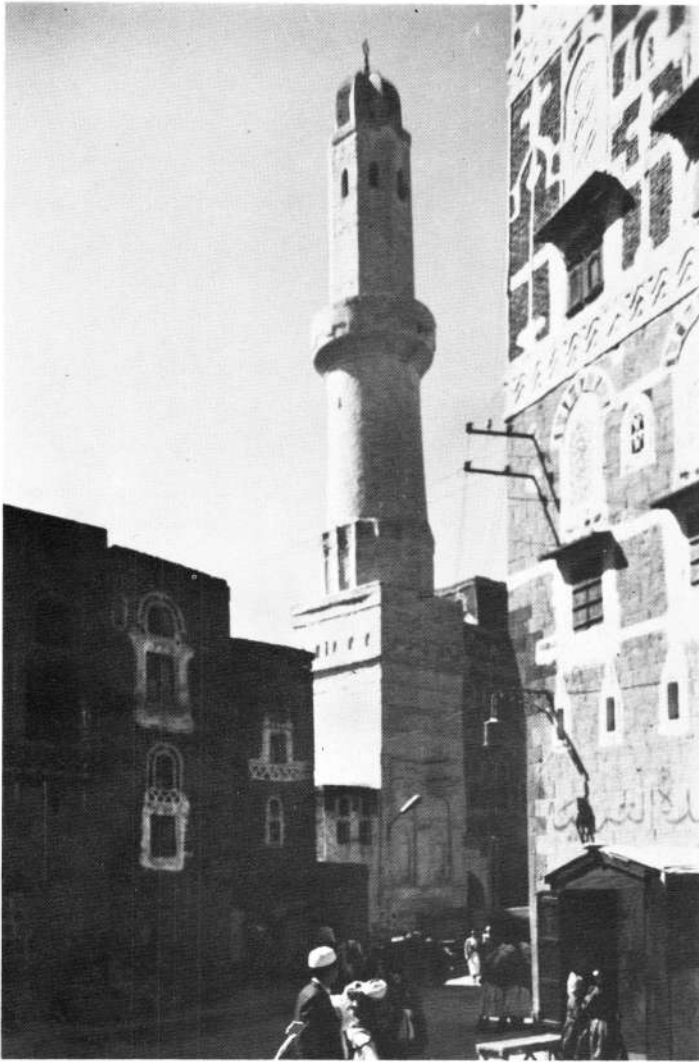
19.53 Mosque of Ṣalāh al-Dīn. Minaret.

The *mosque of 'Alī* in the famous Sūq al-Ḥalaqah is probably of very ancient foundation. It is attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who is reputed to have stayed in a house on this site during a visit to Ṣan'ā', according to a relatively late historian.⁵⁰ Architecturally it conforms to the same type and the arcading of the prayer hall appears to belong to the 6th or 7th/12th or 13th centuries. There is a quaint low minaret with decoration of a type that is elsewhere thought to belong to the early 10th/16th century (pl. 19.58). In 1350/1932, its well being no longer serviceable, water was led to it from Bīr al-'Abidīn, by an underground channel.

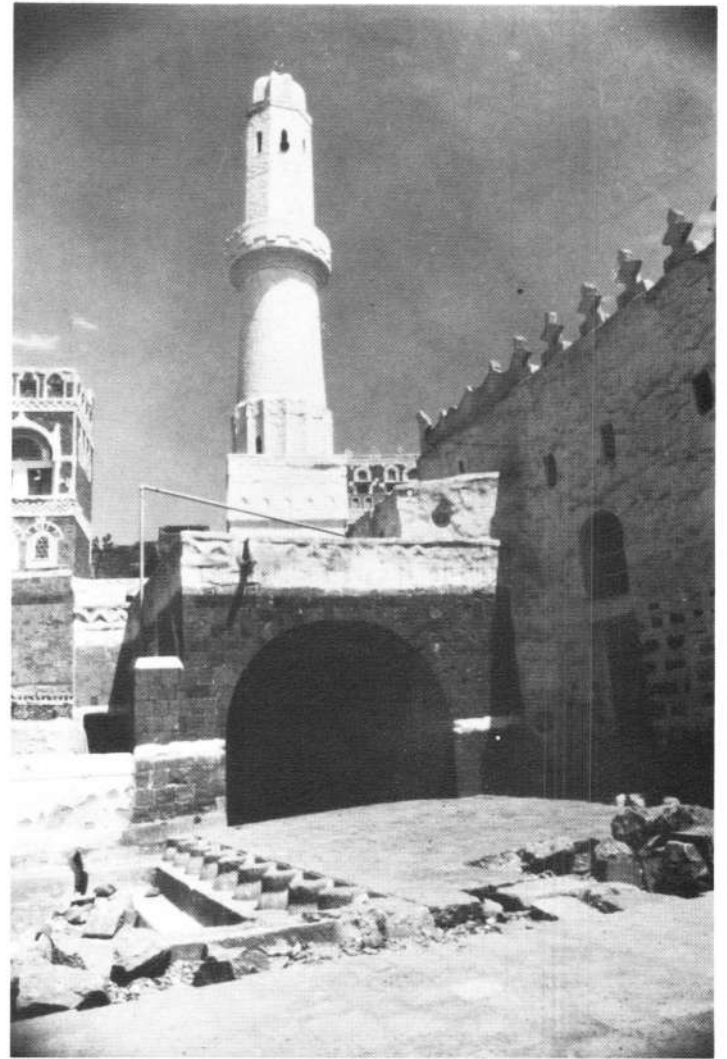
The *mosques of Nuṣayr, 'Aqīl and Dāwūd* belong to this same type, but were subsequently redecorated. The first mosque (pls. 19.60-61), in the ancient south eastern corner of the city, was built before the 9th/15th century; it was 'renewed' by the Imām al-Manṣūr in 1161/1748,⁵¹ and it has some good decoration from this period. The original columns and capitals were preserved, but the stilted arches are semicircular, probably having been rebuilt. The mosque is without a minaret, as were most mosques built during the period of the Zaydī government. Its court (*ṣawḥ*) has the tomb of an al-Wazīr Sayyid, killed by a stone cannon (?) ball during the siege of the Ṭāhirid 'Amīr (10th/16th century). The second, a small mosque in the sūq near to ruin in the early 10th/16th century, retains its ancient form, although it was rebuilt and extended by Shams al-Dīn, the son of the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā, in 947/1540. It has a splendid minaret (pl. 30, pl. 19.62), built in 967/1560 by the Amīr Iskandar al-Kurdī (as recorded by an inscription in the Jabbānah), smaller

⁵⁰ *Masājīd*, 86. The ascription to 'Alī seems to be rather late.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 122.



19.54 Mosque of al-Abhar. The minaret and the porch of the mosque from Maydān al-Abhar.



19.56 Mosque of Jamāl al-Dīn. The facade of the prayer hall from the courtyard. With the ablution tank cut in natural rock in the left foreground.



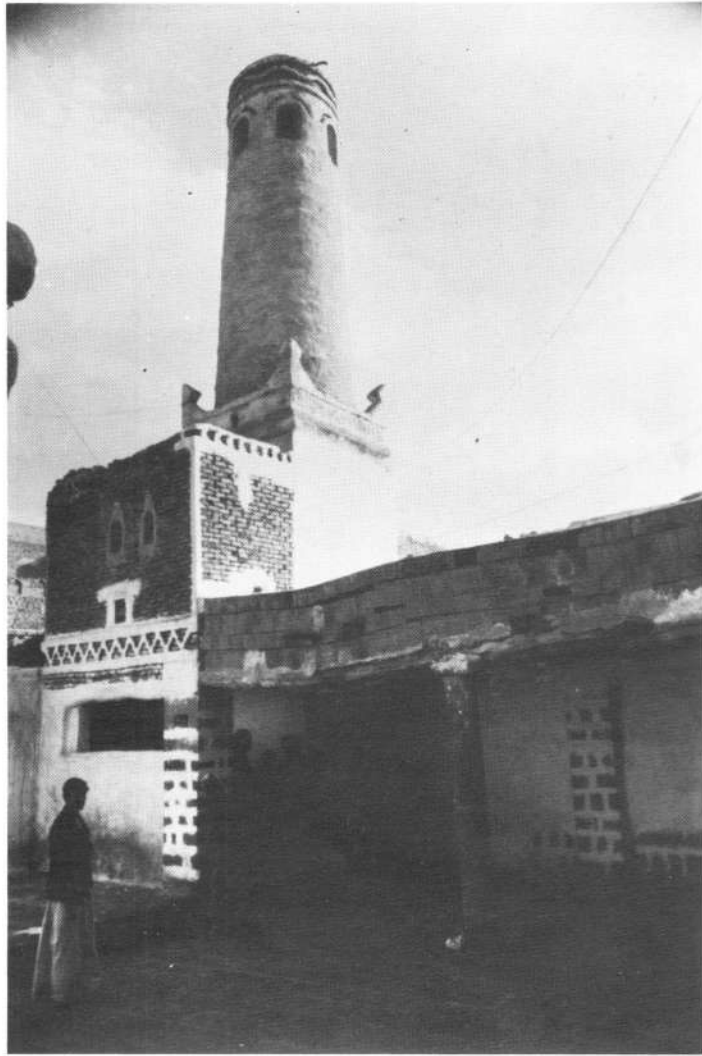
19.55 Mosque of al-Abhar. The courtyard, with the interior arch of the entrance porch in the centre, the ablution pool left and the prayer hall right.



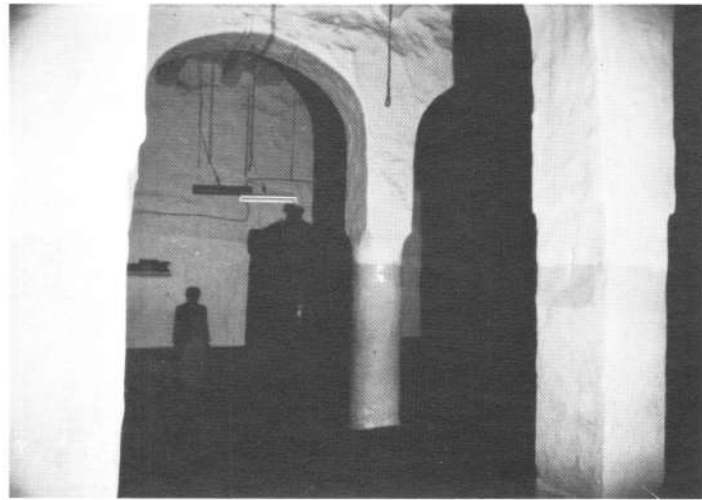
19.57 Mosque of Jamāl al-Dīn. Interior of prayer hall.

than, but with general links to, the slightly earlier minaret of al-Madrasah. The third mosque of Dāwūd near the cattle market, was originally built in the 7th/12th century. It was added to by the Imām al-Mutawakkil Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā in the first half

of the 10th/16th century. It was extensively renovated in the present century, when the minaret was built by al-Ḥājj ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muṭahhar ‘Uqbah, a merchant of Ṣan‘ā’ of the learned ulema family ‘Uqbah of the Banī Bahlūl.



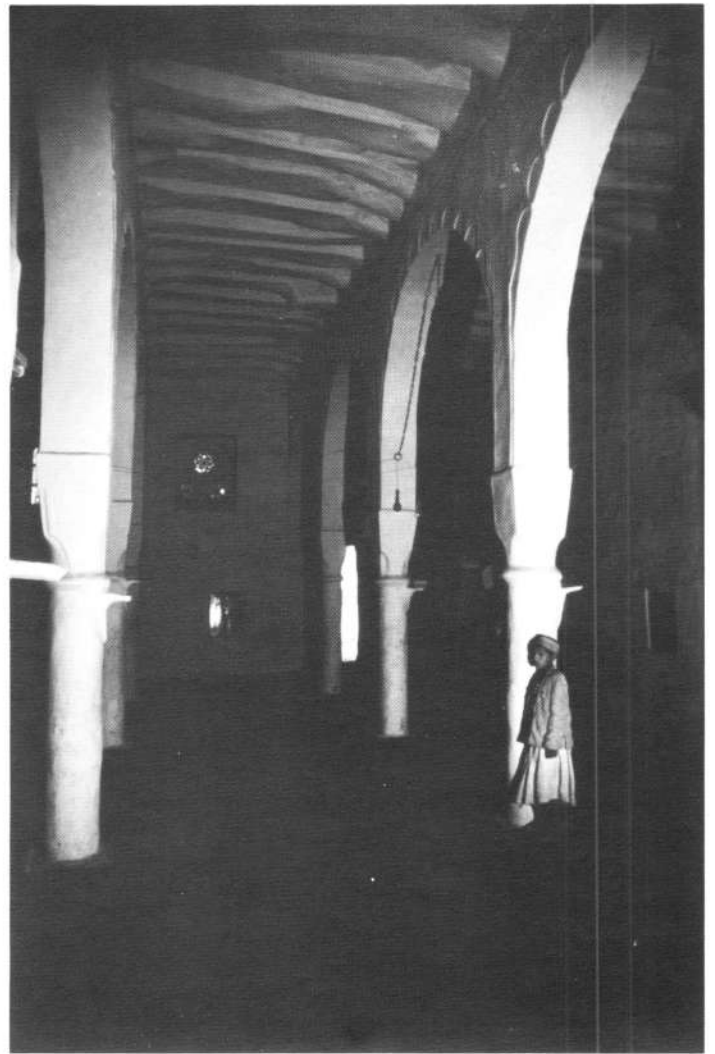
19.58 Mosque of 'Alī. View from the courtyard.



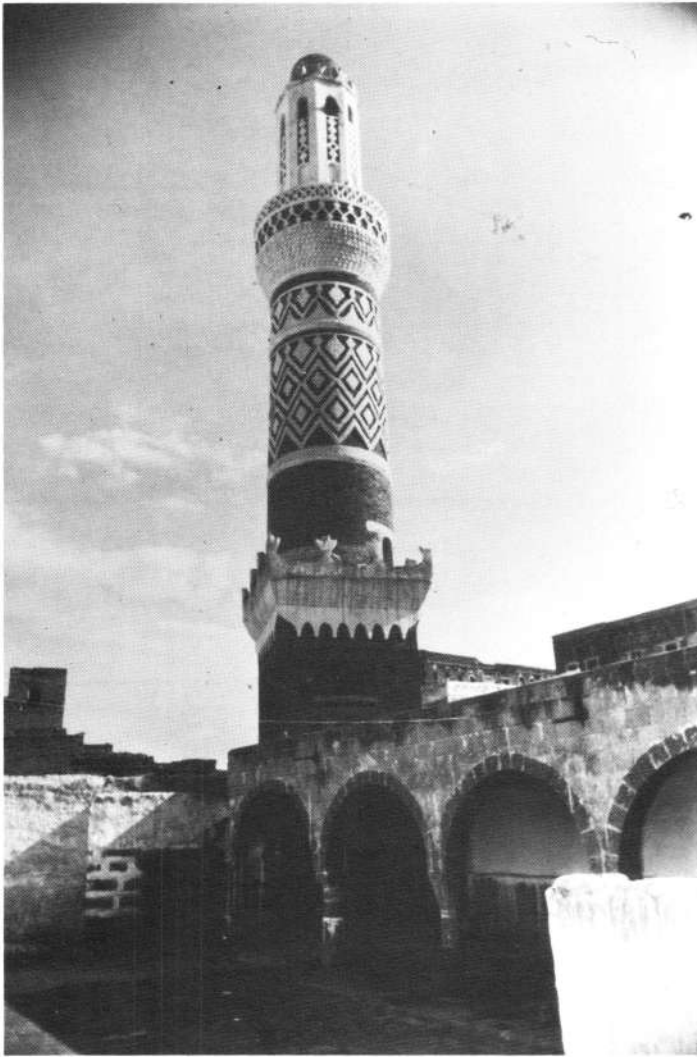
19.59 Mosque of 'Alī. View of the interior looking towards the *qiblah* wall.



19.60 Mosque of Nuṣayr. Exterior of the prayer hall from the courtyard.



19.61 Mosque of Nuṣayr. Interior.



19.62 Mosque of 'Aqil. Courtyard and minaret.

Mosques of the First Ottoman Occupation

The twin mosques of *Janāh* and *al-Madhhab*, which share one minaret, stand on one side of *Sūq al-Milḥ* (fig. 19.6, pls. 7, 17; 19.63-72). The former seems to be an ancient foundation, as its floor and its courtyard are more than a metre lower than the general level of the *sūq*, and also than the level of the other mosque, which was built in the 10th/17th century. Unfortunately its ancient name is not identifiable from the early histories, although it may be the mosque referred to by al-Rāzī, but not named by him, which was 'in the lane of Ghumdān'.⁵² Al-Rāzī says of the latter, that it was founded about 380-90/990-1000, and renovated after the so-called Qarmaṭian occupation by the son or nephew of Yazīd b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥimyārī who 'put the roof over the mosque which it has today.'

The whole of the present mosque belongs to the style which is later than the 5th/11th century. Its earliest parallel in the Yemen is the Rasūlid style of the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries, which it resembles in some respects quite closely.⁵³ The earliest building of its type in Ṣan‘ā’, however, is the tomb at al-Filayḥī mosque, dating apparently from the first half of the 10th/16th century. The name of this mosque is said by al-Ḥajārī to be taken

from Shaykh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Janāh al-Ḍamadī al-Qādirī, who died in 991/1583.⁵⁴ His commemorative stone inscription is inserted in the south wall (pl. 19.70)

The mosque is reached by leaving the *sūq* down a wide passage-way which passes under the minaret. On the left (east) lies the mosque of al-Madhhab, on the right (west) the mosque of Janāh, while directly ahead the passageway opens into an area of public lavatories serving the southern *sūq* as well as the mosques.

A number of archways containing blocked openings are built into the wall separating the passageway from the mosque of Janāh and its arcaded courtyard. The lintels of the openings are now less than a metre above the floor of the passageway. The last arch is higher and through this a door leads to a short flight of steps, down which the visitor descends to the domed walkway surrounding the courtyard, which is now used as a *madrasah*. The ablution area consists of a long room adjoining this to the south.

The courtyard has three domed bays on each arm of the ambulatory surrounding it, giving, together with the corner bays, a total of sixteen domes. Pointed arches front the court. The domes placed over the bays on the northern side are so rectangular in shape that they are approaching groined vaults in form.

The prayer hall is composed of two domed rooms, each with its own *miḥrāb*. The western room is considerably smaller than the eastern one, suggesting that it may be older; the inscription of 991/1583 is built into the outside wall of the larger room. A wide arch links the two domed spaces. A row of twenty-four small arched niches encircles the base of each dome above the double squinch arches at the corners. Some of the former contain shell motifs; the remainder are blank or fitted with tiny tracery patterns of hard gypsum containing coloured glass—they were perhaps once windows.

On the eastern side of the passageway two doors lead into the courtyard of the mosque of al-Madhhab, which is on the same level as the passage. This mosque is ascribed by al-Ḥajārī⁵⁵ to the period of the first Ottoman occupation, but conforms to the pre-Ottoman type in form; five transverse aisles are separated by high circular arched arcades carried on pairs of columns containing some pre-Islamic fragments.

The minaret is unique in several ways. Not only does it straddle the passageway, but it has no balcony for the muezzin—he has to perform the call to prayer from an internal platform through the small window openings. Its dome differs in shape from the high pointed cones of the Janāh mosque alongside.

Qubbat al-Murādiyyah in the citadel (the Qaṣr) (pls. 10 and 11) was built by the governor Murād Pasha in 984/1576, again on the site of an ancient mosque, of which one outside wall remains to the north of the *qubbah*. The minaret was built at the same time.⁵⁶ The dome is of an exaggeratedly parabolic shape, of the same type as those of the Janāh referred to above.

Al-Bakīriyyah mosque was built by the Ottoman governor Ḥasan Pasha; he named it, as well as the public baths built as a *waqf* to support it, which are now called the Ḥammāmāt al-Maydān, after a client (*mawlā*) of his, Bakīr Bey, to whom he was much attached, who was thrown from his horse during cavalry games in Ṣan‘ā’. Ḥasan Pasha built his tomb,⁵⁷ and alongside it the mosque was begun in 1005/1597 (fig. 19.7 and pls. 19.73-81).⁵⁸

The design is so completely Ottoman in style that it seems likely to be the work of a Turk, and may even be based, together with the baths, on drawings prepared in Istanbul. The only possible exceptions are the minaret, which belongs to the eastern tradition of patterned brickwork started in Ṣan‘ā’ as far as we

52 As *Sūq al-Milḥ* lies on the ancient street running from Ghumdān, next to the Great Mosque, to the Qaṣr, it seems more than likely that the Janāh mosque is on the site of the mosque referred to, cf. al-Rāzī, op. cit., 232.

53 Cf. Lewcock, R. B. and Smith, G. R., 'Three medieval mosques in the Yemen', 1 and 2.

54 *Masājid*, 43.

55 Ibid, 99.

56 Ibid, 113-4.

57 Ibid, 17.

58 Loc. cit.

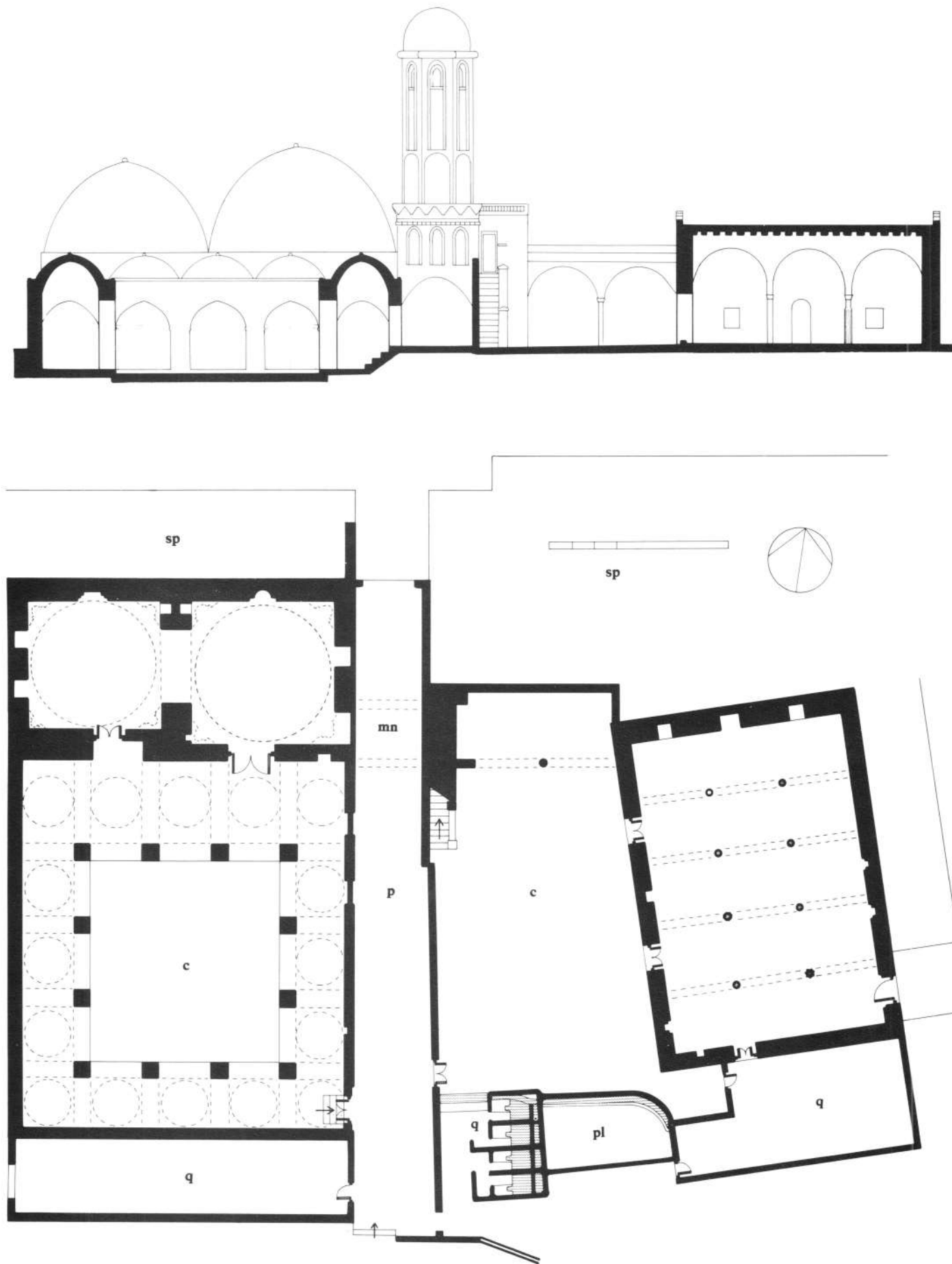
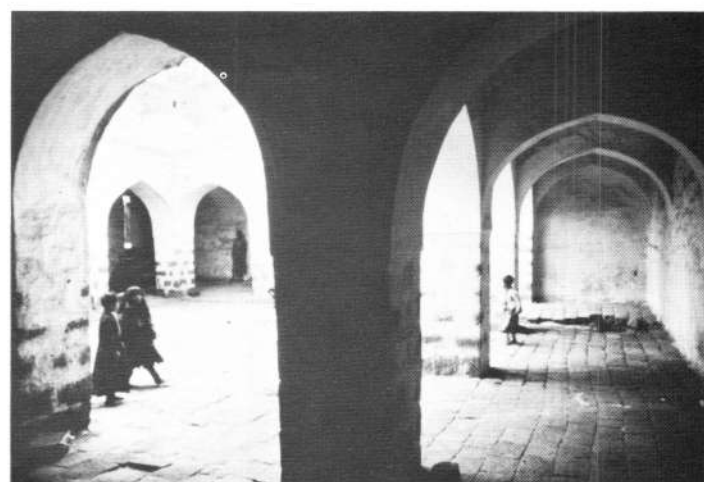


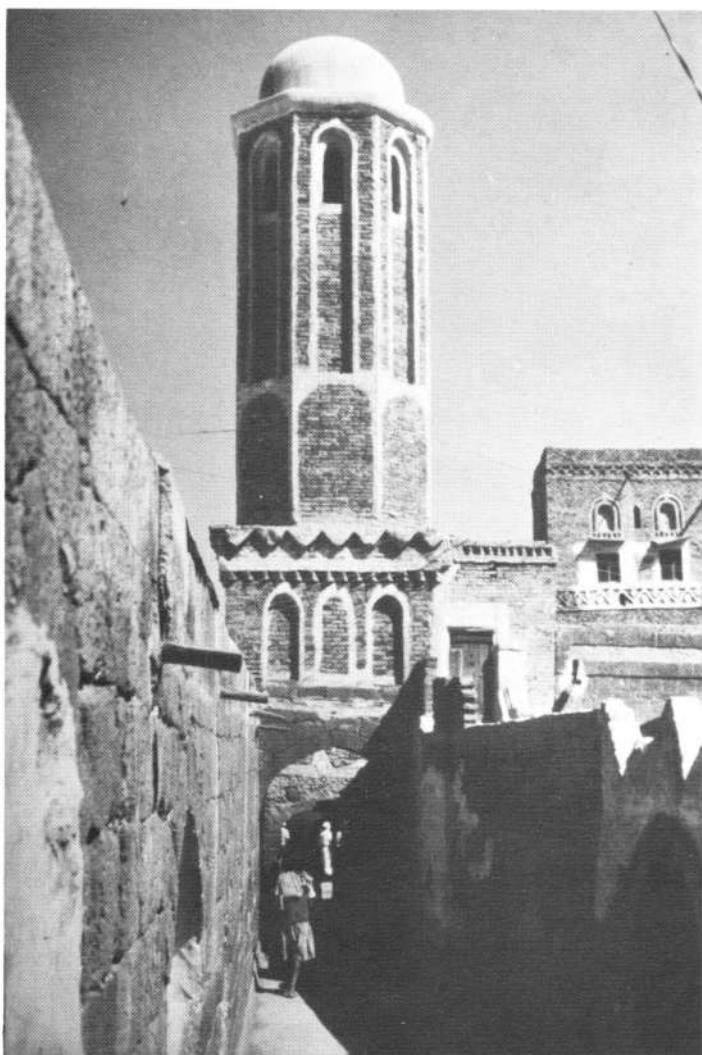
Fig. 19.6 Mosques of Janāh and al-Madhhab. Plan and section, Janāh on the left and al-Madhhab on the right.



19.63 Mosques of Janāh and al-Madhab. Aerial view, looking north. Janāh on the left and al-Madhab on the right.



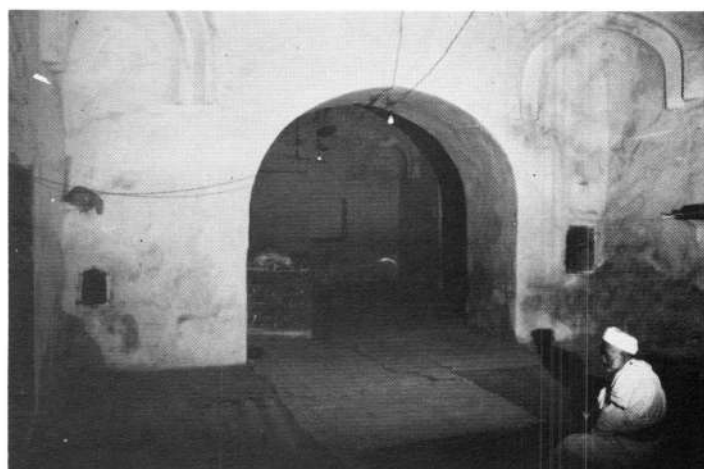
19.65 Mosque of Janāh. The courtyard, with the entrance steps down into it in the left background.



19.64 Mosques of Janāh and al-Madhab. The minaret and the entrance passage between the two mosques, looking north.



19.66 Mosque of Janāh. The courtyard, looking towards the facade of the prayer hall.



19.67 Mosque of Janāh. The eastern domed chamber of the prayer hall, looking across into the western chamber.

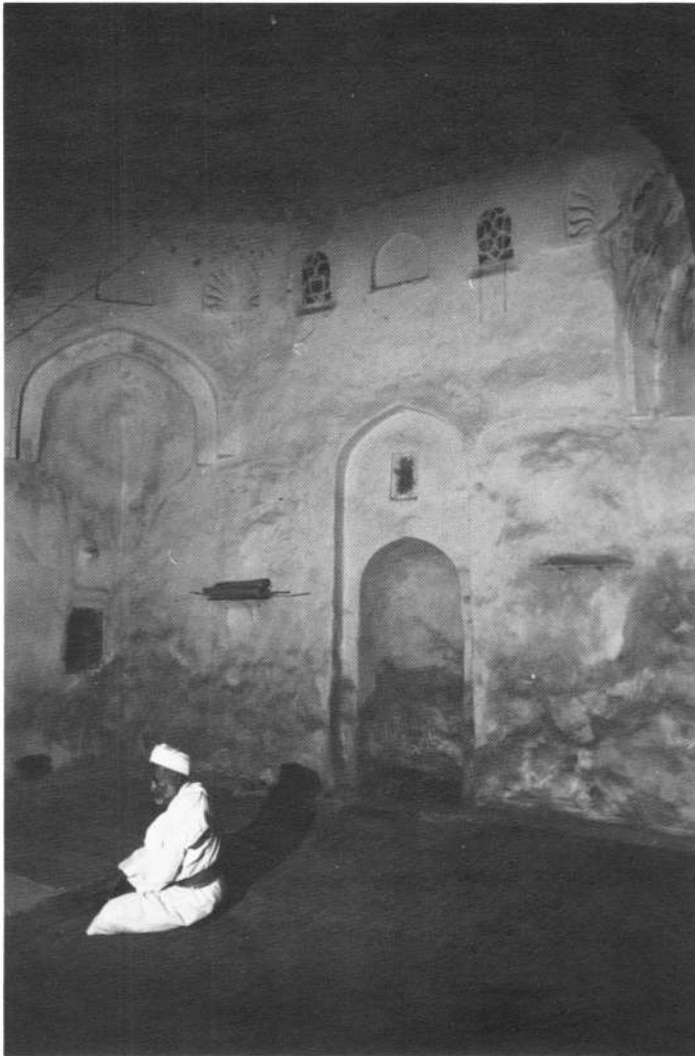
know, at the Madrasah mosque seventy years earlier, and the hot and temperate rooms of the baths, which conform to the Yemeni rather than to the Turkish pattern.

The mosque has a wide square prayer hall roofed with a single dome seventeen metres in diameter, with an annex covered by two smaller domes on the northern side. A third small dome in the north eastern corner is built over the sealed tomb chamber. A porch with three decorated domes fronts the mosque on the south.

The paved forecourt is sixty centimetres below the floor level

of the mosque, and is completely enclosed, on the east by a covered walkway with the minaret behind it, on the south by the ablution block roofed with four domes and fronted by an open-air ablution pool approached up three steps, and on the west by a large domed porch projecting halfway into the court.

Externally, the mosque is reached from the western side, the porch lying centrally between symmetrical, domed rooms added during the second Turkish occupation, probably at the same time as the redecoration of 1298/1880 which is recorded in an inscription in the prayer hall.



19.68 Mosque of Janāh. The eastern domed chamber of the prayer hall.



19.70 Mosque of Janāh. Inscription set into the prayer hall wall on the courtyard side.



19.69 Mosque of Janāh. The western domed chamber of the prayer hall.

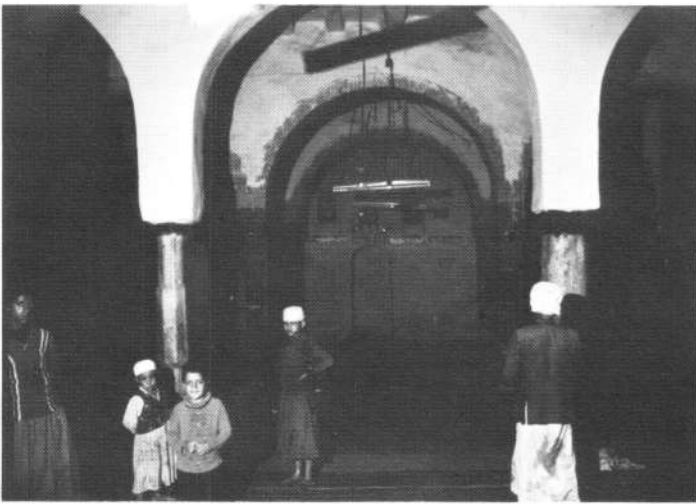


19.71 Mosque of al-Madhab. Courtyard, with the ablution cubicles in the foreground and the mosque in the background.

The external massing of the forms, cubes surmounted by octagons carrying domes, which build up in scale to the dominating mass of the great dome, is reminiscent of the largest mosques in Istanbul, and particularly of the work of the architect Sinān.⁵⁹ There is precedent in Istanbul, too, for the four octagonal turrets at the corners; although in Sinān's mosque of Sulaymān I they are not so clearly visible, in his Sokollu mosque they have become clusters of three, and in his Salīm Mosque at Edirne there are two of them on each corner.

⁵⁹ Sinān died in 996/1588.

The mosque of al-Bakīriyyah has areas of plaster bas-relief decoration on the outside, somewhat more lavishly applied than is normal in contemporary work in Islam. The porch has a row of decorative fleur-de-lis finials against the sky, for which there is precedent in Sinān's decorations of the Şehzade mosque, although it is a prominent feature of the 'Amiriyyah mosque in Radā', 125km south east of Şan'ā', built in 918/1512. There is also decorative patterning in two coloured stones, characteristically Ottoman in type, but also existing a thousand years earlier in



19.72 Mosque of al-Madhab. Interior of the prayer hall, looking towards the qiblah wall.



19.73 Mosque of al-Bakiriyyah. First Ottoman occupation.



19.74 Mosque of al-Bakiriyyah. Courtyard of the mosque.

Ṣan‘ā’, according to descriptions by historians of al-Qalīs church.⁶⁰ Doubtless Byzantine influence played a part in its use in both cases.

The three domes above the porch have fine plaster decorations, the central one being the most elaborate (pl. 19.77). They combine Ottoman motifs with overall geometric patterns of a type that had been used earlier in the Yemen.

The architectural treatment of the interior conforms closely with the ideas of Sinān. Decoration is concentrated around windows, doors, and the large arches of the octagon which rises within the square and the *miḥrāb*. An important exception is the

⁶⁰ See p.45b.

stalactite ornament of the pendentures, a feature used by Sinān to draw attention to the transition from the square plan to the octagon and thence the circle of the dome, a transition which might otherwise pass unnoticed, so cleverly are the columns of the octagon fitted within the square (pl. 19.78). The panel ornaments of *miḥrāb*, doors and windows are again of pure Ottoman type (pl. 19.80). The throne intended for the use of the Turkish governor stands in front of the south wall. From its top, reached up a tiny staircase, the imām of the mosque still leads the prayer (pl. 19.79). Almost identical thrones survive in mosques designed by Sinān, such as the mosque of Çoban Mustafa at

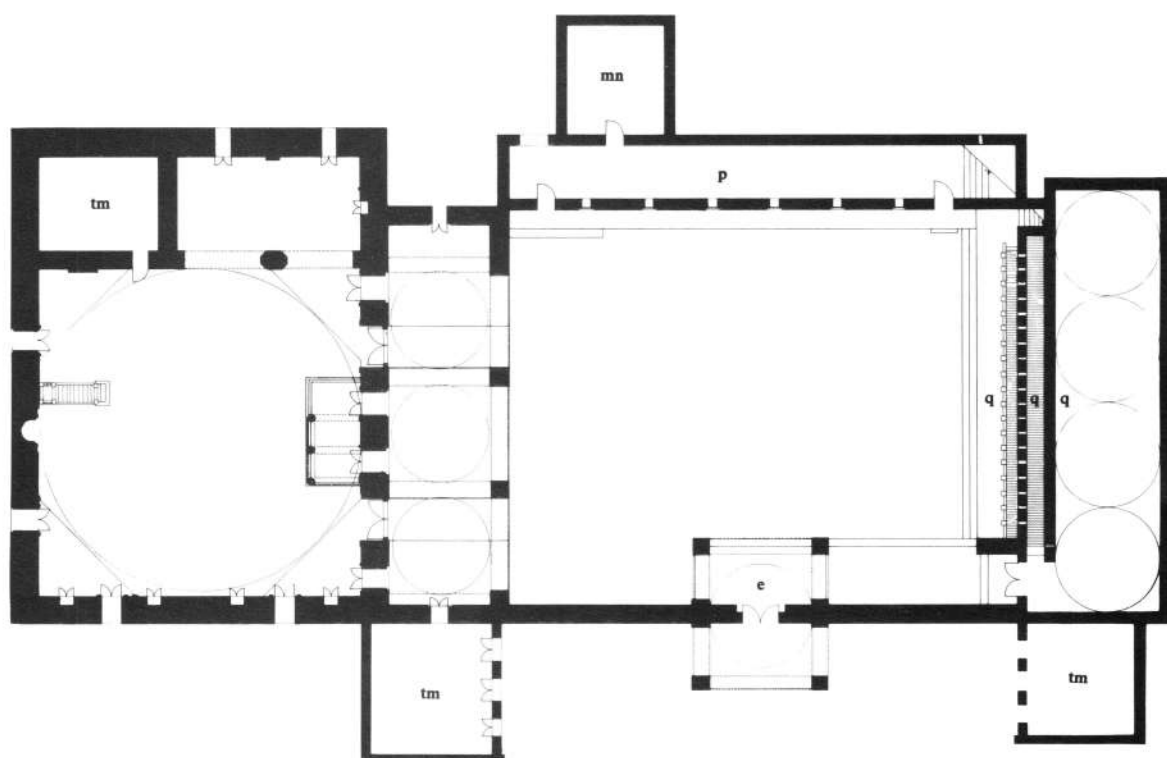
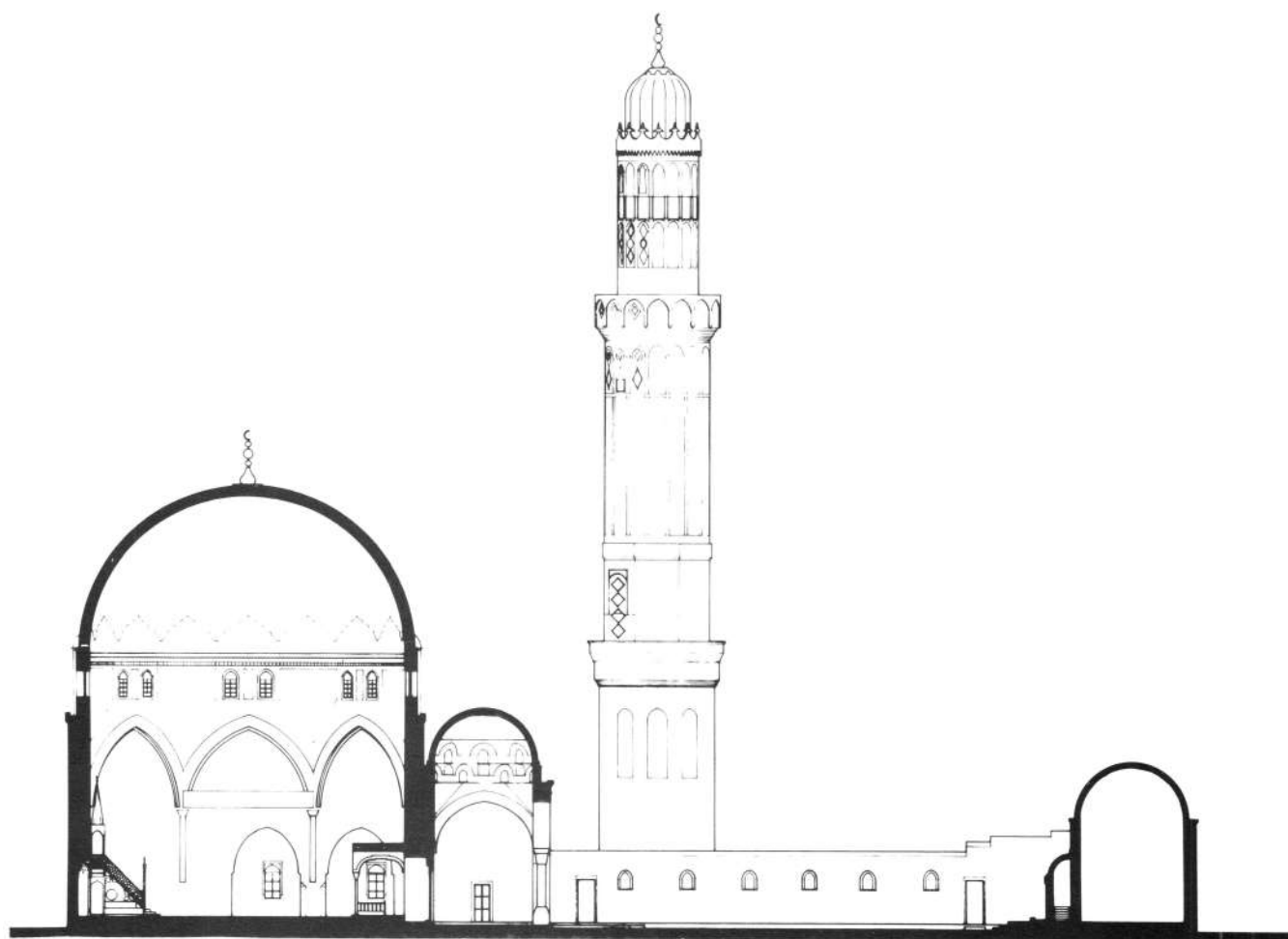
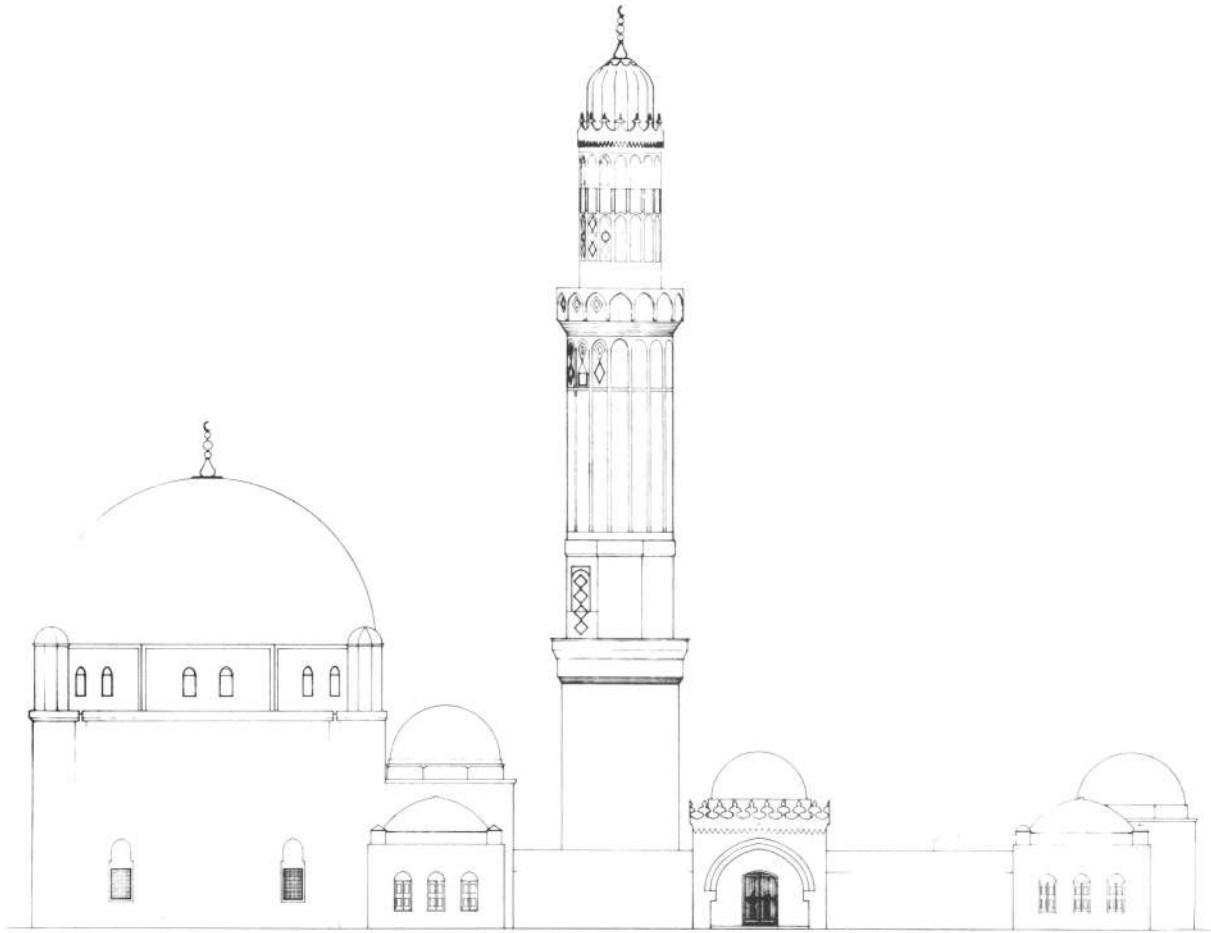


Fig. 19.7 Mosque of al-Bakiriyyah. Plan, elevation and section (see also next page).



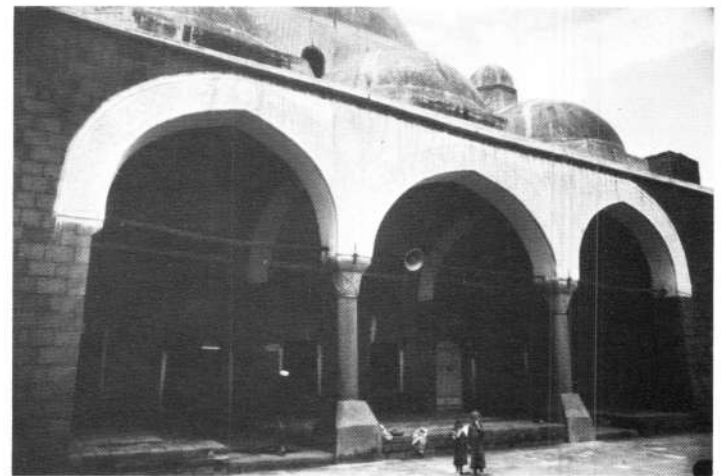
Gebze.⁶¹ The *minbar* is likewise exactly similar to those built in Istanbul at this time.⁶²

Although the minaret conforms to the existing Yemeni type in general character and type of decoration, it has a more austere line and a nobler unity than most of the others, and is conceivably the work of the same Turkish architect. There is no cylindrical shaft; instead the minaret rises from its square base first eight-sided, then sixteen-sided to the sixteen-sided balcony. Above it continues sixteen-sided until it meets the dome which vanishes to a point in sixteen flutes. There is some structural evidence that the minaret was built later than the eastern wall of the courtyard.

The history of the fine *Qubbat Ṭalḥah* is confused (fig. 19.8; pls. 2,32, and pls. 19.82-85). According to al-Ḥajārī⁶³ it was an ancient mosque which remained small for many centuries. It was then enlarged and its minaret was built by the Ottoman governor Muḥammad Pāshā in 1029/1619-20. He furnished the mosque with precious carpets. There is then a gap in the record of its history until 1247/1831-2, when the Imām al-Mahdī ‘Abdullāh b. al-Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad renovated or partly rebuilt it, a fact recorded on an inscription added to the interior south wall of the prayer-hall.⁶⁴

The mosque consists of a domed prayer hall of the same type as at al-Bakīriyyah, but without the side annexes. It is fronted on the western side by a two-arched porch with four domes. The arches in this case are semi-circular, and the doors, windows, and internal furnishings differ in design from al-Bakīriyyah type.

Externally the resemblance between the two prayer halls is quite strong, *Qubbat Ṭalḥah* having a dome of the same shape,



19.75 Mosque of al-Bakīriyyah. The arcaded porch fronting the prayer hall.

with similar octagonal turrets at the corners. As in al-Bakīriyyah the minaret is in the traditional Yemeni style. In this case, however, it does not appear to have been the work of the same architect as the *qubbah*, nor to have been integrated into its design. For although the minaret touches the prayer hall eastern wall, the latter is slightly higher, and the stonework is quite different, that of the minaret being horizontally striped, by building alternate courses of light and dark stone, while the wall of the prayer hall is plain. The proportions of the minaret are also strange, the base being unusually high and the polygonal stage and the main cylindrical shaft above very squat.

61 Cf. Aslanapa, O, op. cit., p. 218.

62 Al-Ḥajārī, however, claims that the *minbar* was a part of the redecoration ordered by Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd during the second Ottoman occupation, in 1298/1880-1. Al-Ḥajārī further mentions that Turkish (Rūmī) carpets were

added at this time. (*Masājid*, 17; *A‘immat al-Yaman*, (2), I, 14.)

63 *Masājid*, 68.

64 Al-Ḥajārī deciphered it as it ‘made a useful addition to it and made it a dome,’ but this is not consistent with the evidence given below, in particular that of the style of the windows.



19.76 Mosque of al-Bakiriyyah. The ablution block.

Accepting that the minaret was not built at the same time as the prayer hall, it seems likely that the minaret was built first, as al-Ḥajārī suggests, and that later the height of the lower parts was raised by casing the original structure, to bring the square base to the height of the prayer hall. The date of the erection of the domed main building is unknown, but it has a number of architectural features which suggest an 11th/17th century attribution (see below).

Nothing remains of the earliest mosque, nor of the enlargement made to it when the minaret was built in 1029/1619-20, although the open-air ablutions, the covered ablutions, the well-ramp (*mirna'*) and the poor lodgings above it may date from before this period.

Externally the prayer hall has fine decorative plasterwork on the dome and octagonal turrets, the dome appears to have been pierced originally with four rows of small openings to let in top light, which would have created a most beautiful and unusual effect. A high brass finial with a crescent surmounts the dome; another, carrying a ring, crowns the minaret.

Four pairs of doors with two different decorative patterns give access to the interior. All seem to have been meant to have protecting porches, but that on the south no longer exists, if it was ever built. The doors are internally exceptionally well decorated,

and set in deep recesses so that, when open, the exterior decorations of the door faces line the reveals. A single step leads up onto the praying floor of the mosque. Internally, equally splendid panelled window shutters and cupboard doors are set in wide decorative frames.

The design of the *minbar* is unusual in being recessed into the wall thickness. A flight of steps rises internally from the easternmost doors to the high doors to the right of the *mihrāb* (pl. 19.85).

The *mihrāb* has a particularly fine design (pl. 19.86) resembling in its upper part that of the mosque of al-Madrasah.

The high windows in the drum of the dome are quite unusual in Şan'ā' in the strictly geometric design of their tracery, based on pure circles, and also in the careful harmony of colours, ranging from honey-coloured to dark orange (pl. 19.85). They are reminiscent of Ottoman work in Istanbul and Cairo.⁶⁵

Later Mosques

After the Ottoman conquest there was a return to a taste for simpler mosques, with transverse arcades, usually with scalloped ornaments, carrying flat roofs supported on beams. Tombs, however, were roofed with domes, and these frequently bore evidence of influence from the surviving Ottoman buildings. In

⁶⁵ E.g. in Istanbul, Üsküdar, Yeni Valide Mosque, lower windows 1012/1603, and Cairo, Mosque of Sinān Pasha 989/1581 and Mosque of Malike Safiye 1019/1619.



19.77 Mosque of al-Bakīriyyah. Interior of a dome in the porch of the prayer hall.

several cases the entire mosque was conceived in forms derived from al-Bakīriyyah.

The *mosque and qubbah of al-Mutawakkil* were built in two stages. The original building, to the east, was built by the Imām al-Mutawakkil ‘ala Allāh al-Qāsim in 1139/1726-7,⁶⁶ and served both as his tomb chamber containing his tomb, and as the mosque (pl. 35; 19.87-90). The upper walls of the interior, the pendentives and the *mihrāb* are richly decorated in calligraphy and patterning of generally good quality, although already there are some hints of decline. The doors, shutters and cupboard are relatively unembellished. The tomb is surrounded by a splendidly carved wooden screen which shields it from the rest of the prayer space.

This original building has its own forecourt, with an arcade on one side, through which one passes to the forecourt of the second building, a grander prayer hall built in the 14th/20th century. This has a large central dome standing on four piers linked by wide arches, surrounded by eight slightly smaller domes, making a most impressive ensemble externally. It has a *minbar* of the Ṭalḥah mosque type, and a vigorous treatment of the *mihrāb* below the quality of that in the neighbouring tomb.

There was an architect for the Mosque of al-Mutawakkil in

Ṣan‘ā’ when it was built in ca. 1936. He was the *muhandis* al-Ḥaymī. But he made the plans directly on the earth and there were no drawings or models.

The *Qubbat al-Mahdī ‘Abbās* was built by the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh al-‘Abbās in 1164/1750-51.⁶⁷ It is in external form close to the main volume of al-Bakīriyyah, though with an asymmetrical court and without a porch or portico. There is a fine minaret derived from al-Bakīriyyah but lacking its tautness in design (pl. 8).

Internally, the plaster surfaces are relatively plain; there is no great octagon supporting the dome, which instead rises straight from plain pendentures, as it does in Qubbat Ṭalḥah, but the woodwork of doors, windows and shutters is splendidly decorated (pls. 33, 34). The *minbar* is built within the wall as it is in Qubbat Ṭalḥah.

The separate domed tomb of the Imām was apparently built before his death in 1189/1775-6. The interior is relatively plain, presumably to set off the magnificent tomb (pls. 36, 37). The wide range of decoration on this tomb is paralleled by door, shutter and cupboard designs in the palaces and houses of Ṣan‘ā’ from this time, but its perfect state of preservation allows a much clearer idea of the quality of craftsmanship and finish. Opposite

⁶⁶ *Masājid*, 91-2.

⁶⁷ Testified by a chronogram quoted by al-Ḥajārī, op. cit., 70.



19.78 Mosque of al-Bakīriyyah. The interior of the prayer hall.



19.79 Mosque of al-Bakīriyyah. The interior, with the *dakkah*, or raised *diwān*, against the rear wall.

the Imām's tomb is that of one of his wives, a traditional tomb which is strangely moving in the simplicity of its worn boulders (pl. 19.95).

The extension of *al-Abhar mosque* by the Imām al-Manşūr al-Ḥusayn in 1171/1757-8 conformed to the original medieval design. His domed tomb chamber is richly decorated, but already there are signs of decadence in the undisciplined extravagance

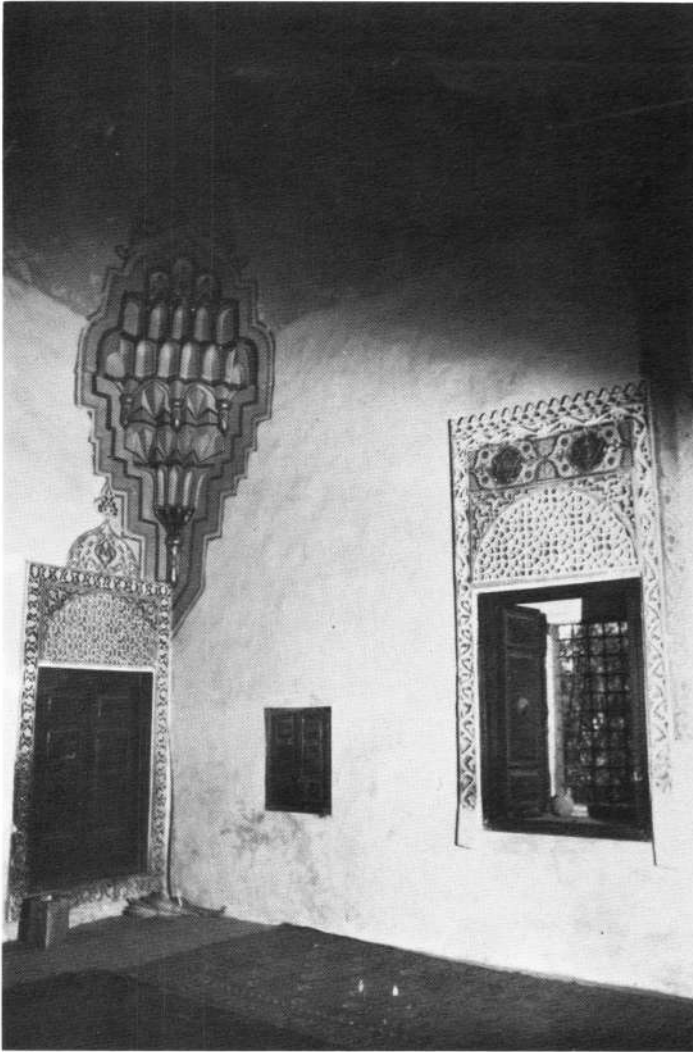


19.80 Mosque of al-Bakīriyyah. The interior, looking out through a doorway into the courtyard.

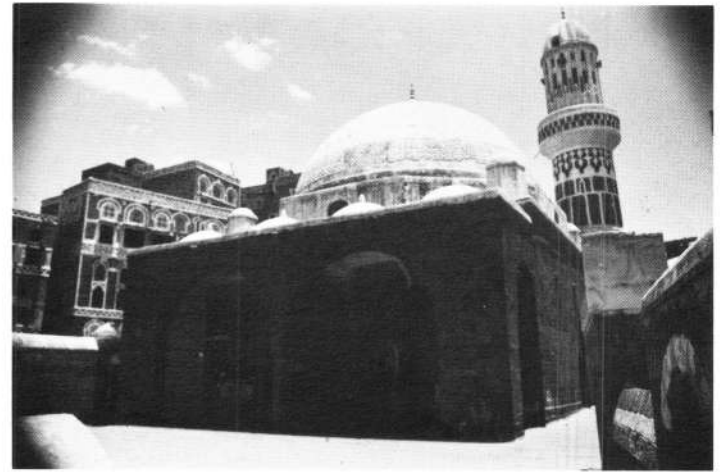
and even crudity of the designs. The tomb itself, although less well-preserved, is apparently the precursor of that of al-Mahdī al-'Abbās (pl. 19.94).

In later mosques decoration tends to rely more on bright colour than on refinement of pattern. Bas-relief decoration disappears entirely from such late mosques as that of the Bāb al-Qā', in which the garrison used to pray, the *mihrāb* being simply ornamented with a painted calligraphic surround in royal blue, silver and gold. Ornament of a folk-art type, incorporating flowers and birds in strong expressive conventionalized drawing, begins to make its appearance in late mosques, along with bright colouring; this appears to be an aftermath of the second occupation by the Turks, and an indication of the breakdown of traditional culture and tastes (e.g. the repainting of the Mosque of Ibn al-Ḥusayn in 1355/1936-7, pl. 38), although this bold folk decoration has its own appeal.

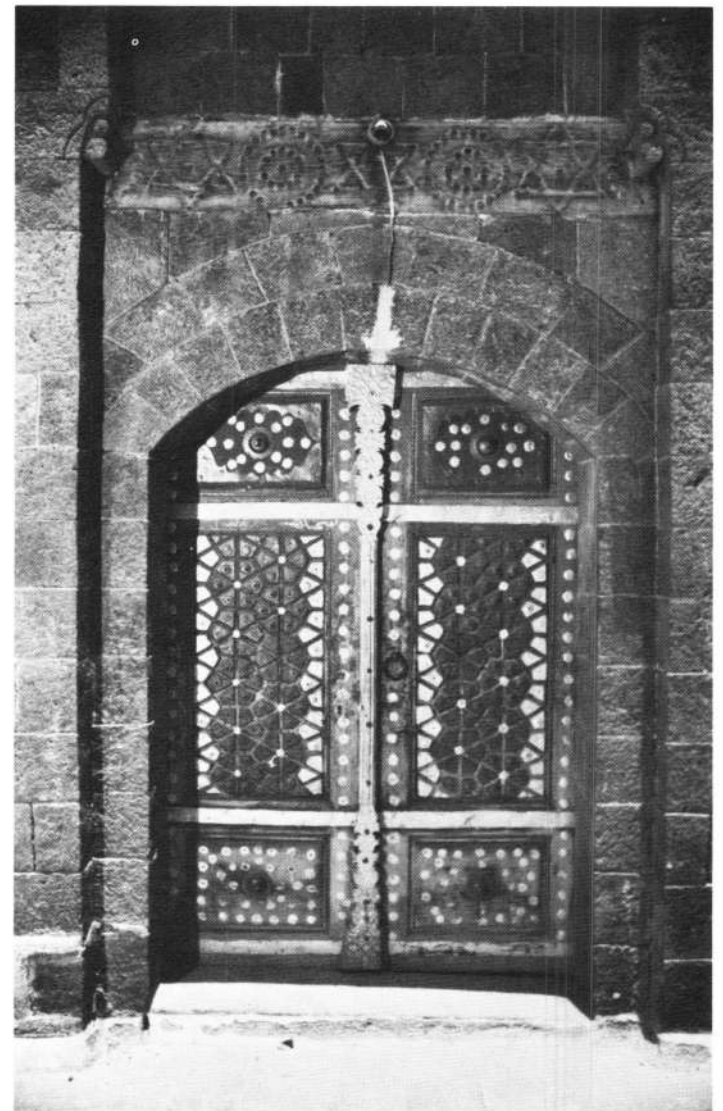
The continuing interest in the embellishment of mosques in Şan'ā' is evidenced both by the way in which fine new minarets have been added within living memory (Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 1355/1936-7), and by the way in which old minarets have been doubled in height and much richer ornament added (the minaret of al-Zumur, originally built 1205/1790-1, heightened ca. 1365/1945 pl. 19.96). Some old minarets which retained unpainted brick patterns have recently had the pattern picked out and emphasized in whitewash. The Mosque of Mūsā, an 8th/14th century mosque to which a splendid high minaret was added by the Imām al-Manşūr al-Ḥusayn in 1160/1747-8, was redecorated and the minaret repainted in 1393/1973. The great change this brought



19.81 Mosque of al-Bakīriyyah. A window.



19.82 Qubbat Talḥah. The prayer hall.



19.83 Qubbat Talḥah. Doorway on the southern side. Exterior.

to one of the major monuments of the city may be judged by comparing the visual effect of the minaret before (pl. 54) and after repainting (pl. 19).

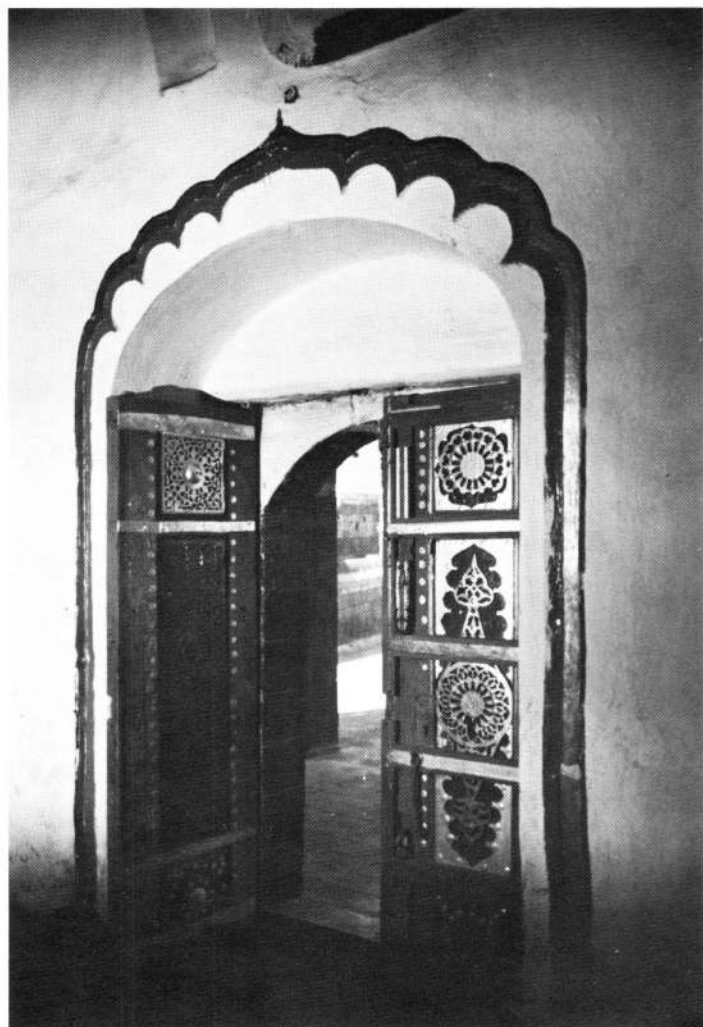
Besides a number of new mosques, generally small and undistinguished, which were built in the newer quarters of Şan'ā' in the 13th/19th and 14th/20th centuries, there are two recently erected reinforced concrete mosques designed by foreigners. These introduce a jarring note, but their minarets are fortunately well hidden from the skyline of the old city.

List of Şan'ā' Mosques

The numbers in brackets refer to al-Ḥajarī, *Masājid Şan'ā'*

al-Abzar (3)
Ibn al-Ḥusayn (4)
al-Abhar (5)
al-Abyaḍayn (6)
Ibn al-Rajā' (7)
Abu 'l-Rūm (7)
Abu 'l-Sahl (8)
Abū Shamlah (9)
al-Akhḍar (9)
Izdamur/Zumur (14)
Qubbat Iskandar (14)
Bāb al-Qā' (16)
al-Badawī (16)
Baghalān (16), ruined

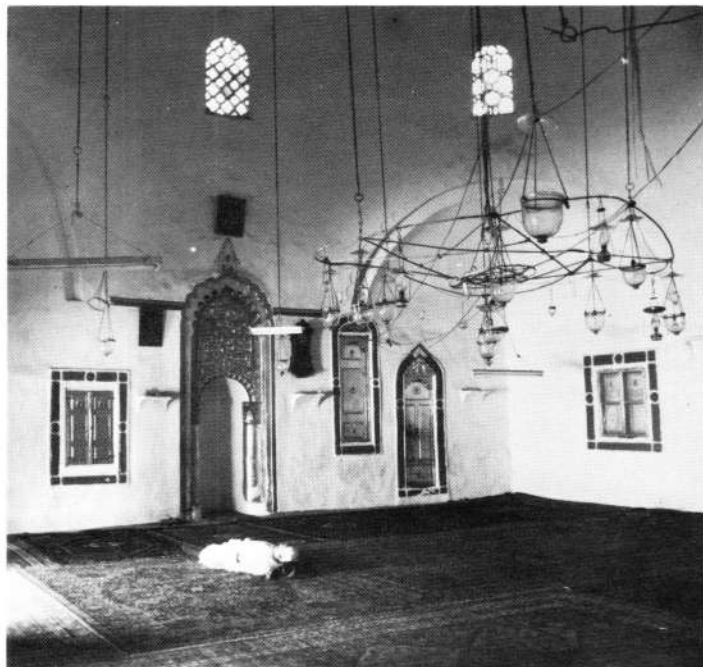
Qubbat al-Bakīriyyah (17)
al-Bilaylī (21)
al-Bahmah (22)
al-Taqwā (22)
Tawfiq (23)
al-Jāriyah (23)
Jāmi' Şan'ā' al-Kabīr al-Muqaddas (23)
Jabbānat Şan'ā' (39)



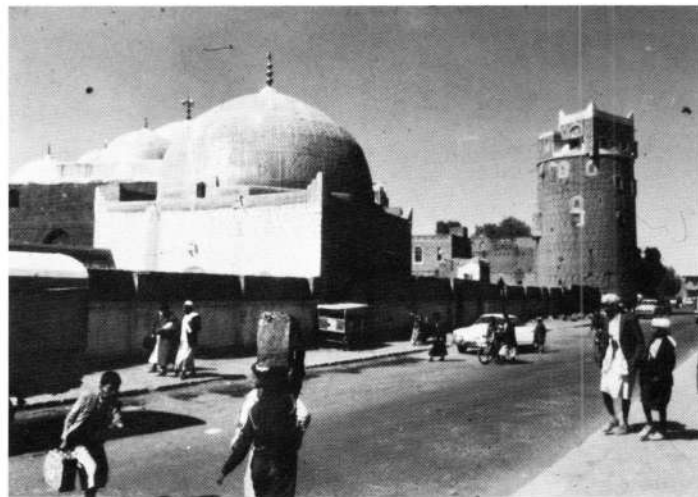
19.84 Qubbat Talhah. Doorway. Interior.



19.86 Qubbat Talhah. The qiblah wall, with the mihrab.



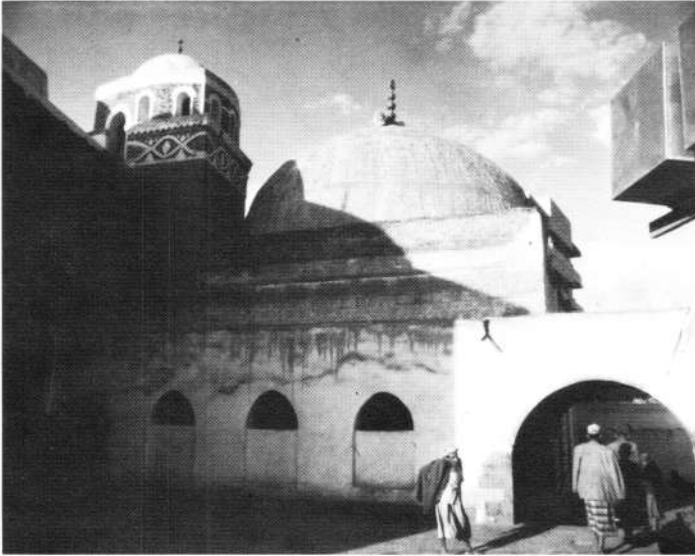
19.85 Qubbat Talhah. The prayer hall.



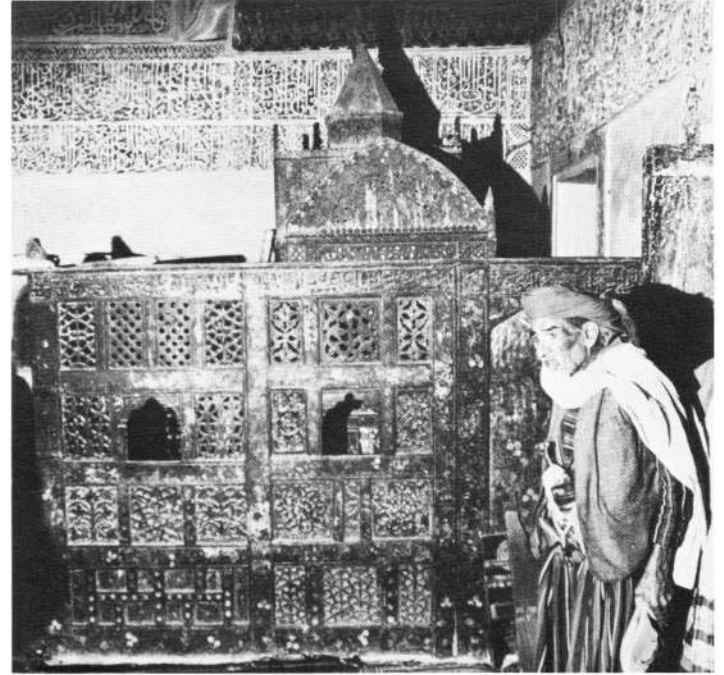
19.87 Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. Exterior.

al-Jadīd (41)
al-Jalā (42)
Jamāl al-Dīn (42)
Janāḥ (42)

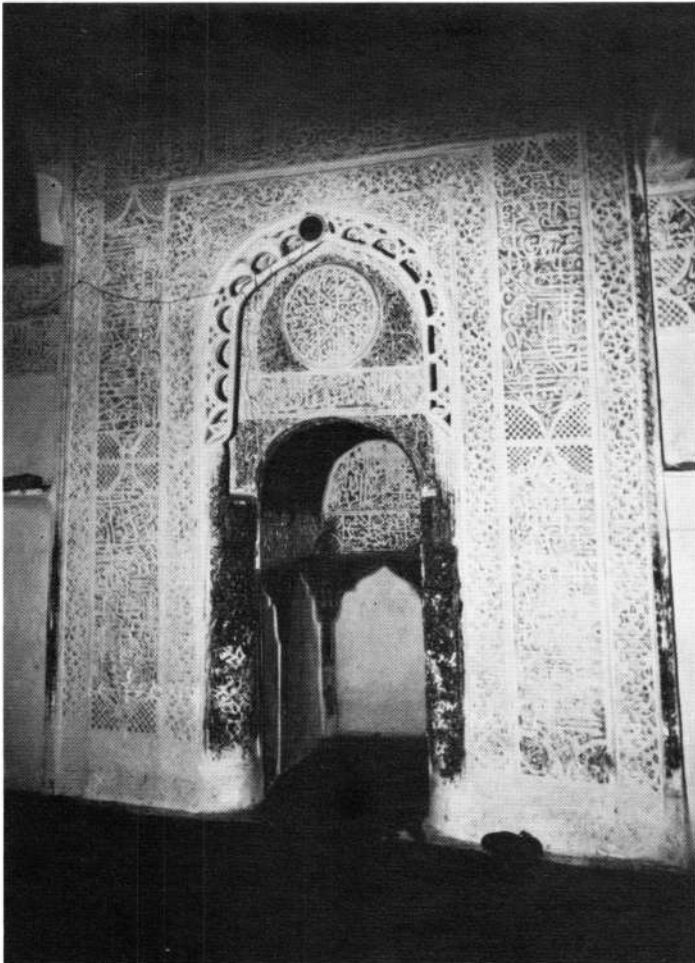
Ḥajar (43)
al-Ḥurqān (48)
al-Ḥumaydī (48)
Ḥanḥāl (49)
al-Ḥaymī (50)
al-Khāwī (50), ruined
al-Kharrāz (51)
Dāwūd (51)
al-Dahīnah/Duhaynah (52), ruined
al-Raḥabī (52)



19.88 Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. Courtyard.



19.90 Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. Entrance and tomb.



19.89 Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. *Mihrāb*.



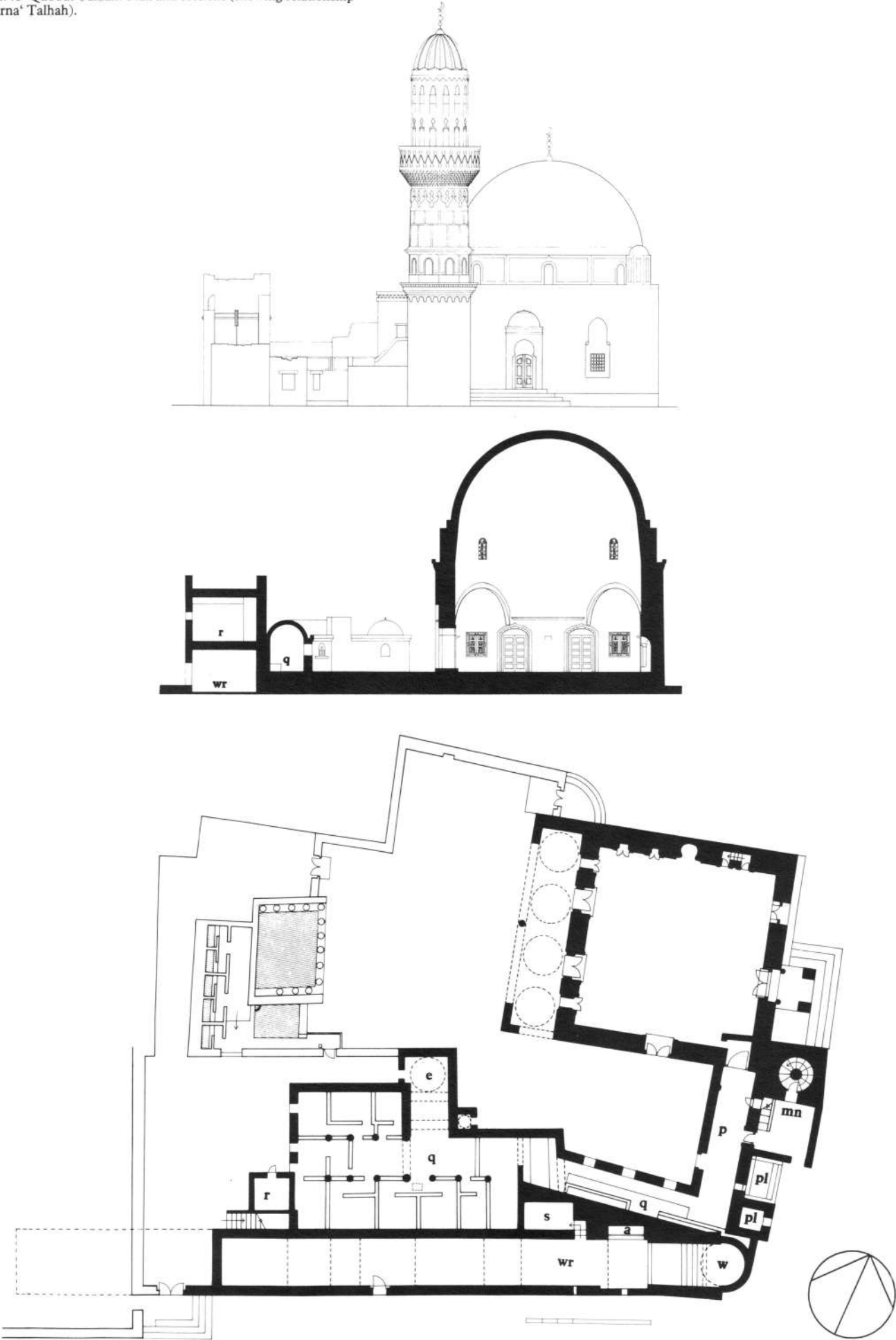
19.91 Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās. Exterior.

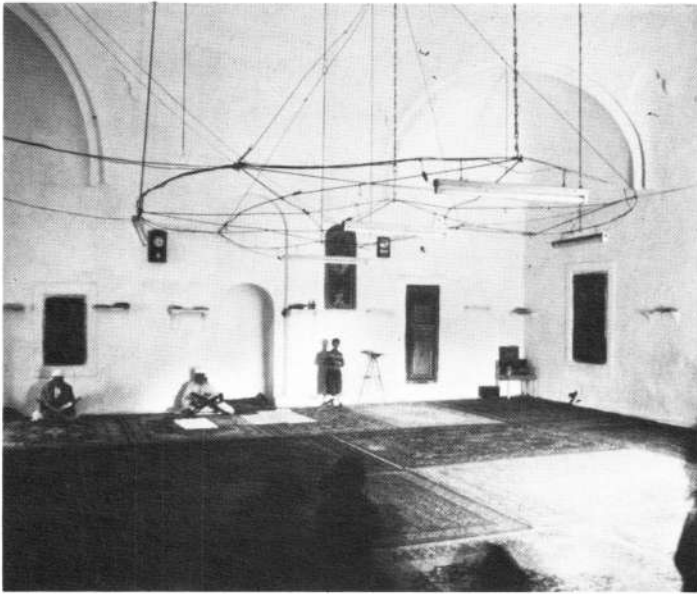


19.92 Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās. Ablution building, interior view.

al-Ruḍwān (52)
 al-Rummānah (53), ruined
 al-Zubayr (53), ruined
 al-Sa'dī (53)
 al-Shāhid (58)
 al-Sharīfah (58)
 al-Shahīdayn (59)
 al-Ṣuffah (60), ruined
 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (61)
 al-Ṣayyād (62)

Fig. 19.8 Qubbat Talhah. Plan and sections (showing relationship to Mirna' Talhah).





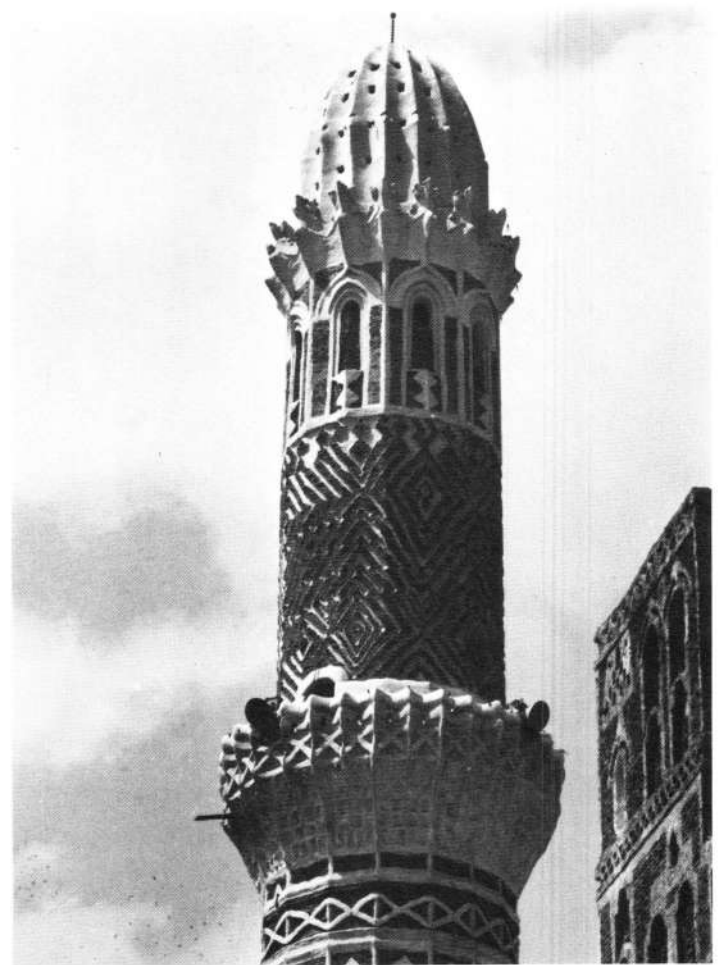
19.93 Qubbat al-Mahdi ‘Abbās. Interior of the prayer hall.



19.95 Qubbat al-Mahdi ‘Abbās. The small tomb alongside that of al-Mahdi ‘Abbās.



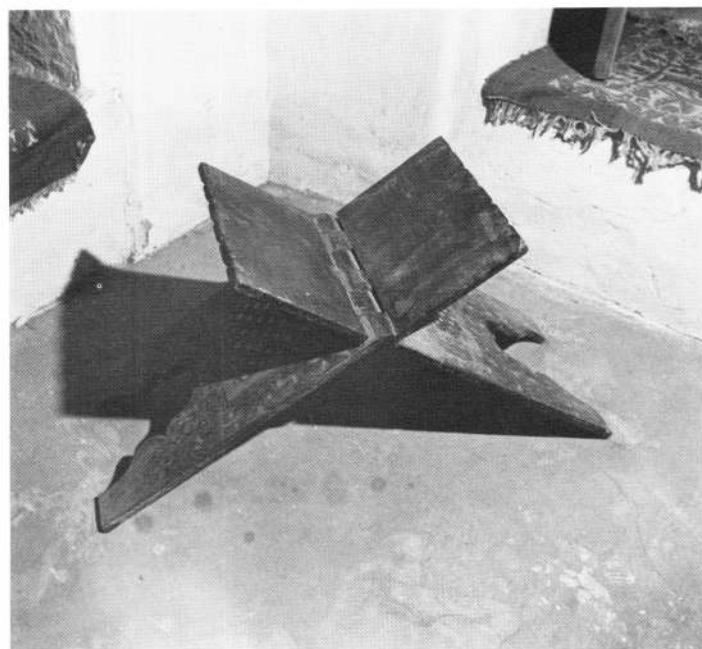
19.94 Mosque of al-Abhar. Tomb in the *qubba* adjoining the prayer hall.



19.96 Mosque of al-Zumur. Upper part of minaret.

al-Ḍabbī (66)
 al-Ṭāq (66)
 al-Ṭawūs (66)
 Ṭalḥah (68)
 al-Ṭawāshī (69)
 Qubbat al-Imām al-Mahdi ‘Abbās (70)
 ‘Addil (70)
 al-‘Urḍī (82)
 al-‘Urḍī al-Jadīd al-Difā‘ī (83)

‘Aqīl (83)
 ‘Ukāshah (84), ruined
 al-‘Alamī (84)
 ‘Alī (86)
 ‘Iyāḍ (86)
 Ghuzl al-Bāsh (87)
 al-Fāl (87)
 Fāyī‘ (87)
 Farwah b. Musayk (89)



19.97 Stand (*kursiyy*) for holding the Qur‘ān.

al-Filayhī (90)
Qārish (91)
Qubbat al-Mutawakkil Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (91)
al-Qāsimī (92)
al-Qāḍī (93)
al-Qaṣr (93)
al-Quḍāt (93)
Quṭayb (94), (voc. uncertain), ruined.
al-Qilāb (94), (Qallāb?, uncertain), ruined.
al-Kubbānī (94)
al-Ka‘bī (95), (voc. uncertain), ruined
al-Maḥāmid (95)
Maḥmūd (95)
al-Madrasah (96)
al-Madhhab (99)
al-Murādiyyah (113)
al-Mustashfā (114)
Ma‘ād (114)
Mu‘āwiyah (114), ruined
Mu‘īd (114), ruined
al-Maftūn (115)
al-Muqaddam (115), ruined
al-Malbadī (115), (?voc.), ruined
al-Muntaqim (115), ruined

Locations of 8 forgotten mosques given in al-Ḥajarī, pp. 115-6.

Mūsā (121)
al-Nizaylī/Nuzaylī (122)
Nuṣayr (122)
Nuqum (123)
al-Nahrayn (125)
Nūḥ (125)
al-Nūr (126)
al-Ḥādī Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil (126)
al-Ḥādī Yahyā (126)
al-Washālī/Wushālī (127)
al-W ḍ ḥ ī (129)

Wahb (b. Munabbih) (129)
Qubbat al-Imām Yahyā (130)
al-Ruqaymī (136)

The following *Masājīd Mansiyyah* (forgotten) are mentioned (136 seq.).

Mirjān near Masjid Mūsā. Masjid al-Nisā’ (*Miswaddah*) in the direction of the Maydān. al-Naqawī (*Miswaddah*) in Ṭubūl-Khānah mid 4th century H. (Rāzī). al-Najjār (*Miswaddah Sinān*). al-Nujaym (*Miswaddah*). Hind Bint Quṭrān (ditto). Ya‘īsh (ditto). Al-Ghiyāth (*Miswaddah*) in the direction of Ḥabs al-Dimm an 8th century mosque. Qubbat al-Fā‘iq (*Miswaddah*). Masjid Ruzayq. Masjid Sinān.

Rāzī mentions (*Masājīd*, id, 139), M. Ma‘n b. Zā‘idah, repaired in 407/1016-17, ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr where biers are prayed over, Bīr al-‘Azab, Ibn Yazīd unknown place, al-Ṣayāqil, M. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Barmakī, in a place known in Rāzī’s day as Sūq al-Lasāsīn, M. Ibn Miqdām Ismā‘īl b. Sh rūṣ, M. al-Amīr al-Baghdādī.

Miswaddah Sinān mentions now forgotten mosques: M. Ḥimyar in Ḥārat al-Filayhī lying between al-Filayhī and Dāwūd mosques, Qubbat Bilāl at Bāb al-Yaman, al-Tubshī‘ah in Ḥārat al-Washālī, al-Jilānī, al-Ribāṭ west of M. Mūsā, Ribāṭ al-Qindī west of the Maydān, al-Raṣāṣ in Ḥārat al-Ḥumaydī and another Raṣāṣ (same name) elsewhere. M. Sāsān seemingly near the Zabārah Quarter, al-Sākit in Ḥāfat Ḥammām Saba’, al-Ṣūfī, Ḥārat al-Kharrāz, al-Ṭāb, Qubbat ‘Abidīn in the Sūq north of al-Jāmi‘, the ‘Abidīn well still west of Sūq al-Ḥalaqah, M. al-‘Amūdī (a well known Ḥaḍramī family of *faqīhs*), al-Qufaylī in Ḥārat al-Nahrayn south of the Waqf Court (*ḥawīyy*), al-Qayyim, Muḥyi ‘l-Dīn, al-Naqīs/Nuqays in Ḥārat Masjid al-Kharrāz in Darb al-Jawfī, al-Nūrayn in Ḥāfat al-Ṭawāshī.

These names are in themselves of some interest and further investigation of their history and possible location might bring some results.

Some Technical Terms Relating to Mosques

Barīkah/barīk, ablution pool open to the sky.

Bawwābah, = *madkhal al-masjid*, entrance.

Taqdimah, portico in front of a building.

Ḥāyī, garden (of mosque).

Ḥawīyy(ah) (pl., *ḥawāyā*), court.

Dāyir = *dawwār*.

Dawwār, balcony of minaret, *a‘lā wa-asfal*, upper and lower.

Zuwwah = *qurnah*, internal corner of room.

Ṣawḥ(ah) (pl., *aṣwāḥ*), court of mosque = *ṣarḥ* or *shamsiyyah*.

Ṣawma‘ah (pl., *ṣawāmi‘*), minaret.

Mu‘akkkhar, southern hall of mosque.⁶⁸

Muttakhidhah = *miḥār*, ablution-place.

Majnab = *janāḥ*, wing.

Mishrāq = *madkhal al-bāb al-sharqī*, eastern entrance. This word, from *Masājīd*, 69, does not seem in general use today.

Masfā (pl., *maṣāfi*), foot-pool. See p. 318, n. 93.

Maqṣūrah, an enclosure made within a mosque in some appropriate place where one can pray at night or in winter and which can be lit without having to light up the whole mosque.

Miḥār (*maṭāhir/maṭāhir*), ablution place.

Muqaddam, northern hall of a mosque.

Mamshā (pl., *mamāshī*), ablution place, = *miḥār/muttakhidhah*.

Miḍār (pl., *mayāḍīr*), ablution place.

68 K. A. C. Creswell, ‘Origin of the concave *miḥrāb*’, *Proc. of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi, Jan. 4-10, 1964, Poona, 1970, 237-8, quotes an early Islamic source for the terms *muqaddam*, *mu‘akkkhar*, and *jawānib*, side wings of the mosque.

Chapter 20

The Jews of Ṣan'ā'

Introduction

An account of the Islamic city of Ṣan'ā' would be sadly lacking if its one time large Jewish community, essential to its communal life for centuries, were ignored. The Jewish community in the Yemen and in Ṣan'ā' in particular, though it departed the city in 1949-1950, played an integral part in its life for centuries. Judaism in the Yemen has, of course, a relatively well-known history before Islam, and according to Jewish tradition Jews had settled in Barāsh, the mountain next to Jabal Nuqum, centuries earlier. It seems safe to assume there was a Jewish community in Ṣan'ā' when the Yemen adopted Islam, and there is in fact an allusion to Jews in the first Hijrah century by the historian of the early period of Ṣan'ā', al-Rāzī.¹ For the last three centuries or so—for which we have a relative abundance of historical data on the city's Jewish community—it has evidently been engaged mainly in commerce and the crafts, forming a part of its urban civilization as a whole. With the departure of the Jews many traditional crafts, such as the polishing of jewel-stones and native silversmith work, have disappeared from Ṣan'ā', though a little gem-polishing is said still to be carried on by Muslims. Moreover in the neighbouring Aden Protectorates over the years before 1962 many traditional crafts gave way to imported manufactured articles; this factor no doubt also helped the disappearance of traditional crafts from the Yemen.

The Yemenite Jews seem, in the main, to have been descendants of the native population who had embraced Judaism in the pre-Islamic period, as for instance in the case of the Hamdān tribe who 'were near Ṣan'ā' and mixed with Ḥimyar, adopting with them the religion of Judaism in the days when Dhū Nuwās adopted Judaism and they adopted Judaism with him.'² Yet there were also non-Arabian elements in the community as names like Fayyūmī and 'Irāqī indicate. Nevertheless it is to be accounted as much Yemenite as the Muslims themselves—the community's language was basically the colloquial Arabic of the country and in their daily life the Jews were closely associated with the Muslim population, more especially perhaps in the country districts.

The Jewish Settlements in Ṣan'ā'

One of the earliest indications of the existence of Jews in Ṣan'ā' is Ibn al-A'tham's³ statement that the general Jāriyah b. Qudāmah, after the opposition to the Caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in western Arabia had been settled, dealt with people (*qawm*—perhaps tribal Jews?) who had accepted Islam, then apostatized from it, 'so he killed them and burned them with fire after the killing.' Verses composed on the event declare that,

Folk (*aqwām*) in Ṣan'ā' adopted Judaism (*tahawwada*) after they had acknowledged the signs of the Book and accepted Islam.

At first the Jewish community in Islamic Ṣan'ā' may not have been very large for al-Rāzī,⁴ writing of the year 381/991, put the number of Jewish houses at only 35.

Goitein-Rathjens⁵ quote the Jewish tradition that the first Jewish Quarter was in or near the Qaṣr—by which latter the present citadel area is probably to be understood, but of course this is not substantiated by literary evidence remounting to an early date. Al-Rāzī⁶ specifically mentions in his own day (first half of the 5th/11th century) the synagogue (*bī'at al-Yahūd*) at the south end of the Tinnars' Lane (*Zuqāq' al-Mubayyidīn*)⁸ opposite the ruined Christian church.⁹ Assuming the Tinsmiths were then more or less where they are now, this would place the synagogue somewhere south of the present Sūq; this is not really near the Qaṣr, but it would be near Ghumdān.

Jewish sources claim that the Jews moved at an unstated period from the Qaṣr area to al-Marbakī,¹⁰ a variant of the name al-Barmakī, because of a dispute between an Imām and a head of the community. If 'Imām' means Zaydī Imām, the move could hardly have taken place before 723/1323 but a Jewish source places the move before the time of Maimonides (12th century). All Jewish documents, says Goitein,¹¹ call the town officially 'Ṣan'ā', which is situated on the watercourse al-Marbakī.' A marginal note to the *Ghāyat al-amānī*¹² under the annals for the year 601/1204-5 says that Masjid Ibn al-Ḥusayn,¹³ also called

1 *Tārīkh Ṣan'ā'*, Damascus, 1974.

2 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣṣām*, Cairo, 1914, 10, etc.

3 Ibn al-A'tham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, Hyderabad, 1388/1968-1395/1975, II, 71.

4 Op. cit., 114. Al-Maqdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici* (*Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*), ed. de Goeje, BGA, Leiden, 1906, 95, writing in 375/985, says that in the Arabian Peninsula the number of Jews exceeds that of the Christians.

5 *Jewish domestic architecture in Ṣan'ā', Yemen*, Jerusalem, 1957, 68.

6 Op. cit., 32.

7 In Ṣan'ā' one also says *zuqūqī*, a lane, and in Hodeidah, *muṣṣur*.

8 This is possibly the Coppersmiths' Sūq of today.

9 This does not seem to be the Qalīs but another church.

10 Goitein-Rathjens, loc. cit.

11 Ibid, loc. cit. Professor Goitein has referred us to *Sa'arat Teman*, 138, for a document dated Monday, 16 October, 1536, mentioning the Barmakī.

12 Of Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, ed. 'Ashūr and Ziyādah, Cairo, 1388/1968, I, 388. Of course this does not mean that the actual note is any earlier than the last date in this chronicle, 1045/1636.

13 Muḥammad al-Ḥajārī, *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, Ṣan'ā', 1361/1942, 4.

Masjid al-Šawma'ah (a little east of the Sā'ilah) and south of the road leading from the Sā'ilah to al-Filayhī Quarter is west of the Jewish houses (Buyūt Ahl al-Dhimmah). If, in former times, they lived in al-Filayhī as Qāfiḥ relates and in Dār al-Tawāshī this would locate the Barmakī *ghayr*¹⁴ round about the open area leading to Sha'ūb. Jewish sources allude to al-Marbakī up to before 1679 but Goitein says that in the later part of the seventeenth century the name al-Marbakī figures no more. He quotes a Jewish source saying that the Jews were asked to leave al-Marbakī and move to al-Quzālī—but as this is close to al-Filayhī the move could not have been far, and there is a document showing that they were in al-Quzālī before 1670. From al-Quzālī it is not far to Masjid al-Jalā',¹⁵ and they settled also west of the Sā'ilah in the Nahrayn area. They are said by the poet al-Dhahbānī¹⁶ to have lived in Shukr, mixed with Muslims.

These movements might point to an increase in the Jewish population of Šan'ā' and perhaps also to growth in their industries under the secure and prosperous rule of the great Zaydī Imāms of the period. The settlement in Bīr al-'Azab Quarter took place after the expulsion from Šan'ā' in 1091/1680.

Outline History of the Šan'ā' Jewish Community

In the long history of Šan'ā' the normally good relations between Jews and Muslims were, from time to time, disturbed by events such as the looting of Jewish property, or by excessive zeal of some officials, or by the excitement created by Messianic movements among the Jews themselves. Correspondingly there was a tendency among Muslims that manifested itself from time to time to wish to see Jews convert to Islam, but when this appeared to overstep what the *shari'ah* had ordained for the peaceful co-existence of the two faiths there were Muslim critics as well as Jewish complaints. The common culture of both communities and their tolerance of each other is impressive. It must be remembered too that if the Jews suffered from tribal depredations they were also faithfully protected by tribal custom when they had relations with a tribe, and the Jews were subject to the same treatment as the non arms-bearing Muslim craftsmen, traders and others—and if Jewish wealth was squeezed by officials from time to time these officials would mete out similar treatment to their fellow-Muslims of the corresponding class. It has even been asserted that the distinctive dress¹⁷ of the Jews had the effect of protecting them during inter-tribal strife among the Muslims. In the proverbs current among both Jews and Muslims the human side of the relationship is well evinced—the Muslim has a sort of rueful and humorous appreciation of the Jew as a smart business man—but as he considers this a virtue in a fellow-Muslim¹⁸ he really admires it in his Jewish fellow-countryman. The section that follows shows that the Jews at the very least found life in Muslim Yemen tolerable.

Detailed information about Jewish life in Šan'ā' is lacking for the period before the seventeenth century. We are told that the community had occupied various sites in the city, among them, that of Sūq al-Munahḥisīn, the Brass-smiths' Market west of al-Qaṣr gate. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century the Jews seem to have lived mainly in the quarter known today as Hayy

al-Jalā', in which stands Masjid al-Jalā'¹⁹ constructed by Imām al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad in 1091/1680 on the site of the synagogue there. It lies close to the lower east bank of the Sā'ilah. It is however thought that the Jews did not live exclusively in this Quarter but had houses in different parts of Šan'ā', as was certainly the case in other Yemeni towns. Cruttenden²⁰ speaks of Dār al-Tawāshī, sometimes called 'Bakhīrī', in the east of the town, as being in former days appropriated to the Jews.

Following the Zaydī conquest of the country from the Turks in the early seventeenth century, relations between Jews and Muslims seem to have been strained. The attitude of the first Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī (3rd/9th century) towards the *dhimmīs* had been protective.

He is reported to have told them, 'If any molest you, refer the matter to me so that I can give you justice from them.' This policy of protection became the normal policy of his successors. However some of the Zaydī ulema seem to have been exercised by the question as to why the Jews had been expelled from certain parts of the Arabian peninsula in the early days of Islam, but not from the Yemen. The leader of the movement to expel the Jews was al-Badr Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr who, against the opposition of other ulema, won over the Imām al-Mutawakkil to this policy.

In 1676 the Imām ordered all Jews to adopt Islam,²¹ and when they refused, he ordered the demolition of synagogues, and prohibited Jewish prayers in public. Then, in 1678, Jews who refused to adopt Islam were commanded to remove to the Tihāmah and their property declared forfeit. The number of those who converted was very small indeed and in 1680, the Jews of Šan'ā' removed in a body to Mawza', whither they were shortly followed by members of other Jewish communities. In the unhealthy coastal district to which they had been banished the Jews were exposed to severe privation. Fortunately, relations with the Muslim community remained unaffected by this phase of the Imām's policy. We learn that when the Jews arrived at Mawza', they were publicly welcomed by the governor, Sayyid Aḥsan, with the customary presents of bread and water; and, in the following year, a number of district governors, with the governor of 'Amrān at their head, were urging the Imām to permit the Jews to return to Šan'ā'. It is said that the governor of 'Amrān was particularly pressing in this matter because the heavy rains from which his district was suffering at this time were thought to be a punishment for the treatment which the Jews had suffered. Other governors were anxious about the economic plight of their districts, which had been deprived of vital trades carried on by Jews.

Within the year, the Jews were allowed to return to Šan'ā' though they were not permitted to return to their former homes. Jewish sources vary wildly as to the number of survivors of the starvation and disease of the Tihāmah. In Šan'ā', the Kanīsat al-'Ulamā', the only synagogue to escape demolition, had been converted into a mosque (Masjid al-Jalā'), the great bath had been taken over by the Waqf (now Hammām al-Jalā') and in the upheaval a great number of Mss. and printed books had been destroyed. However the wealth of the Šan'ā' Jews seems not to have been greatly affected, and they were able to set up what seems to have been a flourishing community. After their return, the Jews continued to work in Šan'ā', though they did not live

¹⁴ See p. 45b.

¹⁵ Al-Jalā'/Jilā, see *Masājid*, 42. A certain Mōri Joseph at al-Quzālī bears the name al-Qaṭī'i which shows that his family must at one time have resided in that Quarter.

¹⁶ Muḥammad al-Dhahbānī, *al-Aghnām al-sha'biyyah*, Ta'izz, 1969, 34.

¹⁷ Cf. E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden*, Heidelberg, 1934, 78 passim but see p. 421.

¹⁸ See the proverbs quoted p. 425a-b.

¹⁹ See pp. 353b, 400a.

²⁰ C. J. Cruttenden, 'Narrative of a Journey from Mokhá to Šan'ā', *JRGS*, London, 1838, VIII, 267-89. 'The Jews are the principal artisans and live in a Quarter of the city appropriated to them. Each man pays 25 komasis (*khamānī*?) a month, about a dollar a year. There is a Shaykh who is responsible for this

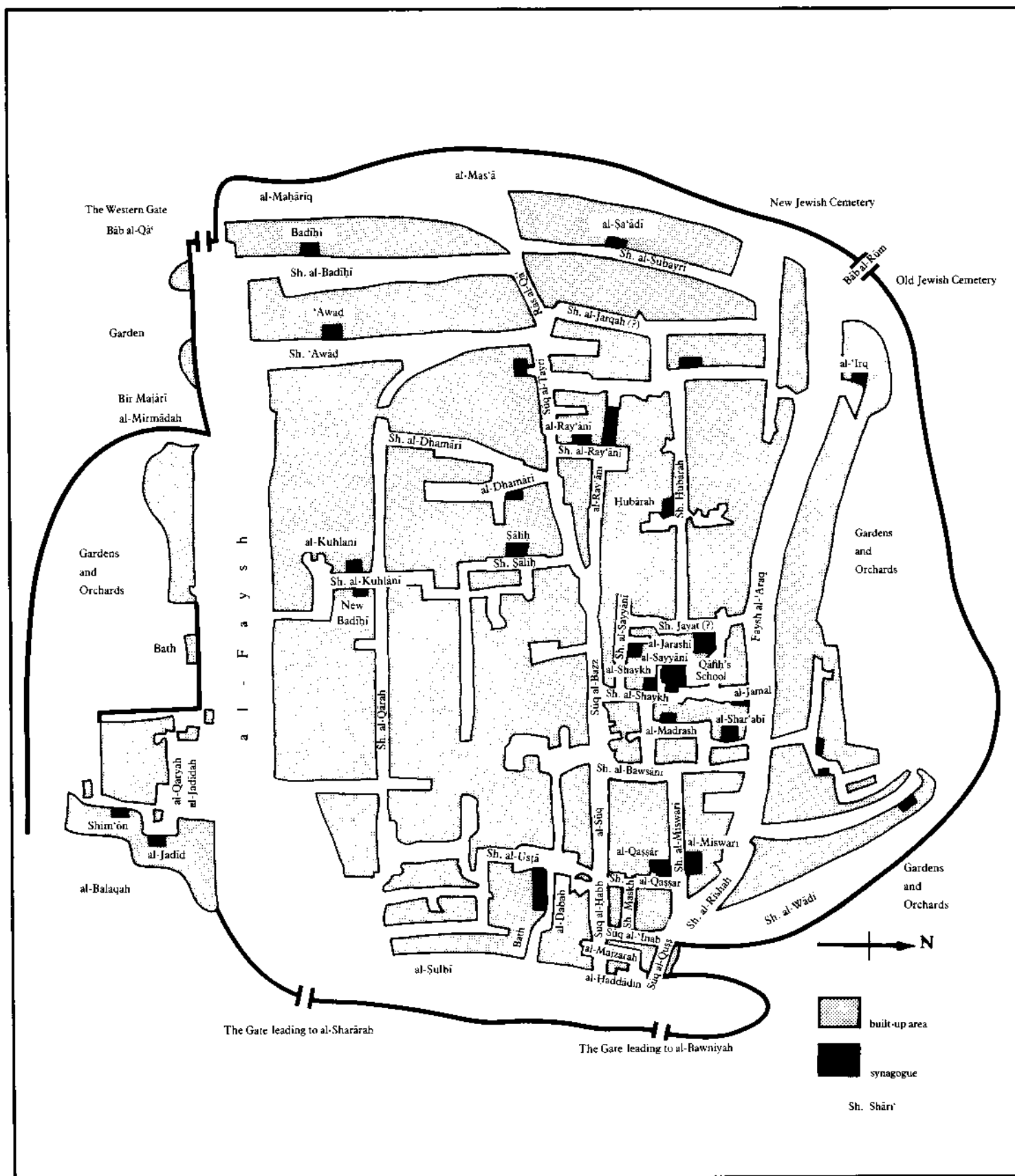
payment, plus taxes on their vines, gardens etc. They sell silver, gunpowder, spirits, and work as artisans, e.g. shoemakers.'

²¹ According to M. Zadoc, *History and customs of the Jews in the Yemen*, Tel Aviv, 1967, 54, Imām Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan ordered first the demolishing of the synagogues and prohibited prayers in public. Later he demanded all Jews convert to Islam in order to put into effect the decree of the Caliph 'Umar, 'There will be no two religions in the Hijaz.' Thus he was ready to impose any decree likely to bring about their conversion. Al-Mahdī wished to unite the country which was divided into ten small kingdoms. In order to strengthen his régime he proclaimed that the Yemen is holy to Muslims and hence there is no room for Jews in it. Until the last moment he tried cunningly to convince the Jews to convert. However, when they refused to do so the expulsion order was carried out.

The Jewish Quarter of Şan'ā'

This diagram corresponds approximately with von Wissmann's map (p. 118) though distances to the city walls appear inaccurate. The concentration of markets includes al-Majzarah, the Abattoir, al-Haddadin, the Blacksmiths, S. al-'Inab, Grape Market, S. al-Habb, Grain Market, S. al-Qusṣ, Plasterers. The western Bath is presumably al-Makhlahaf, that near al-Sulbi (Qa' al-'Ulufi) was

the Jewish Hammām al-Uṣṭā, now H. al-Faysh, *faysh* meaning land not owned or cultivated. Most synagogues are identifiable from Brauer (pp. 306-7) who gives K(s)sar for Qaṣṣar, al-Maṣ'ā, the walking place was for recreation. Al-Mahāriq should mean kilns and Majāri al-Mirmudāh where rubbish is dumped to be carried off by floods. Streets bear names of known Jewish families.



there but in Qā' al-Yahūd, west of Bīr al-'Azab. Their greatest concentration was in the 'Aqil Quarter, where the Silver Market was, and near the Sūq al-Zabīb or Raisin Market (there was a Customs post or Gumruk in this latter). Sūq al-Mībsāṭah (the Old Clothes Market) is close by. They also had shops in other parts of old Ṣan'ā' and mixed freely with the Muslims in the times of the Ḥamid al-Dīn, besides having shops in Qā' al-Yahūd to which they returned at night.²² In the planning of the new quarter, priority was given to considerations of security; houses were built so as to be easily defensible: each had its own well, while some had more than one. The concern with defence reflects not so much anxiety about the attitude of the Muslim authorities, as the troubled state of the country during this period. Jews suffered, not so much from official policy as from the riots and affrays which frequently broke out among the Arab tribes. A wealthy community forbidden to bear arms would naturally suffer at such times. Jews were forbidden to build higher than two storeys²³ and hence many houses were built with a cellar. Life in such towns as Kuḥlān, Ḥajjah, Ṣabrah, Ḥabūr, Zūlaymah, and al-Sūdāh proved so precarious for defenceless craftsmen during the years 1717-25 that the Jews were obliged to leave, or assimilate themselves to the Muslim community. That the Jewish community in Ṣan'ā' was able to survive this difficult period may well be due to the protection of the Imām, who, as their Sayyid, would be personally responsible for the redress of their grievances. During this period no attempt was made to force conversion on the Jews, though we are told by Sa'īd Yahuda ben Shelomo al-Ṣa'dī in his chronicle *Dofī ha-Zeman*²⁴ that, during these years of drought and famine, Jews were offered material support on condition that they embrace Islam.

Having survived this difficult period, the Jews of Ṣan'ā' enjoyed nearly forty years of growing prosperity. No fewer than twenty-two synagogues were built in Ṣan'ā' after the return from Mawza'.

In 1762 the Imām al-Mahdī 'Abbās ordered the destruction of all synagogues, though thirty years later his son, al-Manṣūr 'Alī was induced, in return for a subvention from the Jewish community, to allow them to be rebuilt.

At this time most Ṣan'ā' Jews were craftsmen:²⁵ there were very few traders. It was usual for a son to follow his father's trade, though the prestigious and profitable occupation of silver-smith regularly recruited those whose fathers had followed other trades. It was normal for apprentices to silversmiths to work for a year without pay, or even to pay a premium for the privilege. Women of all classes seem to have worked at embroidery. There are frequent references in the Beth Dīn²⁶ documents to widows of quite wealthy families supporting themselves by their handiwork.

It is possible, on the basis of documents from the Beth Dīn in Ṣan'ā', dating from the latter decade of the 12th/18th century, to detect the existence of three classes of wealth among the Jews. It

would seem that the community was divided in the proportion 9: 40: 11, in ascending order of wealth. The typical member of the second class was three times wealthier than a typical member of the first, while a typical member of the third class was eight times wealthier. There may have been a few families very much richer. Unfortunately it has not proved possible to relate these classes to specific occupations and trades. For instance it is not clear whether the poorest Jews—and some are known to have been very poor—appear in those figures at all. A plausible estimate of the number of Jews belonging to wealthy families would be about 1,700 persons. And some of these families must have been very wealthy indeed by Yemen standards. Some Jews owned extensive property, houses and shops, not only in the Qā' al-Yahūd, but also in the rest of the town. Thus the property of one of the wealthy 'Uzayrī family at his death in the last decade of the 12th/18th century amounted to a house, valued at 500 *riyāls*; four shops in the town valued at 520 *riyāls*; and eighteen shops in the Qā' al-Yahūd valued at 355 *riyāls*. The property included a shop in the 'Aqil quarter valued at 120 *riyāls* and one in the Sūq of Ḥamid al-Dīn, valued at 200 *riyāls*. In addition there is mention of a plot of land in Sūq al-Ḥaṭab. Since the average price for a house in the Qā' at this period was 150 *riyāls*, this was obviously a very wealthy man indeed.

Some Jews also owned considerable holdings of agricultural land. Thus Mūsā and Yūsuf al-'Uzayrī divided between themselves an estate left by their late father, Sālim, valued in all at 386 *riyāls*.

The relationship of clientage between the Zaydī Imāms and the Jewish community was not entirely to the advantage of the latter. It was customary, after the expulsion of the Turks, for the ruling Imām to pay an annual subsidy to the leaders of those tribes which had taken part in the revolt. In 1818 the Imām 'Abdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil, who was a very weak ruler, decided to discontinue the practice. Accordingly he gave orders that when the representatives of the tribes presented themselves to receive their subsidy they should be thrown into prison. His agents in this plot were Jews who carried out his orders with zeal in their anxiety to show loyalty. The tribes rioted, and, when the Imām refused to give way, they attacked the Jewish Quarter.²⁷

At some time in the latter half of the 18th or the earlier half of the 19th century the duty was imposed on the Jewish community to see to the removal of excrement from the privies of the city, and to remove dead animals. The earlier history of this service is obscure: it would seem originally to have been performed within Qā' al-Yahūd itself by Jews, and in the city by Muslim bath-keepers. The question of the legality of imposing the duty on the Jews was the subject of extensive controversy among the ulema in the latter half of the 12th/18th century, notably between the *qāḍī* Muḥammad 'Alī al-Shawkānī and 'Abdullāh b. 'Isā al-Kawkabānī.²⁸ The matter was certainly discussed as early as 1788.

22 Cf. Niebuhr, *Description*, 335-36.

23 This is expressly permitted them in the document quoted on p. 430b.

24 *Sefunot*, Jerusalem, 1975, I. Cf. S. D. Goitein, 'A Hebrew-Arabic manuscript on the history of the Jews in Yemen', *Kirjath Sefer*, Jerusalem, 1937-38, XIV, ii, 256-70.

25 For a complete list of professions see p. 239a-b.

26 This is a collection of the Court Records of the Ṣan'ā' Jews. Professor Ratzaby informs us that it seems to be the registration of the Secretary to the Court who recorded every affair discussed and every verdict in two to three lines. It deals with religion, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and also claims between man and man in the questions over sale of property, money, houses, books, debts. The first volume is a copy of the original, the second, the original itself. It is now in the University of Jerusalem. A preliminary look at the document seems to indicate that it contains information on commerce in Ṣan'ā' likely to be useful in writing the history of the city.

27 Brauer, *op. cit.*, 42.

28 Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Ḥabshī of the Dār al-Kutub in Ṣan'ā', following a discussion on the controversy, provided the following bibliography on it.

Muḥ. al-Shawkānī (1173-1250/1760-1832), *Ḥālī al-ashkāl fī yibār al-Yahūd 'alā iltiqāf al-azbāl (al-Badr al-Jālī)*, I, 391, incorrectly, *adhyāl*, transcribed in 1368/1948-9 in the hand-writing of Muḥ. b. Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī, 44 fol.

Library of Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī, Ṣan'ā'. I noted a copy in the Jāmi' of Ṣan'ā'. Photocopy in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, no. 2216.

The riposte to this is:-

'Abdullāh b. 'Isā b. Muḥ. al-Kawkabānī, *Irsāl al-maqāl 'alā isālat ḥālī al-ashkāl fī 'l-radd 'alā kitāb al-Shawkānī*, transcribed in 1368/1948-9, 49 fol., in the afore-going collection in the Dār al-Kutub. The author died in 1224/1809 (*al-Badr al-Jālī*, I, 391).

Another Sayyid, who became Qāḍī of Ṣan'ā', and died about 1240/1824, wrote a polemic against al-Kawkabānī:-

'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Jalāl (al-Ṣan'ānī), *Tawḍīḥ wujūh al-ikhtilāf fī isālat al-ashkāl fī yibār al-Yahūd 'alā iltiqāf al-azbāl*, transcribed in 1269/1852-3, 74 fol., in the Dār al-Kutub collection and library of al-Sayāghī. (For al-Jalāl, see *al-Badr al-Jālī*, I, 469).

Two further ripostes are:-

Muḥ. al-Shawkānī, *Tafwīq/tafriq al-nibāl 'alā'ilā irsāl al-maqāl fī 'l-radd 'alā kitāb 'Abdullāh b. 'Isā* (variants from *al-Badr al-Jālī*, I, 469, prefixed and preferred), transcribed in 1368/1948-9, 59 fol., in the Dār al-Kutub and al-Sayāghī's library.

Ibid, *al-'Ilāl li-tahqiq al-maqāl*, transcribed at same date, 91 fol., in al-Sayāghī's library.

A treatise probably supporting al-Kawkabānī is:-

Ṣan'ānis today who still recall the Jews, confirm that the community was considered to belong to three social classes, the upper (*ulyā*), middle (*wusṣā*) and lower (*dunyā*) class Jews. The squad (*firqah*) in charge of cleansing was drawn from the lower class which dealt with the privies (*marāḥiḍ*)²⁹ and dragged out the dead animals (*maytah al-ḥayawānāt*), roped by the four legs, outside the walls (*ḥawārib*). Rossi³⁰ says the Bayt al-Māl paid the Jews to remove dead dogs from Ṣan'ā', a function a Muslim would be loath to perform. There were two places for dumping refuse of this sort, one to the north and one to the south of Ṣan'ā'. In the early twenties of this century Rihani³¹ notes that 20 USA cents a donkey load was paid to the Jews who supplied the bath-keepers. 'In recent years,' says Barer,³² 'when they went on strike against low wages, the leaders of the Jewish community in Ṣan'ā' were imprisoned until they could be prevailed upon to return.' Imprisonment of its leaders was the normal action rulers took against an offending group to bring it back to order or to punish it for any sort of misdemeanour—this can be observed for instance in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. Nowadays (1972) ordinary dirt and sweepings (*kans*) are taken away from the city by lorries. Local farmers spread the town refuse on their fields and as, today, it contains many tin cans and plastics, the result is unsightly.

As had been the case during the previous Turkish occupation, the Jews suffered during the period 1849-1918 from the unsettled state of the country. Serious rioting in 1851 against the Turkish administration led a number of Jews to flee Ṣan'ā'. During these anxious times, no fewer than three self-styled Messiahs made their appearance in the country.

The Jews fared better under the Zaydī regime which ousted the Turks. The Imām took a benevolent attitude towards the Jews—Jewish agents of the Imām had risked their lives in rousing the tribes against the Turks—and guaranteed security to the Jews in return for various taxes and the imposition of the social restrictions of the 'Covenant of 'Umar'.³³ An annual *jizyah* was to be levied on every Jew over the age of thirteen. For the purposes of this tax the Jews were divided into three classes: the wealthiest to pay 3 3/4 *riyāl*s; the less wealthy, 1 7/8 *riyāl*s; and the poorest 15/16 *riyāl*.³⁴ Traders whose profits exceeded a certain amount were to pay a 20 per cent tax on the profits. (These classes might correspond to the three classes mentioned above which can be detected in the Beth Dīn documents.)

In addition the 'decree of the orphans' was enforced according to which orphans were to be brought up in the Islamic faith. Between the years 1921-5 there were many such cases. Jews

resorted to various shifts to evade the decree, such as marrying the orphans when young or sending them secretly to Aden. Though officials could be overzealous in the execution of such decrees it should be pointed out that the Imām himself tempered their enthusiasm. Indeed, despite the various disabilities placed on them, the Jews were never more secure in their property than under this Imām. For example, it is said that when a Jew, who had been robbed by a Muslim, complained to the local governor, the case was referred to the Imām, who ordered the arrest of all the local shaykhs, whereupon the property was recovered within a matter of days.

The Imām passed regularly through the Jewish quarter, usually on the way to Friday prayers, when he would receive petitions from Jews. Twice a year, at the feasts of Passover and Tabernacles, the Jews were accustomed to send a letter of thanks to the Imām as their patron, together with a present, usually a live ox.

Though the Jewish community in the Yemen was never completely isolated from foreign contacts, it is not until the 13th/19th century that European influences began seriously to affect the lives of the Jews of Ṣan'ā'. Europeans such as the French professor Joseph Halévy and the Austrian Edward Glaser visited the country on visits partly sponsored by the Alliance Israélite Universelle and became personally involved with the fate of the Jewish communities. (Glaser even in fact went so far as to recommend, in an article in a German newspaper, the setting up in the Yemen of a Jewish state under German protection, so as to fill the vacuum that was being created by the decline of the Ottoman Empire!)

Both of these scholars formed close friendships with Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh, who served them each faithfully as a guide and who has left us his own account of his travels with Halévy, written at the request of Glaser. It was through such men as Ḥabshūsh that Halévy and Glaser introduced the Jews of Ṣan'ā' to ideas and movements in the wider Jewish world, notably those of the *Haskalah*, (a 19th century movement to reform Jewish education in the light of modern scholarship), and the Ḥibbat Zion (the Aspiration for Zion) movement. There are said to have been six prominent Jews in Ṣan'ā' who were the principal leaders of the movement for reform, among them Rabbi Sa'id al-'Arūsī and Rabbi Yahyā Qāfih. Naturally in the conditions prevailing in Ṣan'ā', these men by themselves could do little to realize their educational ambitions (Ḥabshūsh tells of attempts to master chemistry to which the father of al-'Arūsī devoted most of his time quite fruitlessly). This activity eventually crystallized in a

²⁹ Abdullāh b. Bashīr al-Mālikī, *Tahqīq al-maqāl wa-qaṭ' al-jidāl 'alā ḥall al-ashkāl wa-irṣāl al-maqāl*, transcribed in 1369/1949-50, 84 fol., al-Sayāghī's library.

Apparently a final reply is:

³⁰ 'Alī b. 'Abdullāh al-Jalāl, *al-Iḥṣāl li-da'wā al-ikhtilāl fī riṣālat ijbār al-Yahūd 'alā ittiqāt al-azbāl*, transcribed in 1369/1949-50, 79 fol., in al-Sayāghī's library.

In general, whatever practical considerations may have prompted certain ulama to support this measure enforcing so unpalatable a task on the Jews, it would be applying the principle of *al-ṣaghār wa-l-dhillaḥ*, humiliation and abasement, which is so frequently mentioned in the following pages. It nevertheless is not to be assumed that these controversies of the ulama reflect the general practice of the Muslim community as a whole.

³¹ The job of maker of flat animal dung cakes dried for fuel is *mukabbī* (Brauer, op. cit., 236). For the supplier of human excrement to the bath-keeper the document infra uses a word *muṭayyib*. Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished proverbs include a saying, *Kull wāḥid Yahūdī nafs-ah*, Everyone (must act) as his own Jew. The allusion is to the domestic work of Jews in the kitchens and privies of Muslim houses, and is explained as *taḥḍīr min taṣniḥ al-mrḥād*, an injunction to see to the cleanliness of the privy as there are no Jews present to do this distasteful work.

Collection of animal dung for fuel is done today by Arab women in the villages round Ṣan'ā' and elsewhere. *Mukhbāzi* is a hole in which dung is collected from which they make the flat dung cakes called *kibī* (plur., *kibāyah*). There are also small round balls of droppings called *ja'mazi* (plur., *ja'āmis*) used for kindling (Qūla' Hamdān). Goitein, *Yemenica*, 121, no. 872, discusses the drying of sheep-and-goat dung on the flat house roofs—which in many places, e.g., Shākir of Arḥab and Najrān, are used as privies—a custom still in practice in the Jewish Quarter in Aden until the twenties of this century. This topic may fitly be concluded with another of

Qāḍī Ismā'il's proverbs, *al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 235, no. 667, *Imla 'l-bayt kibā, wa-lā timḥ-niṣā*, Fill the house with dung-cake fuel, but don't fill it with women! This, he explains, is a wise precaution because at certain active seasons in the country-side people do not come into town with fuel-cakes. The latter part of the proverb is a warning against marrying many wives whose presence would create problems in a household. Synonyms of *kibā* are, in Dhamār *ḍamj*, in Yarīm *ḍumāj*. See M. Burchardt, *Aus dem Yemen*, Taf. xiii.

In Ḥabbān in 1947 one used to see dung-cakes drying in the Jewish Quarter, but possibly this had no special significance.

³² *L'Arabo parlato*, 189.

³³ *Arabian peak and desert*, London, 1930, 82.

³⁴ *Magic carpet*, 135.

³⁵ Cf. A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Oxford-Mysore, 1930, 5, discussing the Covenant the attribution of which to 'Umar cannot be maintained. See the restrictions of Yemeni scholars infra.

³⁶ Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a'shā*, Cairo, 1913-19, III, 462, with a reference to Ibn Mammātī, *Qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, pp. 318-9, who differs a little, says the poll-tax (*jizyah*) is taken on three classes (*jabaqah*), four dinars on the *ulyā*, two on the *wusṣā*, and 1, 1/3, 1/4 and two *ḥabbahs* on the *suffā*, paid on the 1st Muḥarram. Perhaps this practice was not confined to Egypt and the Yemen.

Aḥ. al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, Cairo, 1366-68/1947-49, V, 457, says that nobody can make a *dhimmah* contract with the *Kitābis* except the Imām or his governor. If the Imām is unable to protect them he cannot take the *jizyah*. Writing in the early 9th/15th century he says 48 dirhams are taken from the rich, 24 from the middle group and 12 from the poor man. The least taken in a year is one dinar from poor or rich. If the man is of *ahl al-dhahab* he pays four dinars a year, and of the *ahl al-wirq* then 48 dirhams.

movement to open a Jewish school organized on modern lines. In 1903 the Şan'ā' community as a body was in correspondence with the Alliance Israélite Universelle to negotiate the establishment of a school which would 'save the rising generation from the ignorance and stupidity which have reduced us to the lowest degree.' Eventually in 1908, without the assistance of the Alliance, the leaders of the community entered into negotiations with the Turkish authorities (emancipation had recently been proclaimed by the Young Turks) for the establishment of a school. The negotiations were successful and a school opened in 1910. The Principal was Rabbi Yahyā Qāfiḥ and the curriculum included Hebrew and Arabic and there was a Turkish teacher of arithmetic, history, geography and the Turkish language. Yahyā Qāfiḥ states that the curriculum of the school consisted of the Bible, the Mishnah, Maimonides, grammar, Turkish language (taught by Ḥāfiẓ Effendi, and later by Ziyā' Bey, with great diligence). The fifty boys who were admitted to the school were examined in proficiency in Turkish, once a year, by examiners appointed by the Government (who were impressed by their progress). On the following day, they were examined in Hebrew and Arabic. There was, however, considerable opposition to the enterprise among the Jews, partly on account of the school's Turkish connections: many parents refused to send their children on the (not altogether unreasonable) suspicion that they might become liable to conscription into the Turkish army.

Qāfiḥ admits, however, that the teaching methods were in fact no improvement on those of the traditional Jewish schools in that most of the teaching was carried on by the parents of the pupils. He insists that there was no tendency in the content of the education to pervert the principles of religion: rumours to the contrary, he claims, were founded on such superficial matters as the fact that some pupils had cut off their distinctive ringlets (*zunnār*).

The school experienced serious difficulties after 1911, when the Turks ceded control of Şan'ā' to Imām Yahyā. The Imām, who was suspicious of all agencies of modernization, appointed a Muslim as Director of the school.³⁵ This seems to have aroused resentment in some circles, as did the Turkish teacher. The Turkish affiliations of the school were not to the liking of the Zaydī qāfi, who objected to the uniforms worn by the pupils. When the pupils refused to change their dress, they were attacked in the street by Muslim children.

The school was also the target of criticism on the part of those in the Jewish community who were hostile to the ideas of the *Haskalah*, and its tendency to estrange pupils from traditional Jewish values. Qāfiḥ states that opposition to the school developed in the third year of its life when slanders were spread about it and ignorant pupils, who had been withdrawn by their parents, alleged that the teachers were irreligious. 'The school', he says, 'worked for three years; in the fourth it was run down and in the fifth it was closed.'

The controversy over the school illustrates the ambivalent attitude of the Jews to such matters as emancipation and modernization. Many Jews were obviously deeply disturbed at the prospect of the breakdown of the old communal disciplines which had given structure to their lives and which were symbolized and enforced by such matters as distinctive dress. Indeed, Qāfiḥ himself admits that there were young Jews who argued that the emancipation proclaimed by the Turks had freed them from Judaism itself. This consideration suggests the question of how far the Jewish attitude towards such restrictions as they had been under before emancipation, and which were reimposed by the Imām, was one of resentment. Jews were evidently not slow to realize that equal rights before the law implied equal duties (such as military service) and many seem to have concluded that they

were better off as they were. In this anxiety to preserve their way of life they were at one with the Imām Yahyā, who throughout his long reign, consistently pursued a policy of insulating all Yemenis, Jews and Muslims alike, from disruptive influences from abroad. Thus when the Chief Rabbi of Turkey, at the instance of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, approached the Imām on the subject of re-opening the school, he received the reply that, while the Imām had no objections in principle, the project was likely to offend Muslim feeling, and hence be detrimental to Jewish interests. 'Perhaps', he said, 'it is better and more fitting for them to educate their children... in accordance with established custom.' An interesting reply was given to Abraham Galanti by a Yemeni envoy in Turkey with whom he discussed the general question of improving the position of Jews: 'Your request is very reasonable. But how would you explain it to the citizens of this country, that is, that a Jew should have equal rights with a Muslim? They will say to you "If God discriminates between the prophets, why should we not distinguish between a Jew and a Muslim?" After all, the distinction was made by God himself!' It is likely that most Yemeni Jews would have agreed.³⁶

However, the European ideas of the *Haskalah* infiltrated the Jewish community. Yemeni Jewish spirituality had for centuries been inspired by the Qabbalah, and especially by the *Zohar*. Much of the synagogue ritual was permeated by Cabbalistic symbolism. A group of Jews, led by Rabbi Yahyā Qāfiḥ (whose work *Milhamoth ha-Shem* was a sustained attack on the Qabbalah) were anxious to remove what it regarded as superstitious features from the public prayers. Qāfiḥ explicitly credits Joseph Halévy with the inspiring of this group. Dissension in the community reached such a pitch that, in 1914, the matter was referred to the Imām. The Muslim judge, Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbās, who was appointed by the Imām to deal with the case, stated in the preamble to his judgement that his purpose was to remove all sources of strife from the community. The judge calls on all Jews to tolerate differing opinions but to proceed with their lives according to the traditions of their ancestors. The various synagogues are to follow traditional usage, but anyone who wishes may pray in private as he pleases. Five allegedly 'modernist' synagogues were to be investigated by the Muslim judge together with Jewish leaders, and, if the allegations were substantiated, destroyed. No such synagogues were to be opened in future. This is a very instructive case of co-operation between Muslims and Jews in defence of the traditional way of life in Şan'ā'. Indeed throughout the present century, hostility between Jewish factions was the main source of disturbance in the life of the community. The Muslim authorities (whose sole concern in these matters seems to have been for public order) acted as umpire in these contests.

The career of Rabbi Yahyā Isaac, who was the leader of conservative opinion in the debate over the Qabbalah, is also instructive as to relations between the Jews and the Muslim authorities. He was elected *Ḥākhām-bāshī* (effectively Chief Rabbi) in 1906, but the modernizing party challenged his election as not being truly representative of communal opinion. Hence in 1910 the Muslim authorities, anxious to preserve order, arranged a referendum (the opposing candidate being Rabbi Yahyā Qāfiḥ) which confirmed Rabbi Yahyā in office. He seems to have been a man of outstanding ability, and, what is more, to have wielded considerable influence with the new Imām and his ministers (naturally enough in view of the substantial coincidence of their attitudes) and his advice was valued in matters relating to Jewish affairs. This influence he was able to use to the advantage of the Jewish community in certain difficult matters. The extent of his diplomatic gifts may be judged from the fact that in matters requiring negotiation with the Muslim authorities it became customary for

35 In the thirties Nazīh al-'Azm, *Riḥlah*, Cairo, n.d., I, 142, counted fifteen schools and nineteen synagogues.

36 *Shevut Teman*, ed. I. Yeshayahu and A. Zadoq, Tel Aviv, 1945, 317.

the leaders of the community to consult at his house, and then for the Rabbi to go alone, or with one companion, to meet the Imām, whereas formerly a delegation of Jews would have gone. He was notably successful in arriving at a compromise over the question of the bringing up as Muslims the orphans of non-Muslim parents, though arguably his most important service to the community was in the question of the ownership of Qā' al-Yahūd. The authorities claimed that the land had been *waqf* property and that hence, such property being inalienable, the Jews should pay rent for it. The Rabbi laboured long to collect evidence to the contrary and eventually convinced the Imām that most of the area was not in fact *waqf* property. In respect of the remaining area (which could not be specified exactly) it was agreed that the Jews should pay once and for all a certain sum to the *waqf* administration, after which the whole area should be considered theirs.

His successor as Chief Rabbi was Yaḥyā al-Abyaḍ who also served the Muslim authorities as Master of the Mint (he was a goldsmith by trade). In the letter endorsing his appointment the Imām charged him to conduct himself properly in the affairs of the community and 'to do all in his power to unite the community and to remove all dissensions and divisions.'

There had always been a certain insignificant amount of emigration of Yemeni Jews to Palestine, which the authorities had made no attempt to check. However, the spread of Zionist propaganda in the Yemen during the latter half of the 13th/19th century, led, in 1882, to the first organized emigration. The authorities became alarmed at the loss of skilled craftsmen and, in the following year, prohibited further emigration. However the prohibition seems to have been difficult to enforce and in one year alone, 1908, no fewer than 2,500 Yemeni Jews are said to have emigrated. A further attempt at checking emigration was made in 1929, at the instance of the Mufti of Jerusalem, but with no more success.³⁷ By 1943, Jews were again emigrating openly.

The events of 1948 in Palestine and the establishment of the state of Israel, preceded by the Arab-Jewish troubles in Aden late in 1947, created a situation of potential danger for the Jewish communities in the Yemen. Jews became very anxious about their position in the country, although a charge of murder of two Muslims, by the Jews, was rejected by the Imām's court.

Although anti-Jewish feeling seems not to have spread wholesale emigration seemed to hold out the safest future and this was arranged with the agreement of the new Imām, Aḥmad. For most of the population the only conditions which he imposed were that they should sell their property in advance, and if they had a trade, that they should teach it to a Muslim before leaving.³⁸

Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Yemen

Messianic Movements and Muslim Rulers

The earliest document of importance on relations between Muslims and Jews at present known to us, is the *Epistle* of Maimonides to al-Fayyūmī, head of the Yemenite Jewish

community about 1172 A.D. This dealt with a situation summarised by the editors of the *Epistle*³⁹ as follows, 'A forced conversion to Islam, inaugurated about 1165 (A.D.) by 'Abd al-Nabiyy b. Maḥdī, who had gained control over most of the Yemen, threw the Jews into a panic. The campaign conducted by a recent convert to win them to his new faith, coupled with a Messianic movement started by a native of the country who claimed he was the Messiah, increased the confusion within the Jewish community.'

Arabic sources consulted by us make no reference to this. 'Abd al-Nabiyy (who did not control Ṣan'ā', Aden and al-Dumluwah), a Ḥanafī by school, was, as 'Umārah⁴⁰ describes him a strange fanatical character who held 'that the penalty of death was to be inflicted upon all professing Muslims who opposed his teaching, that it was lawful to reduce their captured women to the condition of concubines, their children to slavery. . . . So it need not be doubted, *a fortiori*, that he did take measures forcibly to convert the Jews to Islam. In dialectic after the mediaeval fashion Maimonides sought to counter Muslim polemics against Judaism—these in brief were that God's dispensation to Muḥammad abrogated the law of Moses, and that the Jewish scriptures contained predictions of the coming of Muḥammad.

'Abd al-Nabiyy's attitude, however, is out of line with policies of most later rulers who thought of expelling the Jews on the grounds that they had broken their covenant ('*ahd*'), or that the Prophet, on his deathbed, had given an instruction to expel them from the Peninsula. Exceptionally, nevertheless, the Ayyūbid Ismā'il b. Ṭuḡtakīn, in the last decade of the 6th/12th century is recorded as ordering the conversion of Christians and Jews to Islam.⁴¹ That the Jews had prospered in the Yemen is evident from Maimonides'⁴² statement that, 'Men of business and traffic unanimously declare to all inquirers that they had found in the Yemen a beautiful and delightful plantation, and a rich pasture with faithful shepherds where every lean one shall wax fat.'

A Messianic rising, or so Goitein interprets it on the basis of Ḥabshūsh's⁴³ account of his travels, took place three centuries later, meeting with some success. Zabārah's⁴⁴ version is that in 905/1499-1500 a Yahūdī appeared in Bayḥān of the eastern parts (Mashāriq) of the Yemen, as an impostor (*mumawwih-an*). The rabble (*al-awbāsh*) collected around him and he became a place of refuge to him who had committed offences (*aḥdath al-aḥdāth*). So Sultan 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the Ṭāhirid, went to Bayḥān with a band of soldiers, making a show of going to the hunt, and for recreation (*nuzḥah*), but the Yahūdī took warning and removed from the place at which he thought the Sultan would alight. This Yahūdī behaved haughtily and overbearingly (*tajabbār wa-takabbār*), rode horses with saddles with silver mounts (*surūj mufaḍḍaḍah*), and every Jew supported him. The place where he had hidden was pointed out to the Sultan and he sent men who drove him out and seized him and his children and those who had joined him. They brought them humiliated (*dhalīl-an*) to the Sultan, and he ordered him to be executed. A Ḥaḍramī writer adds that he was insolent to (*yataḥawwā*)⁴⁵ to

37 Nazīh, op. cit., I, 292-93, says that the Imām has prohibited the emigration to Palestine but some Jews go without the Imām's knowledge, via Aden.

38 Today there is only one, perhaps two Jews in Ṣan'ā' (1975), as contrasted with Nazīh, op. cit., I, 141, 10,000 males, and Mohammed Hasan, *Qalb al-Yaman*, 167, 5,000.

'There were one thousand silversmiths among the forty-five thousand Yemenite settlers in 1949—the proportion is much larger than it seems for Yemenite families are large—but at present only about fifty ply their ancestral skills.' 'The story of Zecharia is typical. He belongs to a group of silversmiths, . . . who were not allowed to leave until they had taught the Moslems the secrets of their calling. He has been settled in his village, an hour's run south of Tel Aviv for five years now, but he is not happy. "In Yemen", he says, "I made ten bracelets a month and I had enough money to feed my family, and leisure to study the Holy Law. Here I work every day, all day long and I cannot make ends meet." ' (Nahum Pundak, 'The Jewish silversmiths from the Yemen', *Ariel*, Jerusalem, 1966, XV, 26, (with excel-

lent illustrations of silver jewellery).

39 A. S. Halkin and Boaz Cohen, *Moses Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen*, New York, 1952, I. Michael L. Bates, 'Yemen and its conquest by the Ayyubids of Egypt (A.D. 1137-1202)', Chicago University thesis, June, 1975, 304, says al-Mu'izz Ismā'il (ob. 598/1202) ordered conversion to Islam of the Yemen Jews and Christians.

40 H. Cassels Kay, *Yaman, its early Medieval history*, London, 1892, 164.

41 Ibn Furāt, *Tārīkh*, IV, fols. 198 a & b, quoted by M. L. Bates.

42 Ibid, loc. cit.

43 In an article in the Literary Supplement to *Ha-Aretz*, 17, ix, 50.

44 *A'immat al-Yaman*, Ta'izz, 1372/1952, I, 360. Zabārah is drawing on Ms. sources not named. The entry on this event from the Ḥaḍramī chronicle of Bā Faḥīh al-Shihri is quoted in Arabic in BSOAS, London, 1950, XIII, ii, 294. Cf. the British Museum Ms. *al-Sanā' al-bāhir* of al-Shillī, fol. 180a, Vienna Ms of *Qur'at al-Uyūn*, 88a. Cf. 'A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān', *JRAS*, Oct., 1953, 117-31, for general background.

45 BSOAS, loc. cit.

the Muslims, and was followed by many Jews, especially those who had become Jews after turning Muslim, i.e., apostates from Islam.⁴⁶

Perhaps, over the next decades, there may have been recrudescences of agitation among the Yemenite Jews, Messianic or otherwise, involving them in antagonism with the Muslims. If it was so, then the chroniclers have ignored it until the *Ghāyat al-amānī*⁴⁷ in the entries for the year 945/1538-9, remarks, 'During this period declarations and disputations (*al-aqāwīl wa-l-murāja'āt*)⁴⁸ on account of the dwelling of the Jews of the Ahl al-Dhimmah in the Arabian Peninsula were frequent. So the Imām Sharaf al-Dīn and the Qāḍī Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Rāwā'⁴⁹ composed a decree (*marṣūm*) deciding that they be allowed to remain on the basis of their covenant and religion as formerly, and they have stayed established according to this up until now (i.e. 1045/1636). The ulema of the two factions agree that what is intended by Jazīrat al-'Arab is the Hījāz⁵⁰ only. God is most knowing.' This decree then was issued a little after a decade from the destruction of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, in that era of Zaydī dominance of the Yemen just before the Ottomans took Ṣan'ā'.

Around about this time, possibly, it could be that Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī⁵¹ (911-73/1505 to 1565-6) delivered his pronouncement on synagogues, though whether this Shāfi'ī 'ālim had any direct links with the Zaydīs does not seem to be known. The question was put to him, 'One of them has given a *fatwā* on the demolition of all the synagogues of the Yemen—is what he said correct or not?'

'He replied, may Exalted God, far from imperfection, benefit us and the Muslims through his knowledge (*'ilm*), with the words, "The Yemen is one of the places whose people accepted Islam at his (the Prophet's) hands, and the two Shaykhs⁵² have linked up this section with what is known to have been introduced in Islam, in that whatever synagogue, about the innovation or antiquity (*qidam*)⁵³ of which there is doubt, is not to be demolished because of the possibility that it was (originally) in an open piece of country (*barriyyah*), and building (*'imārah*) has extended up to it. But Ibn al-Rif'ah⁵⁴ and those who followed him in (the matter of) the synagogues of Cairo, took the course that declares all of the synagogues of Aden should be demolished, because of the utter impossibility of that eventuality in their case, since the wall surrounding it (Aden) is ancient, pre-Islamic, it (the wall) being enclosed by the mountains and sea, so that it is not possible that Aden's synagogues were anything else but the buildings (*'imārah*) of the town, and that (the buildings) extended up to them."

In the 11th/17th century however, it was a disturbance outside the Yemen in Jewry, which had repercussions among the Jews of the Yemenite community. A certain Shabbatai Ṣwī born at Smyrna in 1626, a mystic, proclaimed himself Messiah when aged only 22 and foretold that 1648 would be the 'Year of Salvation'. Driven from Smyrna by the rabbinate, he went to Istanbul, then Cairo and he found support there with the powerful treasurer to the Turkish Governor, Raphael Ḥalabī. He went to Jerusalem where a young student recognised him as Messiah,

and proclaimed 1666 to be the apocalyptic year. Shabbatai returned to Smyrna and his movement spread to Jewish communities in Europe and the cities of North Africa. In the vital apocalyptic year he went to Istanbul, but was imprisoned, and, taken before the Ottoman Sultan in Adrianople where he was threatened with torture, he became converted to Islam. The Sultan re-named him Mehmed Effendi and appointed him his personal door-keeper. Few of his disciples were not disillusioned by his apostasy, and he is regarded by the Jews as a false Messiah.

Jewish writers have described the effect of Shabbatai's Messianic movement on the communities of the Yemen, but let it be described as the Zaydī ulema and administrators saw it from the chronicles of *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā* which follow. The Jewish challenger to the Qaṣr of Ṣan'ā' may, it seems, be identified with a certain scholar, chief and Naḡid (headman) called Moshe who lived in Ṣan'ā', or the Head of the Ṣan'ā' community, Mori Slimān al-Jamal, who, the Jewish source tells us, dressed in royal clothing, was arrested, led out, and, with the words, 'This is your Messiah', executed.⁵⁵

The *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*⁵⁶ describes the event in the following terms:

In Rajab 1076/January-February 1666, the Jews made preparation to leave the(ir) abode (*al-muqām*) and join their brethren in Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis) and Syria (al-Shām), alleging that their king the Messiah (al-Masīḥ) Ibn Dāwūd had appeared there and that complete sovereignty had been assured him. They sold their goods at low prices and made preparations to assemble to go on the road of Satan.⁵⁷ Some of them spread news that he (the Messiah) would bring them what would bear them to that place without fatigue or fear.⁵⁸

Here the author interposes a reference to the Jews in the Qur'ān verse⁵⁹ 'Fī ṣudūri-him illā kibr-un, In their hearts is naught but arrogance', citing also the *Kashshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī, to refute their Messianic claims. He then continues,

'The Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn⁶⁰ wrote down a question to the Imām. In the response (of the Imām) there occurred what decides that their not abiding by the customs of protection (*rusūm al-dhimmah*) annuls (automatically) that (protection). This judgement (*kalām*) was passed from one to another until it reached Kawkabān and Shibām, so they raped (*ḥatakū*) the women of those Jews there with them and seized what they had in the way of furnishings, jewellery and money, and when the crier in Shibām proclaimed⁶¹ that this was by order of the Imām the people of Ḥāz, al-Ghurzah⁶² and al-'Arūs set energetically to robbing those (Jews) with them. A body of Hamdān and Ḥaḍūr arrived at Ṣan'ā', but the pasture was afflicted with drought in their case and the attempt in vain, for the Amīr of the town, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad held them back. When the Imām heard of their robbing he closed that door, reminding that he had not commanded robbery (of the Jews), and punishments (*ādāb*) were meted out to those who had robbed them.

When the fire of their folly had begun to die down and no (further) attention was being paid to their overt⁶³ action, they

46 Goitein's article suggests that von Maltzan's statement that Jews were not allowed to live in Bayḥān is confirmed by the crushing of the movement there. However the Aden newspaper *al-Nahḍah*, 2, XII, 1949, 86, notes that the Jews leave Bayḥān for Palestine. In 1954 one met there Muslimānis, Jews converted to Islam—not improbably after 'Amīr put down this Jew in question.

47 Op. cit., II, 685, reproduced almost *verbatim* by Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 418.

48 This phrase is capable of a variety of interpretations.

49 Reading Rāwā' for the editors' Dāwā', following Zabārah.

50 While not wishing to enter into the theoretical problem as to whether the Ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet means that he intended the Yemen also, it does not look as if the Ḥadīths quoted in Wensinck's *Concordance* from Bukhārī and Muslim carry this intention.

51 *Al-Fatāwā al-kubrā*, Cairo, 1938, IV, 248, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Risālah fi baqā' al-Yahūd fi ard al-Yaman*, ed. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawli, Cairo, 1344 H., is cited by Brockelmann, *Gal., Sup.*, II, 74, but this was unavailable to me. Al-'Asqalānī died in 852/1449.

52 Presumably Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

53 *Qidam* means also pre-existence, so pre-Islamic is probably intended.

54 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rif'ah al-Miṣri al-Shāfi'ī, ob. 710/1310, was in charge of *ḥisbah* in Egypt.

55 Brauer, *Jemenischen Juden*, 375-6.

56 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 63a.

57 The *Ṭabaq* being composed in rhymed prose, 'Satan' fits the rhyme, but has little real significance.

58 This traditional belief of the Yemenite Jews was skilfully utilised by the promoters of the 1949-50 exodus, as even in the title *Magic Carpet* of Shlomo Barer, London, 1952.

59 Qur'ān, XL, 56.

60 Cf. al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-jālī*, Cairo, 1348 H., I, 58, for his biography.

61 *Ṣarakh al-ṣārikh*.

62 Reading confirmed by Robert Wilson for the text's 'rsah.

63 'Overt' is probably inserted only to rhyme.

turned to a man of theirs and decked him out in the most splendid clothing and circulated the cups of drink about him. Then once the evil spirit of wine (*ghul al-khamr*) had seized him and brought him into an exuberant state, he went up to al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr, desiring to ascend its seat and throne, summoning (both) those serving (*al-ma'mūr*) and the Amīr to obey him. He addressed the Sayyid Jamāl al-Islām⁶⁴ in Hebrew with a speech the purport of which was that your sovereignty is ended, so strike your tents, come out of al-Qaṣr and surrender the command to me! Those people around (*ahl al-ḥaḍrah*) hastened to pull him down and each of them applied himself to his sandals and poured upon him a rain without a spring-time⁶⁵ by way of deserts for this disgraceful and impudent act. Then they went on with him to al-Bustān⁶⁶ Prison where they lodged him in the lodgings of abasement, taking off the silken robes he was wearing. Thus was his authority (*riyāsah*) metamorphosed into chastisement (*ta'zīr*) just as his brethren were metamorphosed into apes and pigs.⁶⁷ His case was brought up to the Imām (al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim) whose answer returned containing satisfaction for the people for the evil of him, and giving him to taste of the consequences of his breaking (the covenant with the Jews) and his trickery. So they brought him to al-Ḥalaqah and struck off his head; he was strung up at Bāb Sha'ūb where he remained some time in the position of one who had been hung (*maṣlūb*).

At this (same time) the Imām doubled the penalties/fines (*ādāb*) on the Jews, removed their turbans from (their) heads and sent up their chiefs (*kibār*) to the prisons.⁶⁸

The reprisals taken against the Yemeni Jews, probably mainly in Ṣan'ā', seem to have been severe, for about three years later, in 1080/1669-70,⁶⁹ 'the Imām lifted the fines (*ādāb*) from the Ahl al-Dhimmah (the Jews) after some of them had died of starvation and some had adopted Islam.' In the year 1084/1673-4⁷⁰ 'the Imām released their property to the Jews, the curse of God be on them, and removed from them (payment of what) was over and above the poll-tax (*al-ṣā'id 'ala 'l-jizyah*).' However, in 1086/1675-6, 'the Imām ordered that the property of the Dhimmīs throughout the country should be evaluated (*tuqawwam*) and the

tithe (*'ushr*) be taken from them—from which he collected a lot.'⁷¹ A likely explanation of this entry in the chronicle is that the Imām, after restoring their property to the Jews, allowed them about two years in which to bring it back into productivity, free of tax.

Al-Mutawakkil was succeeded by the warrior Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, and it is recorded⁷² that in Sha'bān, 1088/September, 1677, 'the order of the Imām was issued to al-'Izz⁷³ Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh to expel the Jews and destroy their synagogues. After the order to do this, he entered into their case with the Ṣan'ā' ulema, and, of these latter, Qāḍī Muḥammad b. 'Alī Qays al-Thulā'ī⁷⁴ and, with him in this, Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abi 'l-Rijāl⁷⁵ inclined to the Imām's opinion (*ra'y*). This (view) was also conveyed (*nuqila*),⁷⁶ on the authority of the Qāḍī Abū Zakariyā',⁷⁷ from the ulema of the Shāfi'iyyah, but some of them said, "This is not found in his writings (*mu'allafāt*), and support for this is (to be looked for) in the Tradition which was the last speech the Prophet uttered, containing 'Akhrijū 'l-Yahūd min Jazīrat al-'Arab',⁷⁸ Expel the Jews from the Arabian Peninsula', to be construed as preserving the sense of 'Jazīrah' in its plain meaning. A group of the ulema of the time inclined (to consider) the 'expulsion' of them, occurring in the first part, was from the Hijāz⁷⁹ only, and that not to obstruct them in other parts of the rest of the lands of the Peninsula⁸⁰ is tantamount to a rule (*ḥukm*).'⁸¹

'So the Imām took active steps to demolish those synagogues he found in Bilād al-Bawn and when he came to a decision on the matter the Imām made them travel to Mawza', and a scholar of theirs perished. Then after a while they returned to their places, but most of these had been sold, and there was selected for the Jews of Ṣan'ā' their quarter (*maḥall*) of Qā' Ṣan'ā' known to the present day.'⁸²

A little later⁸³—'in these days (1090/1679) the synagogue (*kamisah*) of the Jews in Ṣan'ā' was (re-) opened after the Imām had ordered it to be nailed up, and those of their books it contained were taken out, and the wine that was in its store (*mikhzān*)⁸⁴ poured into its latrines (*maṣāliḥ*).⁸⁵ He ordered the Jews to go out (from Ṣan'ā') and they went out in bands.⁸⁶ They sold such of their houses as would sell well (*nafaqa*) and destroyed what

64 Presumably the same as 'Alī al-Mu'ayyad, supra.

65 Cf. al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1965, 655, no. 1108, Spring rain is the most advantageous.

66 i.e. Bustān al-Sultān.

67 Cf. *Qur'an*, V, 66.

68 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī, 'Wathīqah tarīkhīyyah 'an Yahūd al-Yaman', *al-Bayān*, Kuwait, May, 1974, XCIII, 52-8, describes this event. Al-Jirāfī's account (*Muqtaṭaf*, 163) of the 1077/1666 episode provides some further particulars. The Jews of Ṣan'ā' and other parts of the Yemen 'broke the treaty', and corresponded with each other in all districts of the country, claiming that al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl had appeared and they had become his supporters. The era of the Muslims had come to an end so they began to sell their possessions and angry sayings (*hawādīr*) and reprehensible acts appeared on their part. So the Imām quickly imprisoned a number of their notables, confining their chief (*kabīr*) al-Naqqāsh (Sulīmān al-Naqqāsh) in Kamarān. In Ṣan'ā' they collected round Sulaymān al-Aqṭā' (Shelomoh al-Qāṭa'), decked him out and loaded him with weapons. They gathered around him and went to the Amīr of the Qaṣr, 'Alī b. al-Mu'ayyad but on the way they got separated from him and he arrived by himself at the Qaṣr. When he entered the presence of the Amīr he said in a language which only a few of those present understood, 'get up from your seat for your turn of fortune has departed (*qad dālat dawlatu-kum*) and your era has come to an end.' Thereupon the Amīr commanded that his mental faculties be examined, thinking he was afflicted by madness or by the jinn (*khabal*), or that he was drunk. But when it became evident that he was sane and in full possession of his mental faculties he put him in prison, and when his case came up to the Imām he ordered him to be executed and hung up. Jirāfī quotes verses by Aḥmad al-Yanbu'i on this occasion.

69 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 80b.

70 Ibid, fol. 100b.

71 Ibid, fol. 106b.

72 Ibid, fol. 119a.

73 Text *al-'r*.

74 Thulā'ī is restored from a word lacking diacritics, but is not a *nisbah* given in *Mulḥaq al-Badr al-jālī*, 205. He died at Qaryat al-Qābil in 1096/1685.

75 For Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, see *al-Badr al-jālī*, II, 95. For Aḥmad b. Abi

'l-Rijāl, see *ibid*, I, 59, and Brockelmann, *Gal.*, Sup., II, 561. He flourished from 1029/1620-1092/1681, and, in his latter years, was secretary to al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il. Abu 'l-Rijāl is a celebrated Qāḍī family. A work known to Brockelmann, *al-Nuṣūṣ al-tāhīrah fī ijlā' al-Yahūd al-fajrah*, (Ambrosiana, D. 500) is probably written by him, and not by his descendant of the same name (*al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 61). Another treatise, *al-Tanbīh 'alā mā wajaba min ikhrāj al-Yahūd min Jazīrat al-'Arab*, by an unidentified 'Alī b. Ismā'il al-Nihmī is also preserved in Ambrosiana D. 500, ii. The first at least ante-dates the controversy on the literature on the expulsion of the Jews on p. 394a (n) seq.

76 The Ms. has no diacritics.

77 Muḥammad al-Ansārī al-Nawawī, ob. 676/1278, the celebrated 'ālim.

78 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, II, 295, *Akhrijū 'l-mushrikīn min Jazīrat al-'Arab* is one of the three injunctions of the Prophet on his death-bed quoted by the Hadīth. 'Umar expelled the Jews from the Hijāz (*ibid*, II, 72). Cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with al-Nawawī's commentary, IV, 94, ditto.

79 In opposition to expelling the Jews from the Yemen was Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Ṣan'ānī who became Qāḍī of Ṣan'ā' in the days of al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan. He flourished from 1048/1683-9 to 1119/1707-8. *Nashr al-'arf*, Cairo, 1359-76 H., I, 622-3, says he wrote a *risālah* on the Hadīth, *Akhrijū 'l-Yahūd min Jazīrat al-'Arab*—in this, taking his stand on the reading (*riwāyah*) 'min al-Hijāz', he argued that the intention was to expel them from the Hijāz only.

80 Al-Shāfi'i is quoted as saying, 'I do not know anyone who expelled any of the Ahl al-Dhimmah from the Yemen,' by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa', *al-Wathā'iq al-Islāmiyyah al-Yamaniyyah*, Baghdad, 1396/1976, 174-282.

81 An involved hair-splitting grammatical argument has been omitted here.

82 According to Goitein, *From the land of Sheba*, New York, 1949, 105, Sultan Saḥīyy al-Dīn took the Jews back from Mawza' to Ṣan'ā'. This is al-'Izz Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil who succeeded al-Mahdī Aḥmad in 1092/1681. The scholar who perished would be Mōri Yahyā al-Abyaḍ (*ibid*, 104).

83 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, fols. 122b-123a.

84 Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 45, reads *mihrah* for *mikhzān*, improbably. When wine made by the Jews came to public notice, especially if sold to Muslims, it was destroyed, as for example in 1069/1658-9 when the Imām's guards smashed Jewish wine-vessels (*Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 43b).

85 Dozy, *Supplément*, gives this sense.

86 Cf. *Qur'an*, CX, 2.

did not sell. The synagogue was destroyed and ‘Izz al-Islām Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil held a discussion on it on account of its antiquity (*taqaddum*) as is in al-Rāzī’s *Tārīkh*⁸⁷ and other (histories). Then the Imām resolved on that which was desired, so it was demolished and in its place was built the mosque known today as Masjid al-Jalā (the Mosque of the Expulsion), and on its frieze (*ṭirāz*) were inscribed (the following verses) by the Qāḍī, the very learned Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Šahūlī:⁸⁸

Our Imām is al-Mahdī, sun of (religious) guidance,
Aḥmad, (grand-) son of him who rose (al-Qā’im)⁸⁹ al-Qāsim.
Exalted miracles are his, such as were not
Accorded before to (any) Hādawī or Qāsimī.⁹⁰
Were there none of them but his expulsion
Of the Jews of Šan‘ā’, the wickedest of the World,
And his conversion of their synagogue (*bī‘ah*) into a mosque
For those prostrating themselves to God, and those rising
(*qā’im*) (to prayer),
Triumphant he would have been with the ordering of it,
gaining.⁹¹
And the date comes together in *ghānim*⁹²

Among others the eminent poet and Cabbalist of the Jews, Mōrī Sālim Shabāzī,⁹³ has left a lament on the expulsion of the Šan‘ā’ Jews to Mawza’ which took place when he was in his later twenties. Shabāzī went with Rabbi Sulaymān Naqqāsh to negotiate permission to settle there for the Jews who had gone to Dhamār until they could sell their Šan‘ā’ property as described in the verses,

I shall pour out my tears—like rain they pour—on all the sons of desire who have gone into exile.

They have forgotten happiness and are humiliated: they were uprooted in haste, in the desert they tread.

On the day when Uzal (Šan‘ā’) went into exile, and they bore the burden. Sun and Moon were extinguished at their coming forth . . .

Midrash, Talmud and Torah they have abrogated, clerk and elder are dragged away . . .

Hadoram (i.e. Dhamār), to thee the congregation of God is dragged away . . .

Ḥabshūsh claims that the Imām’s original intention was to deport the community to Zayla’, but this was altered to Mawza’ on intervention by the chiefs of the tribes. It is by no means certain that all the Šan‘ā’ Jews settled there for there are also reports of their settling at Ta‘izz and Jiblah which are far more congenial than Mawza’ where the water they found was bad, though relations with the authorities in Mawza’ itself were good.

Jewish Versions of the Expulsion from Šan‘ā’

The temporary expulsion of the Šan‘ā’ Jews to Mawza’ is the most significant event in their history. It is presented by Jewish writers,⁹⁴ basing themselves on Yemeni Jewish sources, as a sudden act of tyranny on the part of the Zaydī Imām, but this attitude must be modified in the light of the Muslim sources now at our disposal. The Šan‘ānī Jew whose tales, recorded by Leslau,⁹⁵

though semi-legendary have an undoubted basis in fact, describes the incident. ‘It is said that, in the days of Aḥmad al-Mahdī, it was decreed that the Jews who dwelled in Šan‘ā’ be expelled from the city and that they be given a dwelling-place in Mawza’. Now Mawza’⁹⁶ was a deserted region (*khalā’*) and a habitation of wild animals and beasts. So the Jews were moved to Mawza’ by force, against their will.’ There follows an account of the sufferings the Jews endured in the hot climate of Mawza’, and though their supposed sufferings from wild beasts should probably be discounted as legend, a community of craftsmen so suddenly displaced from its means of gaining a livelihood, cannot but have had much to endure.

However, as Jarashī⁹⁷ tells us, the Muslims of Šan‘ā’ regretted their action, in expelling the Jews from Šan‘ā’ ‘because nobody remained who could do the work they needed. For all the Jews were craftsmen, some used to weave cloth, some were silversmiths, some used to make (*waqqār*)⁹⁸ millstones, some were blacksmiths, some carpenters, some makers of boots (*bashāmiq*), some were builders, and some used to make bricks (*yilbanū*)⁹⁹—I mean they used to be acquainted with all the crafts. The Muslims decided to bring the Jews back except only that they would settle them outside Šan‘ā’ city, and the place (*maṭrah*) is called Qā’ al-Yahūd, and they brought back the Jews and they settled there.’ On their return from Mawza’ the leader of the Jews was Yaḥyā ha-Laywī al-Shaykh,¹⁰⁰ perhaps of the family that gave its name to the pottery described as the manufacture of al-Laywī¹⁰¹ in the early 13th/19th century.

Al-Badr b. al-Amīr and the Šan‘ā’ Jews

On the two recorded occasions later, Zaydī Imāms contemplated measures to expel the Jews from the Yemen, but these came to nothing. Such political reasons as may have lain behind ostensibly religious motives are at present not at all clear, but there were always ulema holding the view that, as long as they kept to their contract with Islam, there was no cause to expel them. There were always solid economic reasons for retaining the Jews. Some fifty years after the settlement in Bīr al-‘Azab, the question once more came to the fore, touched off by an unfortunate accident which brought into the broad light of day their selling of wine to Muslims. The scholar of note, Ibn al-Amīr, had enemies among the ulema, and certain of them, hostile to him, had tried to implicate him in allowing the Jews to do so, and his reaction against these latter was severe.

In the histories the clandestine and illegal sale of wine, legally manufactured by Jews for their own use, to Muslims, recurs again and again. For instance in or about 1063/1626-7, being informed that certain of the Šan‘ā’ Jews were selling wines, the Imām ordered them to be arrested, the wines brought out into the open before the people’s eyes, their houses to be demolished and that they be bound with ropes and taken to the fortress of Thulā/Thilā.¹⁰² Again, in Muḥarrām, 1071/1660 the Imām prevented the people of the Dhimmah from pressing wine (*‘aṣīr al-khamr*) in their houses, and ordered the wine-vessels to be broken.¹⁰³

During the first Ottoman Occupation, Ibn Ja‘mān¹⁰⁴ the Šāfi‘ī

87 The allusion is not clear. Al-Rāzī, op. cit., 32, speaks of Bī‘at al-Yahūd at the lower end of the Copper-tinning Market north of the Christian *kanisah*, but this cannot be identified with the synagogue converted into Masjid al-Jalā. For the point about antiquity, cf. Ibn Hajar, supra, p. 173 infra.

88 For al-Šahūlī, see p. 542b. The verses are quoted also in *marājiḍ Šan‘ā’*, 42.

89 Al-Qā’im—probably alluding to his rising against the Ottomans.

90 A Hādawī is a follower of al-Hādī, al-Qāsimī a member of the House of al-Qāsim the Great.

91 Cf. *Qur’ān*, VIII, 42, ‘*Mā ghanimtum*, What you take by force from the Unbelievers.’

92 i.e., the numerical value of the letters of *ghānim* adds up to 1091 (1680). The verses are in gypsum-plaster (*juṣṣ*).

93 See M. Zadoc, *History and customs of the Jews in the Yemen*, op. cit., 56; Brauer, *Jemenitischen Juden*, 351. For the verses, see *Diwan of Hebrew and Arabic poetry of the Yemenite Jews*, coll. and ed. A. Z. Idelsohn, Cincinnati (Palestine pr.), 1930, 98-99, and Ratzaby in *Sefunot*, 1961, V.

94 Goitein, op. cit., 101 seq.; Brauer, op. cit., 36.

95 ‘Texts on Yemenite folklore’, *Proc. Amer. Acad. for Jewish research*, Philadelphia, 1944, XIV, 231.

96 *Khalā’* means the open countryside, rather than a deserted region. Mawza’ is a large village not far from Mocha. There is quite a lot of cultivation in the area.

97 Leslau, loc. cit.

98 Other sources seem to indicate that *waqqār* means, rather, to roughen a millstone.

99 *Yilbinū*—to make bricks, of Genesis, XI, 2; Exodus, V, 714. I have made slight adjustments to the translation.

100 Brauer, op. cit., 38.

101 *Qānūn Šan‘ā’*, section 47, a.

102 Al-Jarmūzī, *al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 303.

103 *Tabaq al-hakwā*, fol. 43b.

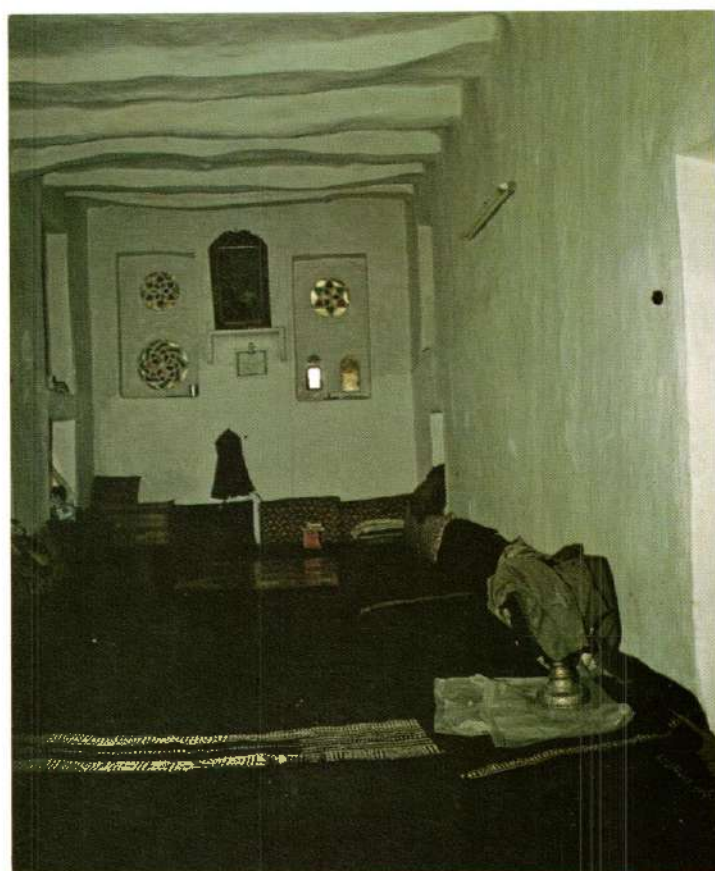
104 *Fatāwā*, 10-11.



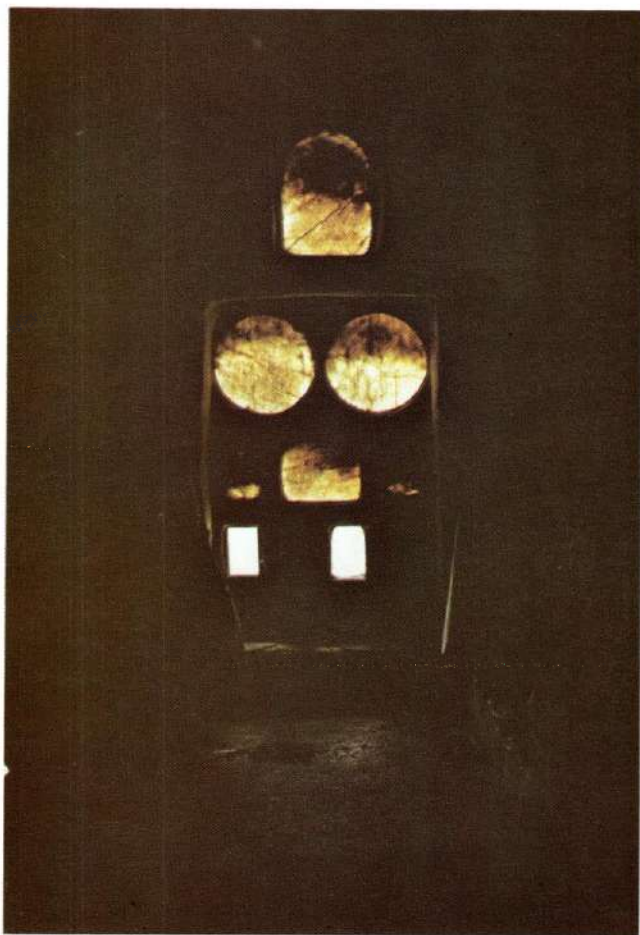
66 House H. Entrance hall.



67 House H. Foot of main staircase.



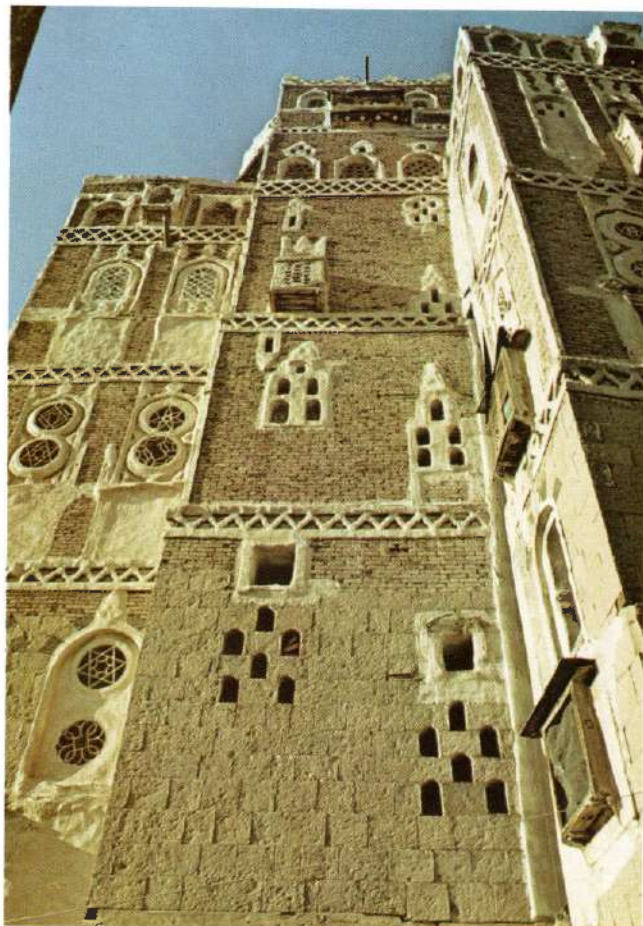
68 House H. *Divân*, with carpets (*fard*) of black goat-hair and bands of decoration in white wool.



69 House F. Alabaster windows on the landing.



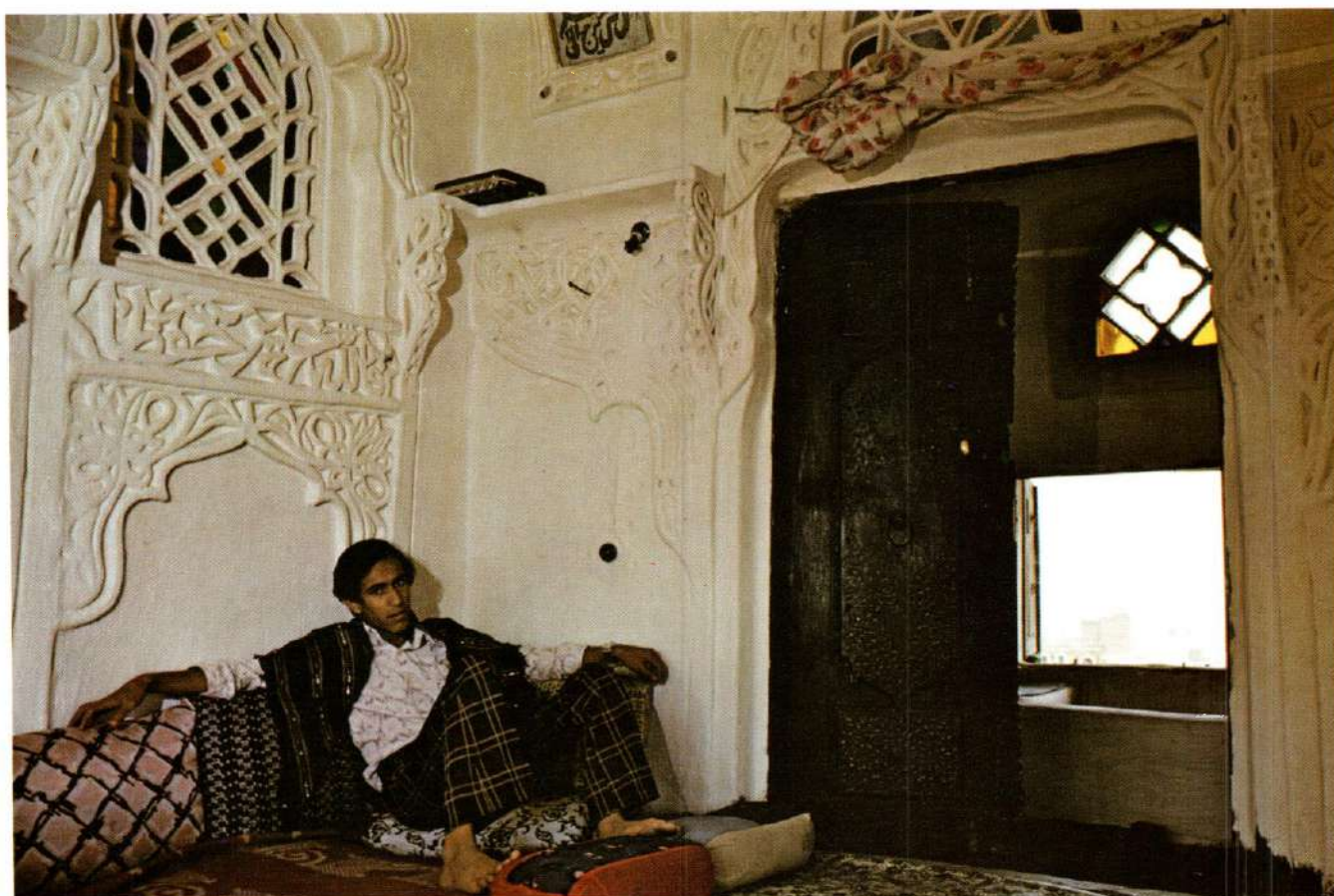
70 House F. Staircase.



71 House A. The north walls, looking up.



72 Characteristic *diwān* in an old Şan'a house, with a brass tray prepared with waterpipes, spittoons and sweetmeat bowls.



73 House A. The *mafraj*, with the distant view to the north across the lobby.



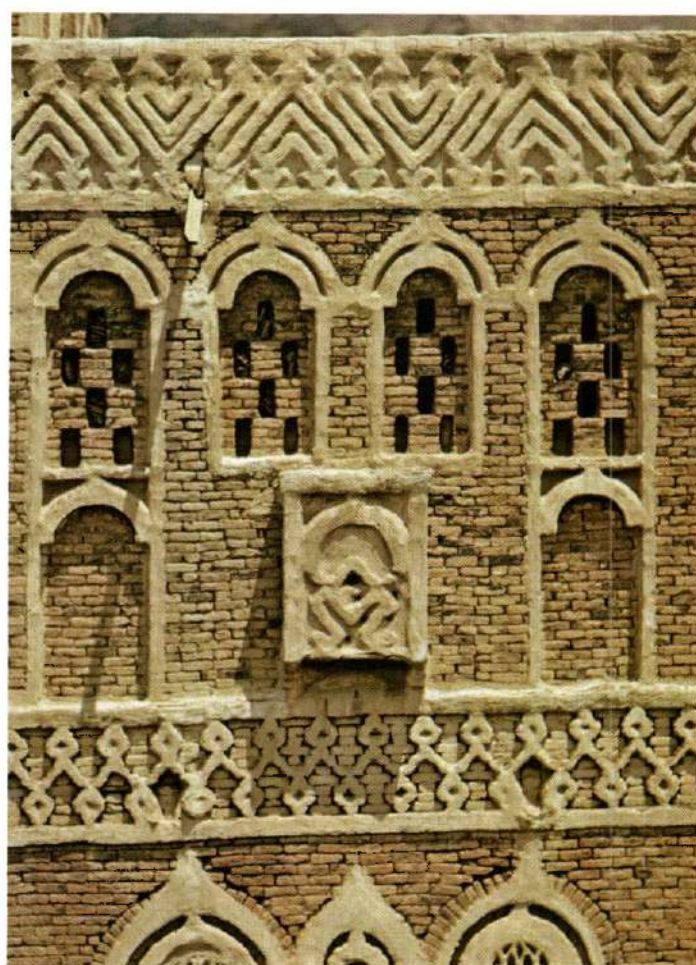
74 House N. The entrance elevation (with another house on the left).



75 House M. The doors to the *diwān*, carved and decorated with metal bosses.



76 House BT. A typical lobby, with a small gypsum staircase leading up to the clothing wardrobe above a bathroom.

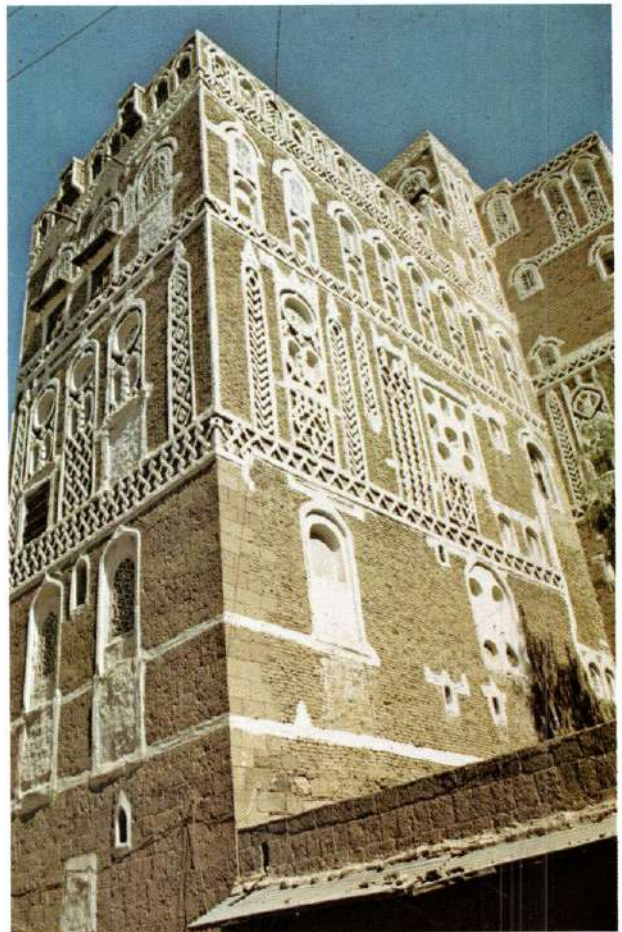


77 A typical exterior of a kitchen in San'a'.

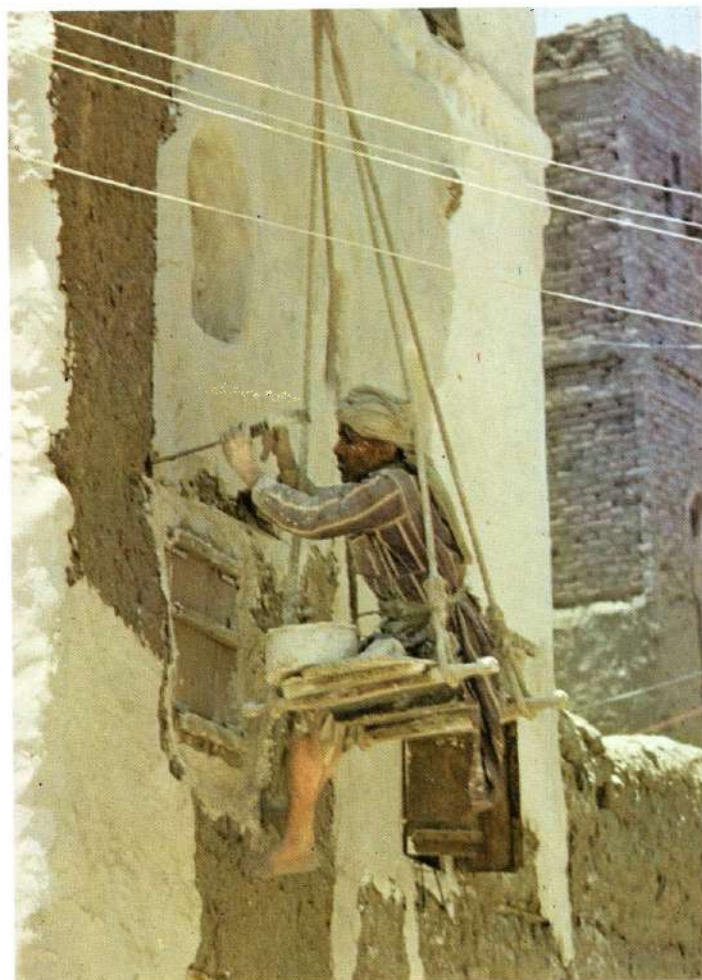


78 A typical villa in the gardens outside the western walls of the old city.

80 Construction of a house. Detail of a house front, showing the brickwork decoration and gypsum window grilles (House M).



79 House at al-Rawḍah. The pool seen from the *mafrāj*.



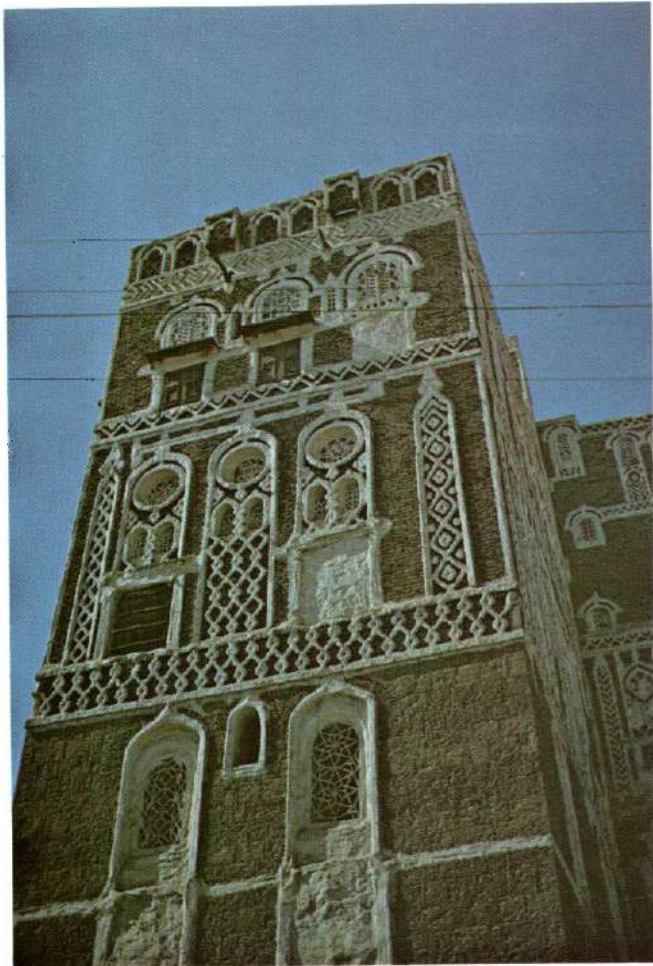
81 Construction of a house. Executing repairs high up on the outside of a building from a cradle (*isqalah*).



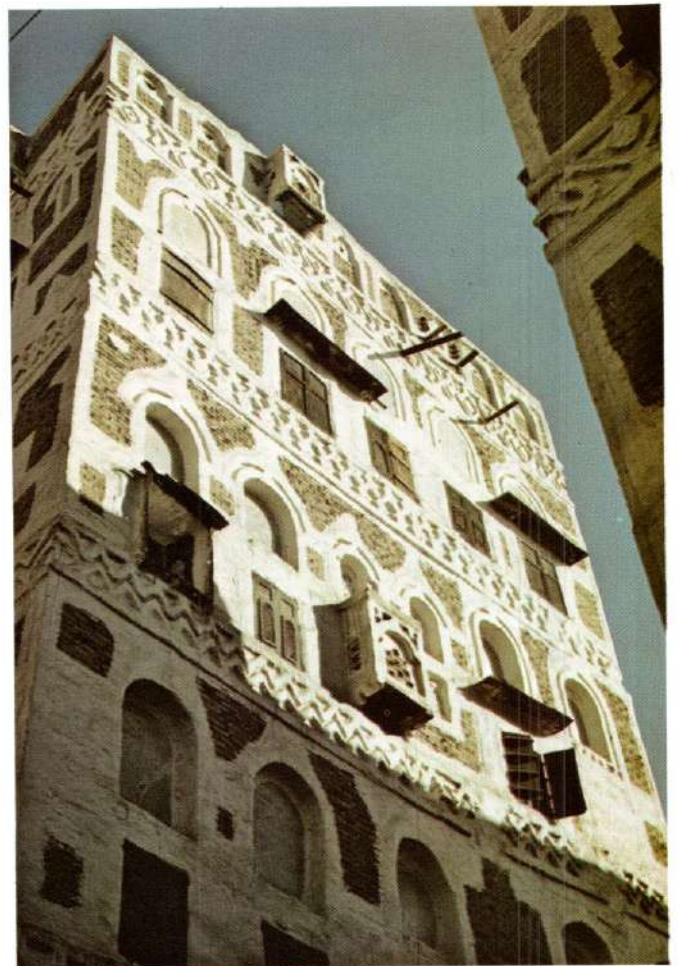
82 Children playing in front of a house with a beautifully decorated upper storey.



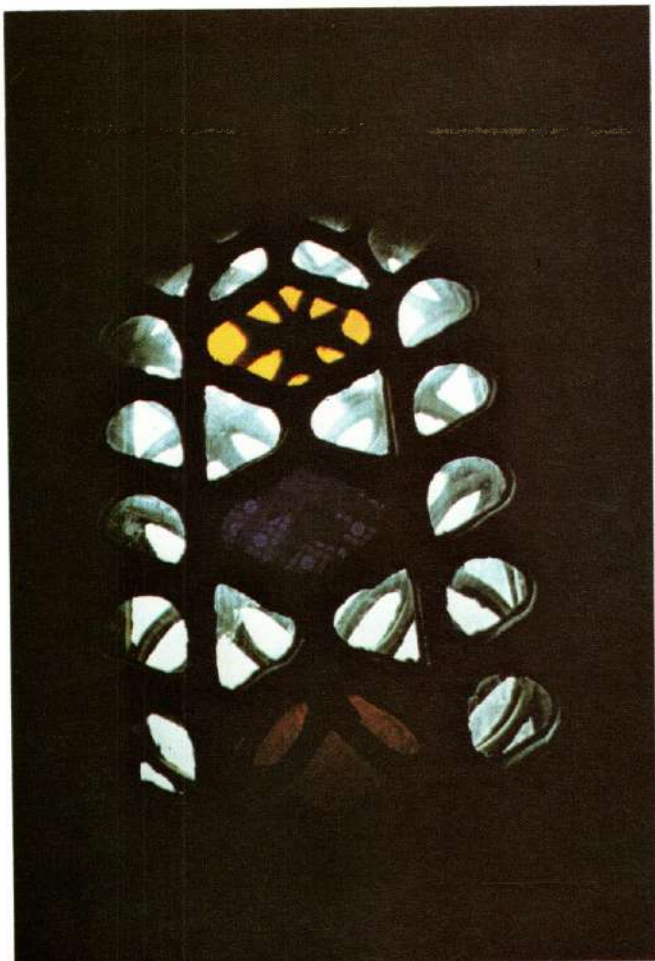
83 Houses and minarets.



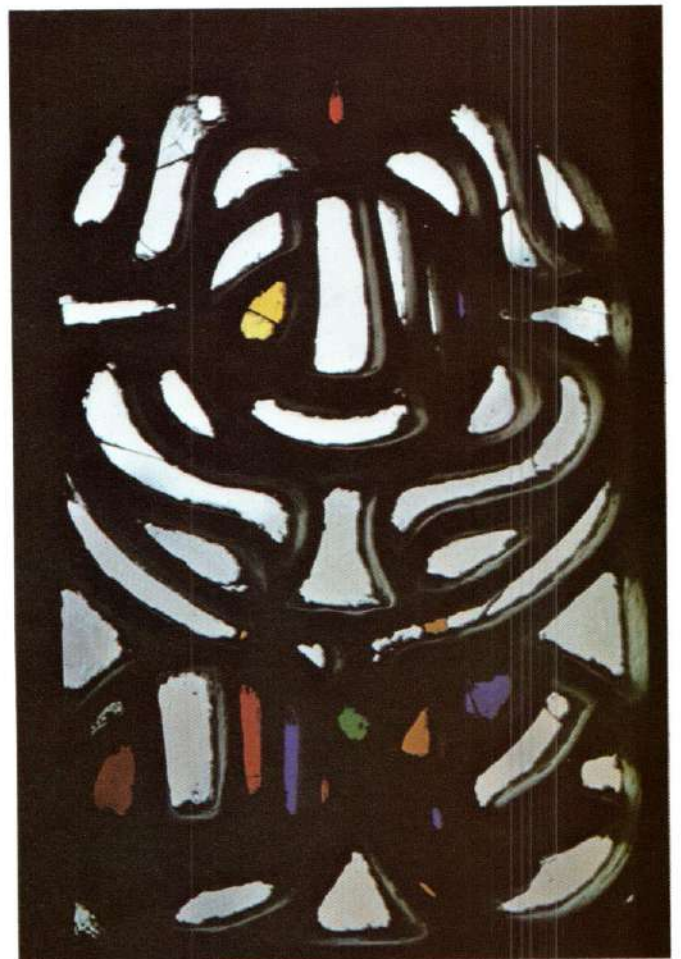
84 Finely decorated house near al-Ṭawāshī.



85 House with large alabaster upper windows.



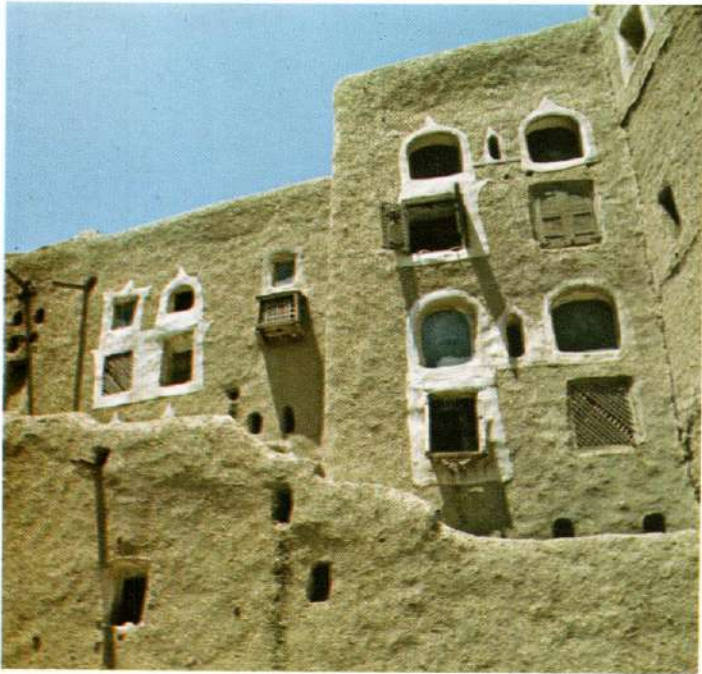
86 Typical upper window of coloured glass in a Ṣan'ā' house.



87 Another example of a coloured glass window in Ṣan'ā' with 'Allāh' in the plaster tracery.



88 A semi-circular *ḏiṭwān* inside a *nōbah*.



89 Houses in the Jewish quarter at al-Qā'.



90 Hammām Shukr (*centre right*). Scene from the entrance outside.



91 Hammām Saba' (*bottom right*). The domes on the roof.



92 Hammām Shukr. The interior of the hot room in use.



93 Hammām al-Maydān. View of the baths from the Maydān.



94 Hammām al-Maydān (*top*). A view of the building from the rear showing the yard into which fuel is delivered by donkey-drawn garry and, behind, the well from which water is drawn.

95 Hammām Saba' (*bottom*). The interior of the changing room.



96 Hammām al-Sultān. The cold pool room with the central fountain throwing a thin jet high in the air; warm shafts of sunlight filter through small lights in the dome above.



97 A man of the Sayyid or Qādi class wearing an 'imāmah mula'wūqah and over his white *qamis* a fine wool *shāl*. He is carrying a bunch of horse-radish (*qushmī*) from the market.



98 A girl wearing a *sitārah ghanamī* over her *lithmah* veil without a *maghmūq* face-panel.



99 A woman of the *Khādim* class, wearing a frock of lower Yemeni type, who with two companions entertained the public with songs accompanied by a *tambourine*.
(Photo: D. Hoppe.)



100 'Uṣbah headdress, comprising the *makhnaqah* cloth wound under the chin and over the head, through which pins (*marātiq*) are pierced, the *qashūṭah mutartar*, of silk worked with sequins, the *tazjah*, silver embroidered band behind it, and the *maqramah* shawl. *Al-mashāqir* is the name for the lower bunch of *shadhāb*, rue, and the upper bunch of *rayḥān*, sweet basil. The necklaces include *kirab*, amber, and an '*aqd mirjān*, coral and silver beads. (Photo: M. Mundy, 1975.)



101 Led by a Mamlūk Turk, prisoners in the Qasr break out of jail to join naqīb Qatrān, an adherent of Mutahhar, but are slain by Ottoman horsemen outside San'a' walls during the first Ottoman Occupation. (Courtesy of Kemal Çiğ, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi.)

mufī was posed the question about an adult who had left off performing the five prayers, drinks wine and has one of the Jews residing in his house to make wine. When he is put in charge of the giving of judgement (*al-qaḍā'*) in a certain town (*balad min al-mudun*) he gives judgement there while in this condition. Is his judgement valid, and if this statement (*kalām*) be established before the Effendi of the town (*balad*) whose deputy (*nā'ib*) he is, and he deposes him for lack of religion (*diyānah*) is he recompensed on that account? The question uncovers a very lax attitude on the part of the Ottoman authorities, though it be couched in carefully anonymous language so that we do not know to whom the questioner was referring. The Zaydī Imāms in respect of the prohibition of wine to Muslims, were certainly far stricter than the Ottomans of either occupation.

To return however, to the accident that again raised the question of expelling the Jews, Zabārah¹⁰⁵ tells how Ibn al-Amīr came to take the initiative against them.

He (Ibn al-Amīr) set himself with great zeal to put into practice the testament (*waṣīyyah*) of the Apostle of God commanding the expulsion of the Jews from the Arabian Peninsula, and compelling them to wear demeaning clothing (*athwāb al-dhillah*), because of their openly behaving in a manner contrary to that through the neglect (those in authority ?) of taking (measures to) humiliate¹⁰⁶ them as indicated by inductive proofs.

It chanced that an incident took place on account of which al-Badr urged the Imām to expel the Jews. The long and short of this was that a drunken man sprang on a boy in one of the ablution places (*maḡāhir*) of a certain mosque intending to commit an assault (*fahishah*) upon him, but his cry for help was answered (*ughitha*) and he got away from him. The matter was brought before al-Mutawakkil who was angered and sent for Sālim al-'Irāqī,¹⁰⁷ the chief (*kabīr*) and shaykh of the Jews, to whom he said, 'We have already prohibited the Jews from selling wine to Muslims, and yet you permit them to sell it.' To this the Jew replied, 'The Sayyid Muḥammad al-Amīr and the Sayyid al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq¹⁰⁸ gave us a *fatwā* permitting the sale of it to them.' It appearing that one of those jealous (*ḥussād*) of al-Badr had instructed him to make this answer.

When (al-Badr b. al-Amīr) heard of the Jew's retort he went to al-Mutawakkil and said, 'I hear the Jew said to you that I issued a *fatwā* permitting the sale of wine to Muslims. This is a lie against me, so make him attend at once so that you may learn of the fact he is lying (*ḥaqīqat kadhibi-hi*) and learn what the Jews have done contrary to abasement and humiliation (*al-ṣaghār wa-'l-dhillah*),¹⁰⁹ making many synagogues (*kanisah*) with buildings, jostling Muslims in the streets, etc.' So the Khalīfah (Imām) did summon him, asking him, 'How many synagogues are there in your village (*qaryah*)?' The Jew began to count them by their names while al-Mutawakkil wrote down the names. Then al-Badr said, 'Do you see how much they have built?' Whereat the Jew made a profusion of excuses and attempted to prevaricate. Then al-Badr said to the Jew, 'You said I issued a *fatwā* to you permitting the sale of wine, but when was it that you met me and I issued a *fatwā* to you or wrote one for you in my own

handwriting?' At this he faltered, then he said, 'Our scholar said to us.'¹¹⁰ His lying was evident to al-Mutawakkil and he ordered him to the prison. Al-Badr added, 'He should be fettered also.'

The Attempt to Expel the Jews or Demolish the Synagogues

Then al-Badr al-Amīr (*sic*) advised al-Mutawakkil that it was his duty to expel the Jews from the Arabian Peninsula (of which the Yemen is a part) as the Prophet had commenced in his last testament (*awṣā*), and, if he did not completely accomplish their expulsion, at least humiliation (*ṣaghār*) should be imposed upon them along with the destruction of those synagogues for which permission had not been given, that they had added. Thereupon al-Mutawakkil ordered the synagogues to be destroyed. Al-Badr then said, 'This Jew spends money profusely on his helpers'¹¹¹ and each one will come back to you again over his case.' Then he left, and when he was part of his way al-Mutawakkil sent him the first letter (*maktūb*) that had reached him. Al-Mutawakkil also ordered that the Jew should not be fettered, this taking place on the Friday. Now after the Friday prayer al-Badr heard that al-Mutawakkil had commanded the destruction of the synagogues to stop, those ordered to do this having already started, so he entered al-Mutawakkil's presence, and (the latter) said to him, 'I was about to send Sayyid Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmī¹¹² to you because (my) boy, Yūsuf b. al-Mutawakkil came to me to the *miḡrāb* in the Jāmi' Mosque, and said, "It is not lawful to destroy the synagogues since the Imāms have previously confirmed them [in the right to] have them." Al-Badr replied, 'Summon him to your Court (Maqām) to debate (the question).' Al-Mutawakkil was delighted at this and sent to him, and when he entered his presence, said to him, 'This Sayyid Muḥammad is the one who guided (*al-murshid*) (us) to destroy the synagogues.' The Lord Yūsuf b. al-Mutawakkil said, addressing al-Badr, 'How is it that this comes from you?' Al-Badr replied, 'As for the destruction of the synagogues that is a simple matter. I request of the Imām only that he put the (last) testament (*waṣīyyah*) of the Apostle of God, to expel the Jews from the Arabian Peninsula, into execution.' 'And where is this Tradition (*Ḥadīth*)?' asked Yūsuf. 'It is in the books of Tradition and others, including the *Sharḥ al-Aṭhmār*,'¹¹³ al-Badr replied. So al-Mutawakkil ordered Sayyid 'Alī¹¹⁴ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmī to produce the *Sharḥ al-Aṭhmār*. He brought it and opened at the Tradition, and the Lord Yūsuf said, 'Sayyid Muḥammad is a man of eloquence, and I cannot stand up to the eloquent.'¹¹⁵ But al-Mutawakkil said, 'Why then did you come to the *miḡrāb*?' And the sitting came to an end inconclusively.

The very learned Sayyid 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī al-Wazīr¹¹⁶ then composed a treatise in which he came down on the side of (*yurajjih*)¹¹⁷ confirming the remaining of the Jews in the Yemen, adducing weak proofs (in support of his view), and sent it to the Qaḍī Yahyā b. Ḥasan Saylān¹¹⁸ to deliver to al-Mutawakkil. The messenger passed with it on his way to the

105 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 513-4.

106 Cf. *Qur'ān*, IX, 30, *Ḥattā yu'tu 'l-jizyata 'an yad-in wa-hum ṣāghirūna*. This is rendered by M. I. Kister, *Arabica*, Leiden, 1964, IX, 111, 'Out of ability and sufficient income they (nevertheless) being inferior.'

107 Brauer, op. cit., 40, 80, discusses the 'Irāqī family, and a man of this name, probably a descendant of the Sālim contemporary with Ibn al-Amīr.

108 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 429, a famous scholar, a pupil and associate of al-Badr Ibn al-Amīr.

109 Cf. n. 106.

110 Incomplete sentence.

111 He must mean Muslims who, for ethical reasons or on account of interests in the Jews, supported the case.

112 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 148. His uncle was at one time in charge of the *awqāf* of

Ṣan'ā', then his father took over this office from him. He himself was in charge of the judiciary (*qaḍā'*) of Ṣan'ā', then of all districts (*buldān*), and much consulted by al-Mutawakkil (ibid, 153).

113 i.e. *Sharḥ al-Aṭhmār wa-'l-Aṣḥār* of al-Mutawakkil . . . Yahyā b. Shams al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā (ob. 965/1557), Brockelmann, *Gal.*, II, 405, *Sup.*, II, 557.

114 The name 'Alī looks like a slip for Aḥmad. No 'Alī al-Shāmī figures in *Nashr al-'arf* biographies.

115 Ar., *Wa-anā 'ala 'l-minṭiq lā ufiq*.

116 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 113 seq., the very eminent scholar, author of *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, the *Mufāḥharah* of al-Rawḍah and *Bīr al-'Azab*, etc. Ibid, 115, remarks that the Wazīr family had a library (*khizānat kutub*) in al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr known as *Khizānat Kutub Bani 'l-Wazīr*.

117 Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, n. 23.

118 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 849.

Lord (al-Mawlā) the very learned al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq who informed al-Badr about it. So al-Badr ordered a man whose handwriting resembled that of the treatise to write down what he dictated to him to invalidate it, and he wrote the refutation (*radd*) on the margin of it following each disquisition (*mabḥath*),¹¹⁹ making a sound refutation at the end of the disquisition (*baḥṭh*), making it seem as if it were part of the original. Then he gave it back to the messenger asking him to keep it secret. When the Qāḍī Yaḥyā Saylān delivered it to al-Mutawakkil he ordered him to read it. Then al-Mutawakkil said, 'Read what is on the margin of it.' And there it was—contradicting the original (text), so al-Mutawakkil asked, 'How is it that one part of this contradicts the rest?' 'I do not know,' replied (Saylān).

Al-Badr apparently did not cease to inveigh against the abuse of the law by the Jews, as he saw it, for in the protest he made in 1146/1733-34 from Shahārah, backed by a number of ulema, to Imām al-Manṣūr, he includes, at the end of a long list of malpractices, the attempting of the Jews to act in a way to which they have no right (*taṭawwul al-Yahūd*).

The question of whether to expel the Jews came up again during the first decade of the reign of al-Mahdī 'Abbās (1161-89/1748-75) when, as Zabārah¹²⁰ says, 'Abdullāh Luṭf Allāh al-Kibṣī entered into expelling the Jews and Bāniyāns from the Arabian Peninsula along with al-Mahdī 'Abbās, and he formulated a question to which al-Badr Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr, the Lord Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāmī and others responded. Al-Mahdī imprisoned a body of their Mashāyikh, and wished to send away those of them in the country and put into practice the testament of the Apostle of God, but this was not accomplished.' A short treatise, entitled *Faṭḥ al-ma'būd fī dhikr ijlā' al-Yahūd*, by the learned Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Ānīsī has been brought to my attention by Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Ḥabshī, composed as 'a reply to those who opposed al-Imām al-Mahdī in the expulsion of the Jews from their places.' It commences with a lengthy citation of Traditions in support of the Imām's right to expel the Jews, but it is followed by a sort of appendix attacking the use of tobacco and *qāt*—which may indicate that the Imām's attitude to the question of the Jews was a part of his general islamisation policy.

Al-Ānīsī says, 'When he (the Imām) ordered the Jews who acted contrary to the covenants (*uḥūd*) taken from them to be expelled from the towns and countryside (*bawāḍi*) of the Yemen, near and far, many of the intelligent (*ūlu 'l-baṣā'ir*) and great Sayyids re-iterated this.' 'The Imāms of the House (Ahl al-Bayt) in the Yemen had confirmed the people of the Dhimmah (Jews) in their *dhimma* (covenant of security) and accepted the poll-tax from them, those of latter days following (their) forbears up till this time of ours.' This was because they had no power to make the precepts of the Prophet followed. 'Nor were the Imāms able to carry out the rules (*aḥkām*) of the *shari'ah* except in a few places in the province of the Yemen, as they were distracted with combatting the lions of disorder (*fasād*). So when al-Mawlā (i.e. the Imām) wished to expel them from the province of the Yemen he was not responsible for protecting and guarding them on the roads except in the places under his foot where his commands and prohibitions are executed so they may pass from the (Yemenite) provinces.'

According to Qōrah,¹²¹ the son of al-Mahdī 'Abbās, the Imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī (1189-1224/1775-1809), agreed to allow the Jews

to rebuild the synagogues. In 1793 the Kanisat Ha-Hekdesh was rebuilt and also Kanisat Bayt Ṣāliḥ, the latter seeming to figure among the synagogues extant in the 14th/20th century.¹²²

19th Century Messianic Movements

In the 19th century when anarchy had brought conditions to their lowest ebb and Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī was the Shaykh of Ṣan'ā', a Messianic movement was initiated by a certain Yahuda b. Shalom/Sālim¹²³ known as Shukr(i) Kuḥayl, a Ṣan'āni potter who made clay vessels for waterpipes. A Cabbalistic scholar who appeared in 1861, he took to wandering and preaching. He settled in al-Tiyāl of Banī Jabr. The Imām (probably al-Mutawakkil al-Muḥsin b. Aḥmad) put a price on his head, obviously regarding his actions as an incitement to disorder, and he was eventually shot there about 1863. His head was taken to Ṣan'ā' where the Imām hung it for three days at the Gate of the Jewish Quarter. A follower of his appeared at Tan'im in 1868—whom Halévy¹²⁴ apparently met at Shirā' of Arḥab. Another pseudo-Messiah,¹²⁵ Yūsuf 'Abdullāh appeared as recently as 1893.

A contemporary Arabic version notes that on a Wednesday probably in Ṣafar 1282/June-July, 1865, 'a party from Banī Jabr arrived with the head of a Jew. It was one of the wonders of the age, for this Jew had arrived in a village (*maḥall*) of Banī Jabr and used to summon (*yad'u*) the people to obey him, showing enchantments and magic (*al-tamwihāt wa-'l-ashār*) and some of them thronged to him. Then the ulema made an assault on this stain on Islam and wrote to all those who had any honour/zeal (*ghirah*) until God vanquished him and he was slain. His head arrived and the 'uqqāl of the city sent it to Ḥusayn al-Hādī to Qaryat al-Qābil. This was because with the Jew after he was killed letters were found from Ḥusayn al-Hādī and certain other irresponsibles (*sufahā'*), among which was that he was the Mashriqī king, urging him to Islam, may God combat them. So on account of this his head was sent to him. He imprisoned them and pretended not to care about him, but his heart inclined to him.' The supporters of this Jew were a party of the Banī Shaddād.

Protection and the Imām

The basis upon which a Jewish or Christian community could live in symbiosis within an Islamic state was early established.¹²⁶ The first Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī, was merely re-affirming what had long been already fixed when his biographer¹²⁷ says, 'He said to the Jews and the Christians, "If anyone molests you (*adhā-kum*) refer back to me (*irji'ū ilayya*) so that I can give you justice from him." ' This has been mandatory for the Imāms from that time, they for their part enjoying financial benefit from Dhimmī communities as will be discussed infra. Jewish sentiment seems loyal to the Imāms in consequence of their protection. Incidents like that during the first Ottoman Occupation when 'Jews who were armed with slings fought for the Imām,' and during the famine of 1028/1619 when Jews were allowed to share in the charity of the Imām at Shahārah,¹²⁸ are indicative of this.

Among modern writers reporting on the system of protection, Nazih¹²⁹ describes hearing a boy at Manākhah call a Jew an evil person and wine drinker (*khabīth wa-shārib al-khamr*). This angered the Jew who retorted, 'Come with me, and let's go to the 'āmil so that I can complain to him of you, and this stranger will be witness against you.' Nazih comments that the boy did not

119 *Mabḥath*, literally, probably meaning—the place of each enquiry. Dozy, *Supplément, preuve*.

120 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 144.

121 *Sa'arat Teman*, 22-3.

122 Brauer, op. cit., 306-7. Knis bēt Mori Yiḥyā Ṣāliḥ.

123 In an idealised account in *From the land of Sheba*, 111, he is called Mōri Yehudo. The Arabic version is from *Ṣafahāt majhūlah min tārikh al-Yaman*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī, Beirut, 1978, 95.

124 Joseph Halévy in *Journal asiatique*, 1872, VI, 12, and *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1873, 257.

125 For pseudo-Messiahs see Rabbi A. Qōrah, *Sa'arat Teman*, with notes by S. Gridi, Jerusalem, 1954, 181; M. Zadok, op. cit., 89-94.

126 Barer, op. cit., 117, presumably quoting from *From the land of Sheba*, 97 seq., refers to a letter of protection which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is supposed to have written for the Jews at Muḥammad's command in the year 9 of the *hijrah*. It however does not seem to correspond with surviving early Islamic documents, though some particulars are common to both.

127 *Sirah*, 62; cf. 388.

128 A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford-Madras, 1925, 117.

129 *Riḥlah*, I, 60.



20.1 A Jewish family photographed in Ṣan'ā' before the emigration.

dare, because the special *qānūn* for the Jews is very strict. Any person using abusive language to a Jew would be imprisoned and fined a *dhabīḥah*, i.e. either a cow, camel or ewe which he would have to bring to be slaughtered and its flesh distributed to the poor. Mohammed Hassan¹³⁰ adds that if a Muslim attacks a Jew and the latter says, '*Anā fi 'iṣmat al-Imām*,' or '*Anā fi 'iṣmat al-'āmil*, I am under the protection of the Imām/Governor,' then both parties must go to the Imām's/'Āmil's castle. Bad consequences ensue for the Muslim who does not present himself at once, and soldiers are sent out in the customary way, to live off him.

Barer¹³¹ himself, reporting on the Jews at Ḥāshid Camp in Aden Colony at the time of the 1949-50 exodus, says of the Ṣan'ā' emigrants, 'They had no complaint to make against the King of the Yemen. On the contrary they praised him as a wise and good ruler. "But in the Yemen, unfortunately," they add, "there is a sultan or shaykh at every ten paces." It seems that the King has some difficulty in controlling these tribal chiefs,¹³² and each of

them, as the Jews passed his territory on their way out, helped himself to some of their money and possessions.' Barer¹³³ adds that Jewish leaders at Aden agree that Imām Aḥmad is a good man. When he gave them permission to depart they said he stipulated that every Jew leaving the country must sell every bit of his property so as to avoid any basis of a claim to the Yemen in the future. An interesting touch is that the Jews sent a petition to the Imām asking permission to leave the Yemen and he granted this by annotating it with the words, '*lā māni*', no objection (*nihil obstat*), in a corner!

In an interview with the Jewish Ḥākhām of Ṣan'ā', Nazih¹³⁴ was told by him that neither the Turkish nor the Yemeni treatment of the Jews was good, but the Yemenis were better than the Turks,¹³⁵ and *Allāh yahfaz al-Imām*, God preserve the Imām, who defends us, gives us justice, prevents all aggressions, and sharply punishes anyone molesting us. On the other hand he¹³⁶ reports Jews as claiming that in Shāfi'i areas, treatment of the Jews by the Shāfi'is is bad, but one Jew added he had heard it was good (*nāhi*) in Zuyūd country, and of Turkish governors it was said that some had treated them well, others badly.

Of Bayt al-Baws close to Ṣan'ā' it is said that half of the villagers were Muslim, half Jewish, and their children used to play together. One day a Jewish child threw a stone¹³⁷ at a Muslim child which damaged his eye. The case came before Imām Yaḥyā under whose protection the Jews were in the general way described. The Muslims said that retaliation must be exacted, and the Imām quoted the principle that an eye should be exacted for an eye, but to his surprise they said that *al-Yahūdī Bawṣi wa-l-Bawṣi Yahūdī*, by which they meant that the Jews were considered an integral part of the tribe, and rejected the idea. This seems to be the attitude broadly speaking, in the north outside the large towns.

On recent visits to the Yemen a Shāfi'i said to me—the Jews we have with us still today (1974) we value (*nuqaddir-hum*) and when we were small children, if we struck them, our fathers would beat us. He added that the *fiṭrah* we Muslims pay is just like the *jizyah* the Jews pay. Not long ago too, another Muslim told me he had recently met a Yemeni Jew from al-Ḥaymat al-Dākhiliyyah by chance, and he noticed that the Jew wore weapons, a dagger, and his *zunnār* lock was tucked under his turban so that it did not look too conspicuous. An opinion voiced to me in Ṣan'ā' was that the Jews fared well in country tribal areas and friction was only found in the towns where the ulema were inclined to insist on the strict application of the regulations for the Ahl al-Dhimmah.

Jews were often protected by tribal chiefs and during the anarchic period of the 19th century with its multiplicity of Imāms the recent publication *Ṣafahāt majhūlah* shows that tribesmen sometimes protected them in Ṣan'ā' itself. In 1277/1861 about the time Imām Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥādī entered Ṣan'ā', his wazīr, Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Jābir, demanded entertainment (*dīfah*) of two Jews who were protected persons (*rubā'a* (?), sing. *rabi'*) of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Dughaysh. This led to a squabble between the wazīr and Dughaysh, the upshot being that the dagger belt of the latter was 'imprisoned' (*hubis hizām Dughaysh*) along with (those of?) three of his fellow tribesmen of Banu 'l-Ḥārith sharing with him in the protection of the Jews. This of course put shame on

communities, the opportunity for 'squeeze' was too attractive to miss.

130 *Qalb al-Yaman*, Baghdad, 1947, 167.

131 *Magic carpet*, 100.

132 Goitein's excellent, 'Portrait of a weavers' village', *Jewish social studies*, New York, 1955, XVII, i, 9, states that the village studied, al-Jadis (al-Gades) in the Ibb qaḍā', inhabited almost exclusively by Jews, was a *hijrah* enclave, this being the result of a privilege granted by al-Imām al-Manṣūr in the mid-19th century. It is likely from what Goitein says that it was nevertheless under tribal chieftainly protection as well as the more general protection of the Imām. Much of the time the chief's protection of such a village *hijrah* would be more effective than that of the Imām. Cf. *From the land of Sheba*, 34. With regard to the chiefs mulcting the Jewish emigrants, let it be said that in the West Aden Protectorate tolls were taken by each ruler on Muslims passing through his territory, not only Jews, until these were abolished at the time of the Federation. I have little doubt though, that, at the emigration of whole

133 Op. cit., 179.

134 *Riḥlah*, I, 41.

135 Barer tries to demonstrate that each Turkish occupation made conditions better for the Jews—this is certainly not borne out by all writers, and I find it difficult to credit Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, 229, when he says, 'The Turks treat the Jews with great deference.' That there are Jewish headmen of Jewish villages, which he seems to consider Turkish policy, has of course nothing to do with it, this being part of native Yemeni social structure. Jacob's verdict, loc. cit., 'The Jew is not liked by the Arabs but he is seldom maltreated', is fairly near the truth.

136 *Riḥlah*, 292-3.

137 Compare however the Jewish saying, '*Aw qad Yahūdī rajam Muslim*, Does a Jew throw a stone at a Muslim?' (*Yemenica*, 177, no. 1380).

Dughaysh. About this time in general the *naqībs* in charge of the city prison made many pretexts (*musabbabāt*) against the people, especially the Jews, for 'they treat them wrongfully'—no doubt to extract what they could from the Ṣan'ānīs. In this unsettled phase of Ṣan'ā's history Imām Ḥusayn's control of the city seems to have been brief and when his supporters left it, the Ṣan'ānīs who took over stopped the delivery to anyone of the Jewish *jizyah* until they had the decision of the Shaykh al-Islām. Muḥsin Mu'iq, appointed governor of the city by the townsfolk, decided that the *jizyah* should be above the outgoings and obligations of the town (*fawq mukhrajāt al-madinah wa-lawāzimi-hā*). I am not certain exactly what is meant. In a passage, also not very explicit, it is noted that in 1283/1867 'Abdullāh al-Ṣa'r (the Ṣa'r are a well known family of the 'Amrān district) arrived in Ṣan'ā to help the Dhimmī, al-Manṣūrah, over a theft of gold stolen from him in Qā' al-Yahūd. They hastened to investigate the theft and to cut off the heads of the thieves. The anonymous writer complains that other robbers have been let go free and have even been honoured and respected.

The Poll-tax (*jizyah*)

A peace (*ṣulḥ*),¹³⁸ i.e., a treaty with the Jews and Christians of Najrān was made in 284/897, of which al-Hādī, the first Zaydī Imām of the Yemen, is reported to have said, 'I hope the *ṣulḥ* will be a *sunnah* after me.'¹³⁹ That is to say he hoped it would be an established legal precedent and practice in Zaydī Yemen. An important economic issue enters into the formulation of the treaty. The wealthier of the Najrān Dhimmīs had purchased much (landed) property after Islam. Whereas the Muslims had to pay the *zakāt*, i.e. the tithes (*a'shār*) on crops while the Dhimmīs were free of them, this had diminished the revenues paid into the Treasury. Al-Hādī first proposed that the Dhimmīs be obliged to sell their land to Muslims, but as there was a vigorous protest against such a measure, the Dhimmīs expressed their readiness to pay the ordinary tithe. Al-Hādī had, in law, to reject this since it looked as if Dhimmīs were paying the Muslim *zakāt*, but he solved the problem by charging them a ninth (*tus'*)¹⁴⁰ and permitting them not only to keep the land they had purchased since Islam, but even to buy more if they wished.

The poll-tax (*jizyah*) to be paid by the Dhimmīs was 'on the heads of their free men, apart from their women, slaves, and boys (*'alā ru'ūs rijālī-him al-aḥrār*¹⁴¹ *dūna nisā'i-him wa-mamālīki-him wa-ṣubyanī-him*). Their 'kings (*mulūk*) paid forty-eight *dirham-qafḥahs*,¹⁴² the middle group (*awsāt*) twenty-four *dirham-qafḥahs*, and those earning a bare living (*muta'ayyishah*) twelve only.'¹⁴³ Al-Hādī insists that this gives them protection for their persons and property, binding on Muslims who may not take anything from them, nor prevent them purchasing anything.¹⁴⁴

Al-Hādī's biographer states that 'the poll-tax of the Christians and Jews belongs to him and the people of his House, and he has the right to expend it on whatever he wishes and to divert it to whatsoever he wills, but he used not to eat nor drink from it.'¹⁴⁵

Indeed al-Hādī claimed, 'I never ate anything or drank water from what I taxed (*jabaytu*) from the Yemen.'

The Zaydī Imāms in point of fact received the *jizyah* as their private income, but the *zakāt* of course goes to the Muslim Treasury. So, apart from the motive of enforcing the *shari'ah* relating to the Dhimmīs, the Imāms had a direct financial interest in protecting Jewish communities, further strengthened by presents offered the Imāms by the Jews on certain occasions. This is not dissimilar to conditions in 12th and 13th century England of the Normans, when the Jews acted as financial agents for the Crown, especially under the first Plantagenet ruler.¹⁴⁶

In the acute controversy over taxation and other issues in the days of al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il (third quarter of the 11th/17th century), the Imām's critics asserted that, 'The revenue (*kharāj*) of the Yemen from the poll-taxes (*al-jizā*) is 70,000 (*qirsh*) (going to) one single person (*li-khāṣṣat nafar*), while half the Aden revenue, over a *lakk*,¹⁴⁷ goes to another.' The Imām retorted that this is gross ignorance, and even the poll-tax of the far greater number of Dhimmīs in the rest of the Yemen would not come up to the last-named sum. 'As for Aden during this (present) period it is unknown ever to have exceeded 12,000 (*qirsh*), most of its income (*maḥṣūl*) going on the garrison (*rutbah*) and assistants there. What remains there is spent on its costs (*maṣārif*).'¹⁴⁸

While in theory the Imāms could not use the *zakāt* for their private purposes, and no doubt many Imāms, perhaps including the late Imām Aḥmad Ḥamid al-Dīn, attempted to keep to the strict letter of the law, a humorous tale¹⁴⁹ of al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, known as Ṣāhib al-Mawāhib (1098-1130/1687-1718), if not apocryphal, reveals that at least one Imām was not so scrupulous. When informed by the Treasurer (Kḥāzin Bayt al-Māl) that he had set aside the poll-tax money (*amwāl al-jizyah*) of which the Imām has the right to 'eat' in a special place by itself, apart from the *zakāt* money, the Imām told him, 'Mix them up, Qādī, the whole lot belongs to me anyway (*Ukhluṭ, yā faqīh, kull-ih haqqā-nā*)!'

The case of Sayyid Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim (1035-1100/1625-1689) is indicative of how the Imām might dispose of the poll-tax revenue. Although this Sayyid did not pay al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il allegiance (*bay'ah*) the Imām confirmed him in his allowances (*jirāyāt*), probably of grain etc. 'He had the poll-tax of the Jews in the district (*bilād*) of Ṣan'ā' entirely, and he was able to live upon this until God took him unto Himself.'¹⁵⁰

Of the Jews of al-Jadas under the Imāms, Goitein¹⁵¹ tells us they 'were freed from the normal duties of citizens' 'Nor did they pay a sort of income-tax for business which had been levied on Muslims.' Jews paid no tithe on their fields and were exempt from military service and corvée. He adds, however, that the Turks decreed the Jews should pay tithes on crops. As Nazīh¹⁵² puts the matter—the Jews, in answer to his query in many parts of the Yemen, if they were pleased with their treatment by the Muslims, replied in the affirmative, adding that they enjoy rights (*ḥuqūq*) not enjoyed by the Muslims—they pay no taxes (*ḍarā'ib*), tithes (*a'shār*), *fitrah*, or dues (*rusūm*), but only the *jizyah* which is

138 *Sirat al-Hādī ila'l-Haqq*, Beirut, 1972, 76, 78, 79, 100.

139 Ibid, 73. Cf. the text in C. van Andenonk, *Les débuts de l'imamat Zaidite au Yémen*, trans., J. Ryckmans, Leyde, 1960, 322 seq., passim. *Ṣulḥ* often simply means an agreement or treaty, the concept being tribal, that tribes are normally at war and a *ṣulḥ* terminates this state.

140 On land irrigated by lifting water only half a ninth was taken (*Sirah*, 76).

141 This is the same term used in pre-Islamic Najrān for tribesmen (cf. Irfan Shahid, *The martyrs of Najrān; new documents*, Société des Bollandistes, Subsidia hagiographica, no. 49, 59, passim). 'Free men' and 'kings' convey a picture of semi-independent communities in Najrān, and possibly the Mashriq as a whole. Al-Hādī's careful treatment of both Jews and Christians also is a pointer in this direction.

142 A *qafḥah* would be about a tenth of an ounce of silver.

143 Aḥmad b. al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, Cairo, 1949, II, 221, repeats this figure, but for *muta'ayyishah* he uses *faqir*, poor. Cf. his *Kiṭāb al-Azhār*, Beirut, 1973, 74, seq.

144 Conditions before the *ṣulḥ* appear to be reflected in *Sirah*, 47, where Sulaymān al-Kufī reports that the Imām ordered him to take the *zakāt* of the properties of the merchants, taking the oath from them. He also commanded him to take the

poll-tax of the Jews and Christians—from those in easy circumstances—the merchants, twenty-four dirhams, from those possessing only five dinars, nothing, from the middle group (*awsāt*) twelve dirhams. Those Jews and Muslims owning lands (*ḍiyā'*) inherited from their ancestors in ancient time, not purchased from Muslims, pay nothing. Those who have bought lands from the Muslims must sell them to Muslims, unless they had some previous *ṣulḥ* regarding them.

145 *Sirah*, 58. *Al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, II, 184, states that the *zakāt* is not lawful to the Imām, like the Apostle, . . . nor to the Hashimites (*wa-lā ṣaḥīl li-l-Imām ka-l-Rasūl . . . wa-lā li-l-Hashimīyyīn*), but the whole of this question is discussed at length.

146 C. Roth, *History of the Jews of England*, Oxford, 1941, 14.

147 The *lakk* must be 100,000 here (Hobson-Jobson).

148 *Al-Sirat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 489.

149 Qādī Ismā'il, *al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 51, no. 149. *Haqqā-nā* could also mean 'is my right.'

150 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 855. By *bilād*, Ṣan'ā' itself might be intended.

151 'Portrait of a Yemenite weavers' village', 15.

152 *Riḥlah*, I, 60.

light compared with what a Muslim has to pay.

This is a far cry from such assertions as, 'Jews, though paying proportionately more taxes than anyone else, had none of the few political and civil rights the Imām allowed his other subjects.'¹⁵³

Sumptuary Laws

In the first Islamic centuries certain sumptuary laws were evolved as a curb on Jewish and Christian communities subject to the Islamic state and to stand as a visible reminder of their political inferiority to the dominant Muslim group. There are indications that, in ancient Arabia, in the matter of costume, there may have been social distinctions observed between classes, whether merely as a habit or imposed from above, these going back even as far as pre-Islamic times. It is not relevant here to examine this issue, but the legendary belief of Ḥaḍramīs is that the 'Abbāsīd governor Ma'n b. Zā'idah punished the Ḥaḍramīs by requiring their womenfolk to wear frocks only about knee-length in front. The qualification of this belief as legendary is advisedly introduced, because, to a visitor, it seems plain that women's frocks are short in front because they have to do so much work in the fields that anything longer would impede their movement. Both in the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt in the centuries nearer our own time, class structure was reflected in distinctive dress; a story illustrative of this is related in the chapter on costume.¹⁵⁴ The wearing of costume appropriate to one's social class does not appear, insofar as one can see from the literature, to have been the subject of regulation in the Muslim community. It is to be surmised that a man would be restricted by conventional custom to a certain form of dress and/or by written or verbal agreements concluded among the headmen of a community. Such are the indications—provisional until the subject can be researched.

It is in relation to the likelihood that such distinctions in early times were observed in the Muslim community, as they indeed are in South Arabian society, even to some extent today, that one should regard the sumptuary laws applied to the Ahl al-Dhimma. For Dhimmīs the laws were perhaps not more than mildly irksome unless the occasional fanatic were involved.¹⁵⁵ The very reinforcing of these laws, recurring from time to time in the histories, shows how they tended to fall into desuetude. The sumptuary laws imposed on the Dhimmīs in the third Islamic century may be consulted in the *ḥisbah* manual of Uṭrūsh,¹⁵⁶ the celebrated Zaydī Imām of Persian Ṭabaristān. As to how the law was applied to the Jewish communities of the Yemen during the first half of the 9th/15th century, let the author of *Kiṭāb al-Azhār*¹⁵⁷ speak.

'They are obliged to (adopt) a dress/appearance (*ziyy*) by which they are distinguishable, wherein lies humiliation (*ṣaghār*),¹⁵⁸ consisting of side-locks (*zunnār*), wearing a badge (*ghiyār*) and cutting of the middle of the forelock (*nāṣiyah*). They are not to ride on ass-saddles (*'ala 'l-ukuf*) but broad-wise/sideways. They will not openly perform their religious rites (*shī'ār*) except in their synagogues (*kanā'is*). They will not make a new synagogue (*bī'ah*),¹⁵⁹ but they can renovate what has fallen into ruin. They are not to dwell anywhere but in their quarters,¹⁶⁰ except by permission of the Muslims, for some weal (*maṣlahah*) . . . They

are not to ride horses or raise their houses over those of the Muslims. They will sell a Muslim slave they have bought or owned in any way.'

Al-Murtaḍā, in another work,¹⁶¹ describes the restrictions on Dhimmīs, some of which do not seem to apply to the Yemen and may be theoretical rather than practice. The saddles they use are to be of wood with thongs of palm-fibre. They are not permitted to take the chief places at assemblies (*ṣudūr al-majālis*), nor to extend the height of their buildings till they are level with those of the Muslims, nor to ornament them, nor to decorate (*taḥṣīn*) their doors, nor to drink wine openly, or sell it. They must not wind their turbans more than three folds (*tāqār*) and let the ends hang loose, nor may they let their hair hang down. They may not wear silver and gold seal-rings (*khawātim*), or have bezels, unless it be what has no ornament in it like glass.

Jews are not to be prevented from sailing on the Hijaz Sea and passing by it in ships, but they are not allowed to stay on the Hijaz coast. If the Imām makes a guarantee/pact for *kiṭābis* (here Jews) their numbers, description and names are to be recorded in his *Dīwān* and a Muslim *naqīb* is to be placed over them to report on those who have died and those living.

Al-Shahārī,¹⁶² one of the '*shabāb*' of today, remarks that they were not allowed to bear arms, but this is true *de facto* of large numbers of the Yemeni Muslim community. Only rarely, he says, were they allowed to possess land—which would be cultivated by Yemeni Arabs. They had to live in a specially isolated quarter and might only build two storeys high. Al-Shahārī's assertions are partial in tone, and generalisations. Barer maintained that the Islamic sumptuary laws were not enforced during the Second Ottoman Occupation, and this could be correct, but Imām Yahyā, his good relations with the Ṣan'ā' Jews notwithstanding, is likely to have been much stricter.

A point upon which all writers seem agreed is that, when passing by a Muslim, a Jew had to dismount from his beast and ask permission of him to re-mount with the words, '*Alā ra'ya-k, yā Sīdī*.' Nazīh¹⁶³ merely says that when they meet a Sayyid they have to dismount out of respect for him, adding that they may not ride on camels or horses.

The regulation that a Jewish house must not overlook a Muslim house is re-iterated in the histories from time to time, but the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan issued a ruling in the form of a document¹⁶⁴ permitting the Jews of Bīr al-'Azab to build more than one storey because their houses did not overlook any Muslim house. Only a few years later, in the last decade of the 11th/17th century the Imām al-Mu'ayyad wrote to the Qāḍī Ḥusayn Dha'fān who was in charge of the judiciary (*qaḍā'*) of Dhamār, instructing him that a Sayyid was coming to take certain actions, including 'to expel the Jews from the houses raised above the houses of the Muslims, even if they be their own property. As for those houses mixed with Muslim houses without being raised above (them), if they are property of theirs (the Jews) they (may) remain in them, but if they rent (them) they are to be ejected and segregated to a side removed from the Muslims.'¹⁶⁵

The Jewish Quarter of Ṣan'ā', called Qā' al-Yahūd after the large open square on the city's western flank, but also known, at one

153 *Magic carpet*, 134.

154 Cf. p. 529 seq.

155 A case in point is that of a Ṣūfī, Sufyān . . . al-Abyānī (ob. 750/1349-50) killed the Jew whom the Sultan had made governor (*walā-hu*)—in whose service the Muslims used to walk under his stirrup, wherever he was. Sufyān tried to force this Jew to utter the Muslim profession of faith and, when he refused, he murdered him. The Amīr and his soldiers were unable, for supernatural reasons, to reach Sufyān in the *Jāmi'* where he had taken refuge—this being one of his *karāmāt*. Sufyān succeeded in escaping punishment by the law which he had flouted. (Al-Sharjī, *Ṭabaqāt*, Cairo, 1883, 56; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-janān*, Hyderabad, 1337-9 H., IV, 349.

156 'A Zaidi manual of *ḥisbah* of the 3rd Century', *Rivista degli studi orientali*, Roma, 1953, XXVIII, i-iv, 29.

157 Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Murtaḍā, *K. al-Azhār*, Beirut, 1973, 322. Brauer, op. cit.,

269, gives on the authority of Jawneli, a much longer list, but anything beyond what is listed by *al-Azhār*, is mainly a matter of decorous behaviour.

158 For comment on this term cf. p. 417a.

159 *Kanīṣah* and *bī'ah* might equally well mean church, and of course these regulations mostly all apply to Christians also.

160 *Khīṣṭah*, *arrondissement* as rendered by Dozy. The editor glosses this as meaning the places where they were dwelling when the '*aqd al-dhimma*', contract of protection took place. The Yemenite Jews in the Islamic period did not invariably live in segregated villages or quarters.

161 *Al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, V, 461.

162 *Ṭarīq al-thawrat al-Yamaniyyah*, Cairo, 1966(?), 78. As seen above Jews in al-Ḥādī's time were specifically permitted to own land.

163 *Riḥlah*, I, 58.

164 *Infra*, p. 430b.

165 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 570.

time as Qā' al-Sam',¹⁶⁶ contains houses where the Jews dug down into the ground to make a cellar and so give the house three storeys. Despite what al-Shahārī says, however, it seems that some Jewish houses in the Yemen did have three or more storeys and in old Ṣan'ā' itself where some Arab owners of mansions say these once belonged to Jews it would be interesting to discover if the restriction to two storeys applied to them. At Jabal 'Amr, a short ride from Mabyan, I was shown in 1966 the Jewish houses overlooked by Muslim houses on the ridge, and in Ḥabbān the Jewish Quarter was directly overlooked by Arab houses. Mohamed Hassan¹⁶⁷ states that the Jew's house must be of adobe, or one storey of stone and the next of adobe. It would be interesting to see how strictly this was observed in Bīr al-'Azab.

Today some of the historic and architecturally interesting Jewish houses looking onto the Qā' have been demolished, including that alleged to have been the property of Ḥabshūsh.

The Gates of the Qā' al-Yahūd were shut from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m.¹⁶⁸ When Imām Aḥmad's victorious tribes entered Ṣan'ā' the Qā' was sacked, not for the first time in its history, suffering the fate of Muslim Ṣan'ā'. After the departure of the community for Palestine al-Dhabbānī says it was called Qā' Nāṣir!

Conversion to Islam

Islam, like Christianity is a proselytising religion, and indications go to show that, in pre-Islamic Arabia, in practice at least, so also was Judaism. Though, in the Islamic era, Judaism could not legally convert Muslims to the Jewish faith, yet it is alleged that the 'false messiahs' had sometimes many Muslim adherents, not necessarily of course converts. South Arabian Muslims generally would have liked to persuade their Jewish countrymen to join Islam, and over the centuries there was a steady trickle of converts though pressures to convert were occasional only, at certain periods. In the Yemen a Jewish convert to Islam is known as *muḥtadī*, guided, but the term *Muslimānī* that I heard applied to families in Bayḥān converted many generations ago, would, in the Yemen, be considered a term of abuse applied to a Muslim, equivalent to calling him a Jew. In the mediaeval tribal law Mss.¹⁶⁹ I am editing, penalties are laid down for calling a Muslim a Jew or a Christian. Yet any day in Ṣan'ā' Sūq you will hear 'Yā Yahawdī' (so pronounced), a relatively mild term of abuse, bandied about jocularly or seriously, without thought of its meaning. This is well brought out in the current joke of the Yemeni Royalists about the one or two northern Jews serving with their forces. When addressed as 'Yā Yahawdī', the Jew indignantly retorted, 'Mā anā Yahawdī—al-Miṣrī Yahawdī!'

Other stories treat the question of conversion with a certain levity. An ignorant man persisted in trying to persuade a Jew to become a Muslim—after numerous attempts the Jew assented and asked, 'How do I become a Muslim?' The man's astonished reply, 'Anā dārī kayf tuslim, How do I know how you can become a Muslim?' has become proverbial.¹⁷⁰ To judge by the story that follows, persuasion was sometimes brought in to play at a higher social level.

An eminent scholar (*ʿālim faḍīl*) besought one of the Imāms for aid from the Treasury (Māl al-Muslimīn) but the Imām paid no attention to him although at the same time he was receiving some Jews who had turned Muslim with honour and entertaining

them. The scholar, annoyed at this, disguised himself as a Jew, came to the Imām's *Majlis*, and made a display of wishing to adopt Islam, so the Imām entertained him and gave him a fine present. As the conversation went round in the *Majlis* and the ulema discussed the various branches of learning (*ʿilm*)—as is the custom at gatherings of ulema in the Yemen—this scholar took part, and the Imām soon found he was an '*ʿālim faḍīl*' and having his suspicions about him, asked, 'Aren't you so and so?' 'Yes,' the scholar replied. 'Why then did you resort to this trick?' asked the Imām. '*ʿIrr lak Mislim ḥāṣil*, Get yourself a ready-made Muslim,' the scholar retorted, meaning that I resorted to this trick because I found you receiving Jews when they embraced Islam, but neglecting the ulema of the pre-eminent (*fuḍalā'*) among the Muslims themselves!¹⁷¹

If, in the spirit of this tale, a converted Jew was rewarded in some way for his act, contrarywise, other reasons than simple devotion to the faith, come what may, could make conversion unattractive. In the first place a Jewish convert would lose the protection and support of his own community without gaining comparable standing in the Islamic community. This is a factor that has done much to preserve Christian minority communities also in Arab countries of the Middle East. It is illustrable from the tale¹⁷² of a Jew who became a Muslim but died the next day. His mother wept for him, so the Jews asked her, 'Why do you weep for him when he had left the Jewish faith?' To which she replied, '*Lā tajammal minnuh Mūsā wa-lā shafa' luh Muḥammad*.' She meant that she wept because Moses is not pleased with him any more, and Muḥammad doesn't know he has joined his religion!

Another material reason for not quitting Judaism was that in return for the really light *jizyah* poll-tax the Jew, as has been seen, was accorded the Imām's protection and this when an Imām was strong was rigidly enforced. In periods of anarchy and tribal independence they relied on protection from the tribal *Mashāyikh*. Barer,¹⁷³ doubtless informed by emigrants' reports, says an Arab shaykh in some regions would give his Jews real protection of life and property in return for more special taxes—he indicates that these are not *jizyah*.

Jews in business in Ṣan'ā', it may be surmised, would equally find it awkward to break economic ties with their co-religionists to join a group of Muslim merchants or craftsmen.

A sore point with the Jews was the obligatory conversion of Jewish orphan minors to Islam, as has been seen above. Goitein could find no hint of any such rule in the *Zaydī fiqh* books available to him—he suggests that this rule is based on the *Ḥadīth* that states that every man was born according to natural religion (*scilicet* Islam) and only his fathers made him Jew or Christian.¹⁷⁴ This was however a subject of discussion among Yemeni *Zaydī* ulema. One of the *Mudhakarāt* (Discussions) between Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn al-Maghribī and Qāḍī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥādī Dhaḥān of Dhamār towards the end of the 11th/17th century is embodied in a treatise, entitled, *The problem of the minor Dhimmī child when his parents have died in Dār al-Islām*.¹⁷⁵ Again in the latter half of the 12th/18th century no less a person than Qāḍī Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Saḥūlī composed a work entitled, *The tearing away of infant children of the Dhimmīs at the death of both parents*.¹⁷⁶

The Jews married off orphan minors to evade this measure

166 Muḥ. al-Dhabbānī, *al-Anghām al-sha'biyyah*, Ta'izz, 1969, 34.

167 *Qalb al-Yaman*, 168.

168 Louise Février, 'A French family in the Yemen', *Arabian studies*, 1976, III, 127-35.

169 The *K. al-Adāb wa-l-lawāzim fi aḥkām al-man'ah*, and the Rossi Mss. used by him in 'Il diritto consuetudinario delle tribù arabe del Yemen', *RSO* Roma, 1948, XXIII, 1-36.

170 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 238, no. 676.

171 Ibid., I, 409, no. 1214. *Ḥāṣil* = ready, to hand.

172 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished proverb, and, *ibid*, in like vein, *Lā qad darā bah Muḥammad wa-lā ʿād nafs Mūsā ʿalayh ṭayyibah*. Cf. *Jemena*, 177, no.

1379, '*Al-Yahūdī ilā qad kharaj min al-khuṣṣ kharaj*, The Jew when he goes out of the circle (*khuṣṣ* = *dār*) is lost irretrievably.' Goitein adds a comment by his Jewish informant that, in the case of a Muslim, Muḥammad will intercede for him.

173 Op. cit., 125.

174 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, edit., Krehl, I, 348.

175 *Fi mas'alat al-ṣaghīr min awlād al-Dhimmiyyīn idhā mā abawā-hu fi Dār al-Islām*. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 202. No copies of this or the next treatise are so far reported.

176 *Fi intizā' aḥfāl Ahl al-Dhimma 'ind mawt al-abawayn*. *Nayl al-waḥar*, II, 387.

as we know, and even tried to smuggle them to Aden but I imagine that, as in Ḥabbān,¹⁷⁷ an orphan would be taken into a Muslim household as a pious act, and in this way perhaps assimilation to the Muslim majority would be the easier.¹⁷⁸ Ḥabshūsh¹⁷⁹ tells of an old man in the Najrān area who came there originally from Ṣan'ā' about the beginning of the 19th century, to escape from Imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī's orders that Jewish orphan children should be taken to become Muslims with him so that he might settle them as servants (*khuddām*) and attendants (*dawādirah*) in the houses and castles.

Forms of Address, Names, Etc.

The Muslims address the Jews as Yā Sālim, says Mohammed Hassan,¹⁸⁰ as we in Baghdad call them *khawājah*. If a Jew's name were known he was simply called by it, but 'Yā usṭā' would be used where politeness required it. A Jew is also known as Abū Zinnār because of the side-locks which distinguish them from the Muslims—over which they wore a *kūfiyyah* with a tail ('*adhabah*) technically known as *qirriḥah*. A strange word *maq'is* is said to mean a Jew or a *ḥallāq*—it looks as if it had a derogatory implication, and a Muslim in mentioning a Jew would add some such deprecatory formula for alluding to him as 'āna-k Allāh,¹⁸¹ God guard you.' There are several such phrases used in South Arabia and indeed in other parts of the Arab world.

The Jews are also known as Ahl al-Sabt,¹⁸² and Muslims are well aware of the Jewish care for the Sabbath. Qāḍī Ismā'il reports a saying, 'A-yikhtarim¹⁸³ al-Sabt, It will break the Sabbath.' This means the Jews will do nothing that breaks their Sabbath, and it is used of a person who is breaking the bounds of custom (*ḥudūd al-'urf*). Another saying, 'A-yibayyin-ah al-Sabt, The Sabbath will make it clear,' is explained as a reply to a question whether a man is a *qabīlī* or a *Yahūdī*. This would be said when in doubt as to a person and one wishes to find out about him before giving any opinion on him.

If asked about something of which you know nothing you say, 'Ḥaqq Sa'id al-Yahūdī, Belonging to the Jew Sa'id,' and Sa'id also seems to be used as a name for a Jew just as one would say 'Paddy' for an Irishman. As both documents show, and Nazīh¹⁸⁴ remarks, the majority of Jewish names are like those of Muslims.

A curious word *al-miḥrām*¹⁸⁵ occurs in some sayings reported by Qāḍī Ismā'il, which seems to be arrived at by metathesis of the Hebrew *mirūḥam*, the late (so and so). 'Ḥālat bint miḥram, the state of a girl orphan', means a bad and disturbed state of affairs! The word also figures in a sly dig at the corrupt *qāḍī* in the Jewish saying, 'Uḥsub al-miḥram khallaf thalāthah, I reckon the deceased left three (sons).'¹⁸⁶ In point of fact the deceased in question had two sons, but when the *qāḍī* in charge of dividing out his estate had taken his fee for this service, amounting to more than fell to

either of the heirs, one of them commented in the above words—i.e. the estate in effect has been divided into three parts!

Ṣan'ā' Jews used to address any Muslim man unknown to them as Sidi Aḥmad, and, in the countryside, a man or woman as Yā jāri/jarātī.¹⁸⁷

Social and Business Relations between Muslims and Jews

While the tendentious assertions in a highly emotional book like Shlomo Barer's *Magic carpet*¹⁸⁸ that attempts to create a pathetic picture of Jewish emigrants from south Arabia, are easily dismissed, statements of a scholar of Goitein's calibre seem to require some modification. In the Yemen, he avers, Jews lived in separate villages and quarters surrounded by a sect of Muslims with even stricter taboos who would not even drink a cup of coffee touched by a non Muslim, but he informs me, this applies to the Zaydis only. Yet, even with them, it is likely this would be confined to a minority of over-zealous ulema. There are historical allusions, moreover, to Jews living among Muslims,¹⁹⁰ and if they generally do live in Quarters of their own or separate villages so do separate groups of the Muslim population.

For my own part, in 1947, I saw Jews drinking coffee with the Muslims in Ḥabbān at the reception for the Sultan Nāṣir al-Wāḥidī.¹⁹¹ They however withdrew before the arrival of the meat since this was unlawful for them to eat.¹⁹² On asking a Bīr al-'Azab Muslim of the Bayt al-Uṣṭā family if Muslims would eat meat of animals slaughtered by Jews he replied that this was completely impossible, remarking 'because theirs is a different *qiblah* (*li'anna qiblat-hum ḡayr*)', alluding to the usage whereby an animal or bird is slaughtered facing the *qiblah*. This is a simple ritual difference. Jews and Muslims in Ṣan'ā' could and often did eat together, except that neither would touch meat slaughtered by the other. Muslims used to buy many comestibles prepared by Jews, including sweetmeats (*ḥalawīyyāt*) in particular. An experienced political officer, Harold Jacob,¹⁹³ demonstrates incontrovertibly that the Muslim regards the Jew as clean, quoting the proverb, 'Walk with a *Khādim* but don't sit down to a meal with him: eat with a Jew but don't walk with him.' The *Khādim* as a scavenger is unclean; the Jew, not a fighting man, would be no use on a journey through dangerous country. Perhaps a Muslim's sentiments appear best in the tale of the man who entered a Jew's house and the Jew invited him to share in his meal. The man didn't like very much to eat meat slaughtered by a Jew, doubtless for ritual reasons also, but when the Jew pressed him he said, 'If it's got to be (eating) in the Jewish way, then let it be the chicken-breast (*Idhā qad al-binā 'alā Yahawdah fa-'l-sukkabi*)!'¹⁹⁴

177 Cf. 'A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān', op. cit., 120.

178 A strange case indeed seems to be recorded in Renato Traini, *I manoscritti arabi . . . della Fondazione Caetani*, Roma, 1967, 69, *Collective response of the ulema, 'al qusio circa la condanna da infliggere ad un tale che, per rendere nullo il matrimonio della sorellastra con un cugino, l'ha indotta ad apostatare e a convertirsi alla religione ebraica, appena raggiunta la maggiore età.'* (dated 1296/1879).

179 Ḥabshūsh, op. cit., English summary, 62, text 105.

180 Qalib al-Yaman, 168.

181 Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, London, 1915, 228-9. Phrases such as this were also used by older Muslims when mentioning a woman (*imra'ah*, *sāna-kum Allāh*), and distasteful or unclean things such as shoes, etc.

182 Ibid, loc. cit.

183 *Ikhtaram*, syn., *inqaṭa'*.

184 *Riḥlah*, II, 292.

185 He rendered *al-miḥrām* as *al-shakhṣ alladhī māṭ*.

186 *Al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 37, no. 103. Note the variant *miḥram*.

187 Cf. p. 425b.

188 Published in London, 1952, this journalistic book has strong bias and is full of errors. Data drawn from Brauer's masterly study, appear in distorted guise. Yet as an impression of the exodus it is indispensable, and the infor-

mation reported from the emigrants is often valid and tallies with other sources. For the subsequent history of the emigrants see Aviva Klein-Franke, 'Akkulturationsprobleme der jemenitischen Juden in Israel', *Anthropos*, Fribourg, 1967, LXII, 841-97, with extensive bibliography.

189 *A Mediterranean society, II, The community*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1971, 226.

190 Cf. p. 421b.

For example north of Raydah, the village of the Bani Zubayr of 'Iyāl Sirayh of Bakil, who were ecstasies (*majādhīb*), but now they regard it as 'ayb to be so called. They will fight anyone who calls them *majdhūb*, and they have a *raqm* (syn. *wathīqah*) a written agreement between themselves that they will pay the *diyāh* of a person killed in such a fracas.

191 Cf. *al-Baḥr al-zakḥkhār*, I, 13, We drink from vessel of the Ahl al-Kitāb.

192 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, 79, no. 222, has a proverb on this theme. He quotes also, *Ghaṣṣib al-Yahūdī maraq*, Make the Jew eat broth. This is used of compelling a person to do something he does not wish. Broth would contain meat not ritually slaughtered in Jewish style. The ordinary Ṣan'āni Muslim would have no reason to buy or eat meat slaughtered by Jews.

193 *Perfumes of Araby*, 229.

194 *Al-Amṭhāl*, op. cit., 111, no. 309. Making the best of a bad job, the Muslim is taking the choice piece! A curious dislike of an early Ṣan'āni *ʿālim* that an animal be slaughtered by a negro (Zinjī) is reported by al-Rāzi, *Tārīkh*, 334.

A story published by Leslau¹⁹⁵ contains the expression ‘*Yā Yahūdī, yā nājis*, You Jew, you unclean person.’ This, I think is a simple error for *Yā nāqīṣ*, You person of low degree. The *q* and *j* being pronounced as ‘g’ in garden it is easy to confuse them. In any case a Jew, if insulted in this way, could claim justice against the offender. Imām Yaḥyā even had the Great Mosque of Šan‘ā’ white-washed by Jewish plasterers so presumably he had no misgivings as to their ritual cleanliness.¹⁹⁶ Nor have I come across anything in the literature to support in any way Barer’s assertion that the Muslims regard the Jews as unclean.

To this day the merchant Ḥabshūsh, colloquially ‘Ḥibshūsh’, is popularly remembered as a *jalīs*, a ‘crony’ of Imām Yaḥyā.¹⁹⁷ He was an astrologer (*ḥalākī*) and the Imām would ask him for his prognostications, or so it is said, as to the favourability or not of times and actions. While many Jews were *ḥalākīs* so were many noble Sayyids.¹⁹⁸ Yemeni Muslims and Jews alike believe in magic and the Jinn. Al-Jarashī¹⁹⁹ tells a humorous story of a Jew, Sālim al-Badiḥī, a representative for the Jews at the daily *Majlis* of the Imām composed of Mashāyikh and Qāḍīs of the Qabā’il (*sic*), as he says at least, for the story appears apocryphal, who discomfited the Muslim members there but was prevented by the Imām from being attacked by them.

An Iraqi writer²⁰⁰ says of the Jewish woman that her duty is in the house, and in the houses of the Sayyids and governors (*ḥukām*) of the Yemen for a small wage of not more than half a dinar a month. The Jews act as washermen and ironers, perform the bringing up (*tarbiyah*) of the children of the notables and are employed at housework.²⁰¹

To what extent amicable relations could prevail in the Yemen between the two communities whatever theories the ulema might have, is strikingly revealed in a question put to the scholar Ibn Ja‘mān²⁰² (ob. 1034/1624-5) in, of course, a tone of strong disapproval—the questioner one imagines would be himself an *‘alim*. It runs,

A question from a Muslim district (*jihah*) over the people of which uprightness, virtue and obedience to the pure *sharī‘ah* predominate, except that their districts are devoid of ulema, in which are Jews dwelling there, mingling with them in a single village. From these (Jews) disapproved things have begun to appear, but the people of the districts say nothing, not reproving them because of their lack of knowledge of the statutes (*ahkām*) of the *sharī‘ah*. One of these is that they raise their voices above the Muslims, making their meetings conspicuous and raising their voices in reading/reciting and putting effort into this. Another is that they have synagogues there, all of them new since (the coming of) Islam which they concrete (*yugaddidūna-hā*) and decorate like our mosques and even more. [Nor]²⁰³ do they show reverence for select persons or ordinary folk (*al-khāṣṣ wa-l-‘āmm*)—to such an extent that if one of the Muslims wishes to enter them (the synagogues) for some necessary purpose they do not make this possible for him, though they go on entering

our mosques, by permission, even though it be without any necessary purpose. A further thing is that if one of their dead should die, they bury him in day-time, raised up and respected (*mu‘azzam*) among the Muslims. Yet a further thing is that the Muslims have trust in them, let refuge be taken in exalted God, over their secluded women (*maḥārim-hum min al-nisā’*), so that the Jew, be he young or an old man (*shābb-an aw shaybah*), enters to (‘*ind*’) women, young girls or old women, in a private room (*khalwah*) or elsewhere, mingling and conversing with them, without their veiling from him at all. When a Muslim (girl) is married to a distant place the Jew takes the bride (‘*arūs*’) on his back, by night or by day, lagging behind the bridal escort (*shawwā‘ah*) with her. When he tires he sets her down and talks to her without a veil (*ḥijāb*) or anything. Is it permitted them to commit these forbidden things or are they most severely prohibited, committing them not being permitted, root and branch (*aṣl-an wa-faṣl-an*)? Is it the duty of the lord (*waliyy*) of the district and other competent persons (*qādirūn*) to reprove all of this and stop them from it, and to act actively and energetically to prohibit them and restrain them from these matters or not?

Ibn Ja‘mān, in a lengthy reply, answers of course that the reprehensible acts described are illegal and to be stopped. The districts in question are almost certainly Shāfi‘ī. In the country districts such relationships are likely to have continued up to modern times, for Nazīh²⁰⁴ had heard that, on the borders of ‘Asir, Jews and Muslims were still living cheek by jowl, each community celebrating the other’s feasts²⁰⁵ as well as their own, and in olden time there was even intermarriage there between them.

After this it comes as less of a surprise to find the Jews of Aden at the British conquest in 1839 taking refuge on the day of the attack in the ‘Aydārūs Mosque along with the Bāniyāns and womenfolk.²⁰⁶

Commerce and the Crafts: Relations with the Muslims

Al-Shahārī,²⁰⁷ not an unbiased writer, avers that the Jews had a near monopoly of trade along with the Imām, and that after they left the Yemen, it became the monopoly of the Royal House with their *wakīl*, ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Jabalī, and that this aroused jealousies. Certainly al-Jabalī was the most prominent of Yemeni-Aden merchants, but there were others used by Imām Aḥmad. Al-Shahārī says, correctly, that their activities ranged from the sale of old clothes to the import of Japanese ready-mades, and that they also paid hardly any tax compared with the Yemeni trader. Both he and Nazīh²⁰⁸ confirm that most of the crafts were in their hands—the carpenters, blacksmiths, jewellers, builders (*bannā’*), architects (*mi‘mār*), merchants (*tājir*) and money-changers (*ṣayrafi*); he comments that they made wine freely but were not allowed to sell it to Muslims. Nazīh²⁰⁹ himself visited the Jewish quarter

195 ‘Texts on Yemenite folk-lore’, *Proc. of the American Acad. for Jewish Research*, Philadelphia, 1944, XIV, 225. Cf. *Yā nāqīṣ* in al-Khafanji’s poem in *Nashr al-‘arf*, II, 195.

196 E. W. Bethman, *Yemen on the threshold*, Washington, 1960, 41. In fact they did whitewashing in Šan‘ā’ mosques in general.

197 Barer, op. cit., maintains that Imām Yaḥyā often summoned the Chief Rabbi to his palace and had long scholarly discussions with him.

198 Zabārah, *A‘immat al-Yaman*, al-Rawḍah, 1376 H., (2), I, 89, speaks of Jewish sorcerers consulted by a Sayyid himself given to magic, and in the *Nashr al-‘arf* there are frequent references to magic and the Jinn.

199 W. Leslau, op. cit., 237 seq. The Jarashī and Badiḥī families were well known and each had a synagogue named after it. Cf. Brauer, op. cit., 307. Another tale follows of a Jew verbally besting an Arab!

200 Mohammed Hassan, *Qalb al-Yaman*, Baghdad, 1947, 169. He says that Jewish women are forbidden to learn reading and writing. Barer, op. cit., 104, states that, apart from learning embroidering Jewish girls remained illiterate and received no education. In this they are like some of the more conservative Muslims of the past in, for instance, Tarim. Mohammed Hassan, op. cit., 168, notes that the Jews are polygamous, marrying even six

women; he had known a Jew who had a ninth wife aged eight although himself a man of nearly fifty. It is common, so he says, for Jews to marry girls aged nine and upwards.

201 In Ḥabbān the Sultan had a Jewish servant who looked after the water-pipes and did other duties.

202 *Fatāwā*, 363a, seq. He was *muftī* of Zabid, see my *Portuguese*, 32, *passim*.

203 It seems necessary to supply this negative to complete the sense.

204 *Rihlah*, I, 143.

205 In a xerox copy of a Ms. of miscellaneous calendrical treatises from the Yarim region in my possession is a short discussion on the fasts and feasts of the Yemeni Jews, entitled *Ma‘rifat a‘yād al-Yahūd la‘ana-hum Allāh, wa-ṣawmi-him fi ‘l-shhur al-Rūmiyyah*. The corresponding dates are not only given according to the Rūmi months but also according to the Zodiac.

206 J. S. Kirkman and D. B. Doe, ‘The first days of British Aden’, *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1975, II, 187, 190.

207 Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Shahārī, *Tariq al-ithar al-Yamaniyyah*, Beirut, 1972, 78.

208 *Rihlah*, I, 60.

209 *Ibid*, II, 140.

with a Jewish *dallāl* or commission agent. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me that the Jews had independent markets which had Jewish headmen (*'uqqāl al-Yahūd*), and he does not recall that they had any part in choosing *'āqils* in the Muslim *sūqs*. Of course there were Muslim carpenters and blacksmiths as there are to this day.

One of Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished proverbs shows the extent to which day-to-day business dealings were affected by the keeping of the Jewish Sabbath. '*Al-Sabt Sabt, wa-law bayna 'l-khamsayn*, The Sabbath/Saturday is the Sabbath even if it come between two fives.' This is explained as the first five days of Dhu 'l-Hijjah and the second five days, the Great 'Id falling on the 10th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah. If the Sabbath/Saturday should fall then, it being a day when there is little trading and a general dullness in the market, even if the Feast is coming the Sabbath will still be kept because it is a holiday with the Jews, though the Muslims are crowding into the *sūqs* to buy their requirements for the Feast.

Nazīh²¹⁰ visited a Jewish cloth-shop about two metres high (like many shops today in Ṣan'ā') near Bāb al-Sharārah in which the most important wares were *ṣāyāt*, Syrian silk (*al-ḥarir al-Shāmī*), called however *al-ṣāyāt al-Miṣriyyah* because they came to the Yemen via the Suez Canal, and *daymā/dimā al-Shāmī*, mostly Aleppo manufacture.

The broad humour of a slightly coarse tale of a Muslim dealing with a Jewish tailor shows a lighter side to life in the Yemen. The Muslim gave the Jew a length of *jawkh* cloth to tailor into a *jubbah*. The Jew admired the cloth and wanted to take some of it for himself, but the owner insisted the Jew cut it out (*fassal*) in front of him. To trick him the Jew broke wind which made him laugh so inordinately that he lay on the ground. While he was so distracted the Jew quickly snipped off the *jawkh* a piece surplus to what was required to make the *jubbah* and, in a twinkling of an eye, concealed it from the owner. When the Muslim wanted him to repeat what had caused him to laugh, the Jew said, '*A-tuqaṣṣir al-jubbah*,²¹¹ Do you want to make the *jubbah* too short?' If he were to break wind a second time and snip off another piece of the cloth, it would become too short to make the *jubbah*.

Qānūn Ṣan'ā' shows that pottery was made at Qā' al-Yahūd—including pipe-bowls made by known potters—or perhaps these are trade-names for the type of pottery, al-Sayyānī, and that of al-Laywī manufactured at Qaryat al-Qābil. Jewish women acted as middle-(wo)men dealing in dye-bowls. Probably this craft was long established with Jews since the historians tell us that in the mid 5th/11th century Jiblah town received its name from a Jew who used to sell pottery (*fakhhkhār*) there.²¹² Nazīh²¹³ noticed in the Jewish Quarter in Ṣan'ā' a kiln (*furn*) to burn red brick, and another for making pottery, *tannūrs*, etc. There were also Jewish mud-plasterers and workers in gypsum, notably those making the *qamariyyāt* or alabaster windows.

A trade that brought the Jew into close contact with the Muslim household was the roughening of mill-stones when they had worn

smooth. The Jewish stone-sharpener (*muwaqqir*) was credited with a tongue so sharp in repartee that *ḥiddat muwaqqir*²¹⁴ has become proverbial for a crushing retort. A woman, the story runs, once asked a Jew to renew the roughening (*khushūnah*) of her quern (*maṭṭan*). When he finished his task the woman began to retail to him all the hardships (*ma'ā'ib*) of life and her many debts, hoping the Jew would take pity and only charge her lightly for his work. But when she finished the Jew answered, '*Kull-ah kubad*,²¹⁵ *yā jāri*, *qūmi adday shuqā al-waqārah*, Everything is hardships, neighbour, go fetch the wage for the roughening.'²¹⁶

A host of sayings alludes to the Jew's keen business sense. '*La tashīṭ illā ba'd Yahūdī*,²¹⁷ Don't buy grain till a Jew has bought.' This is because the Jew knows how to pick a good bargain. A proverb that can only have been heard from Jews, used of a person who prefers a quick return and small profit to a larger sum to be paid him later, is, '*Ḥirām naqd wa-la burūkhā dayn*.²¹⁸ This is understood by Qāḍī Ismā'īl to mean something like 'Unlawful money in cash, not money owed one with a blessing.'

The give-and-take humour of the market is expressed in tales such as that of the Jew who bought a donkey only to find it lazy, liking to remain in the stable rather than work. He went to the vendor to ask his money back but was refused. So he went to the *ḥākim* (*qāḍī*) complaining the vendor had cheated him. When the *qāḍī* questioned him about the donkey's vices (*'uyūb*) for which he could legally claim that the sale be rescinded (*faskh*) the Jew answered, '*Khuṣm-ih*²¹⁹ *al-khaṭyah*, *wa-rūḥ-ih al-ḥarr*, He hates walking and his heart's in the stable!'

A remark made by our driver Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd, a tribesman, as we passed the village of 'Athār,²²⁰ formerly entirely Jewish, was that all Jews were well off in possessing a trade (*ḥirfah*) upon which they could rely for a living whereas, he meant, people like himself had not. He cited the Jewish craft of repairing china with metal rivets,²²¹ and indeed one still finds old china-ware mended in this way in the Ṣan'ā' shops.

Yet another tale around a popular saying from Qāḍī Ismā'īl's collection, be it factual or not, shows that kindly relations could exist between Jew and Muslim, as the writer's impression is that they often did.²²² A poor man's wife had just borne him a child and he possessed not even the least of the requirements of a woman after parturition (*nifās*).²²³ So he went out to seek whatever he could bring his wife and a friend of his directed him to go to the Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. al-Manṣūr 'Alī (early 19th century) to lay his problem before him so that the Imām would help him. He complained of his condition to the Imām who gave him only one single *riyāl* (*ḥawwāl lahu riyāl-an waḥid-an*), and the man left not knowing what to buy with it. He was pondering when one of the Jewish merchants of Ṣan'ā' happened to pass by and, realising his dilemma, at once left and sent off to the poor man's house a quantity of wheat and much ghee (*saman*) and honey,²²⁴ along with twenty *riyāls* in coin. Taking the *riyāl* the Imām had given

quern), who wants to nail? *Yisammir* means technically to rivet together broken china, one of the Jewish crafts. Invited to a house, he was assaulted by the owner, after which he shortened his cry to *Yisammir faqat*, (Quern)-roughening only!

215 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished. *Kubad*, sing. *kubdah*.

216 The proverb looks Jewish. A Jew, addressing a Muslim, would use the term *Yā jāri*.

217 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished.

218 Ibid. The Qāḍī understood *ḥirām* as equivalent to Arabic *al-ḥarām*, but Heb. *herem* has the sense of excommunication, expulsion.

219 *Khusm* = *khasm*, enemy, *khaṭyah* = *khayṭ*, and *harr* is a Ṣan'āni word for stable, cf. p. 46a. Mere laziness does not qualify technically as a vice in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 22, section e. Kirkman and Doe, op. cit., 195, say the Jews of Aden are mostly very poor and employed as labourers. They do carriage work with donkeys from one part of Aden to another.

220 Glaser's 'Athār, but al-Hamdāni, *Siyah*, 111, confirms my spelling.

221 The repairer (*mulajjim*), *yūjim*, mends with metal rivets.

222 One might of course derive a different moral from the tale, and see in it an attack on the Imāms.

223 This would be for her special diet, entertainment of women visiting, etc.

224 These would be for the strengthening of the woman to whose diet they would be added. See p. 557b.

210 Ibid, I, 124.

211 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, from whose unpublished collection this saying comes, regards this as a Jewish proverb. Other references to Jewish weavers include of course Goitein's 'Portrait of a weaver's village'; *Jemenica*, 68, no. 425; Kirkman and Doe, op. cit., 195, refers to Jewish weavers at Aden making a coarse kind of cotton cloth.

212 'Umārah, in Cassels Kay, op. cit., 40; *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 204. Michael Bates, quoting al-Khazrajī, *Kifāyat*, fol. 48a, mentions Jews operating pottery kilns at Ṣan'ā' in the 12th century A.D.

213 *Rihlah*, II, 140.

214 *Waqar*, syn., *yukhashshin* (*takhsim*), to make coarse, roughen the *maṭṭan* or *raḥā* with a *zubrah saḡhirah*, small hammer, the action itself being called *naqr*, pecking. Cf. *Jemenica*, 108, no. 769. Qāḍī Ismā'īl's collection includes, *Al-fishr khudrat al-qalb*, *al-ghada qawqarah/qawqarah*, Boasting brings gaiety to the heart (without costing anything), but lunch is first millings. *Qawqarah* = *waqarah*, is the flour (*ṭahin*) that comes out of the quern (*raḥā*) just after it has been re-roughened. It is eaten only by the poor as a rule because it contains grit. The proverb is used of a person making a show of wealth though he is actually poor and in straits. A *fashshār* is a boaster. A tale, doubtless apocryphal, tells of a young Jewish boy going the rounds in the city, with the street cry of the (Jewish) mill-rougheners, *Man yisammir*, *man yisammir*, Who wants to roughen (his

him in his left hand and the Jew's gift in his right, he said, 'Qallad-kum Allāh min al-Yahūdī.²²⁵ I adjure you by God, which is the Jew!²²⁶ Is it he who gave this (twenty) or he who gave me that one *riyāl*?' The passers-by who had of course no idea whence the gifts came, gave the obvious reply.

However good relations may be between Muslim and Jew, popular lore ascribes a violent hatred of Jews to dogs, and the expression *kalb wa-Yahawdī*²²⁷ has something of the sense of our fighting like cat and dog. It is said that when a Jew passes by the Quarters of the Muslims the dogs bark at him and drive him away, especially if he be one of the country Jews (*Yahūd al-bawādī*)!

Documents

Arrangements for Slaughtering Animals

Outside Šan'ā' slaughterers in the villages and small towns were respected by the community and used even to be addressed as *Mōri* (teacher), but in Šan'ā' itself and the larger cities no special honour was attached to the profession. Every slaughterer had to study the 'laws of slaughtering' and only became qualified to perform after passing an examination. The sellers of meat, butchers, bought animals and would ask one of the slaughterers qualified in this way to kill them. The evening before an animal was slaughtered it was fed a large quantity of salt in the belief that this would render the flesh more tasty.²²⁸

To engage in the slaughter of animals was considered an honorary post rather than a source of income among the Jewish communities. The slaughterer of cattle and sheep was paid partially in kind with parts of the animal slaughtered, but a person killing poultry received no fee.²²⁹

The Muslim attitude to the profession and trade of butchery evidently differs radically from that of the Jews who, for ritual reasons, give it such higher consideration. We are informed that the followers of the Hādawī Zaydī school would not purchase meat of animals slaughtered by Jews, although in Muslim law it is lawful to eat their meat.²³⁰

An agreement²³¹ between two Jewish slaughterers dated the 8th of Shubāt, 1872, lays down that the fee for slaughtering is to be divided in halves between them. He who slaughters a *dhabiḥah*, be it cattle or sheep-and-goats gives his fellow half (*nāṣifah*), be he present or absent. If he does not follow this and give the money to his fellow his penalty (*adab*) to the Shaykh Yaḥyā 'Alī is two *riyāls* (*qirshayn ḥajar*), and he will be suspended from slaughtering. This they agreed to of their free will and choice, 'according to the regulation of our rabbis.' Among the witnesses—Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 'Alī Aḥsan, Raṣābī, and Maḥfūz Mūsā, there are two Muslims and two Jews. This is strange for 'such a typically ritual Jewish case'. Moreover the fine is entrusted to the Muslim Shaykh Yaḥyā 'Alī because, it is suggested, the Muslim authority was more effective than the Jewish. Jews rarely take a case to the Hukūmah,²³² and this was settled by the *Mōri*. The similarity of this form of agreement to the provisions of *Qānūn Šan'ā'* is apparent.

A document in Hebrew character from late 12th/18th century Šan'ā' of the time of Imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. 'Abbās, a period of decline, was among those produced by the Jews at the important law-suit concerning the ownership of Qā' al-Yahūd which took

place in 1918-19. The points at issue in this document which has an intrinsic interest of its own, may be summarised as follows.

The Bir al-'Azab Jews had their own abattoir, though slaughtering was often enough done at private houses. On each animal slaughtered the Government charged 1/8th of a *qirsh*, this charge being levied no doubt on Muslims and Jews alike. In order to raise money to help the poorer members of the community to pay a sort of ground rent for their houses to the Waqf which owned the land the Jewish headmen decided that an additional quarter-*qirsh* should be charged on each animal slaughtered, making the total charge 3/8ths of a *qirsh*. At the time when the document²³³ that follows was written (1787) the Jewish shaykh who collected this charge apparently took a half-*qirsh* on every animal slaughtered—no reason is given for this—was the extra eighth *qirsh* a collection fee?

When the tax payable to the Government had been deducted, the ten *qirsh per mensem* that had to be paid to the Waqf as ground-rent was deducted. The remaining cash was applied for the benefit of the poor. The trustee for the poor, known as *shaykh* or *nasī'* or *naḡid*, looked after the charity fund.

A new trustee was this year appointed but because of a difference with the former trustee the case was brought to the Beth Din court. Arrangements were made to pay 1/8th *qirsh* to the Shaykh out of the half-*qirsh*, and the rest applied to poor relief. The final settlement is however not clear, but the interest lies in the intertwining of taxes and charity collection.

The Text of the Document

When Sulaymān son of his honour the Rabbi Yūsuf son of the Shaykh Sālim al-'Irāqī,²³⁴ the trustee (*wakīl*) for the poor of Qā' Bīr al-'Azab, claimed from Sulaymān son of the Shaykh Sa'īd al-Kuḥlānī (the latter acting as) his father's trustee, that he hand over what he holds of the poor-fund (*ḥaqq al-'aniyyim*), Sulaymān al-Kuḥlānī alleged that he was holding it against what he had lent to Sulaymān son of his honour the Rabbi Yūsuf afore-mentioned, from the money for the taxes/imposts and sites/plots (*min ḥaqq al-majābī wa-l-'arīṣ*)—i.e., the half-*qirsh* imposed (*al-muq'ad*?) on each head of cattle (slaughtered)—because (the income) arising (*al-thā'ir*) on the plot and tax/impost is paid to the Shaykh (al-Kuḥlānī?), in accordance with what the ancestors, one after the other (*al-awwal bi-l-'awwal*) collected.

Sulaymān son of his honour the Rabbi Yūsuf counter-claimed that the (income) arising (*al-thā'ir*) is returned to the Jews—for in what way has the Shaykh any claim to it? When the Mashāyikh, the ancestors, used it (*aqdamū*?), this is not (to be considered as) evidence from them, since they used it (illegally), not (adhering to) any legal principle (*wajh shar'ī*).

After these claims (were put forward) we demanded evidence upon what principle this half-*qirsh* was originally fixed (*nūṣṣan*).²³⁵

Then Mōri Yaḥyā b. Mōri Yūdā al-Ša'dī and Mōri Mas'ūd al-Ḥamdī attended, God preserve them, and testified that initially there was as impost (*majbā'*)²³⁶ on each head of cattle (slaughtered) only an eighth of a *qirsh*. The site-tax (*ḥaqq al-'araṣah*) used to be fixed on the owners of houses (*ba'alē ha-batīm*)²³⁷ by the Waqf people—but some poor orphans and widows were unable to pay what they owed, and, because of this, raggedness and ill-treatment/scorn (*ja'ath*²³⁸?) *wa-ta'bīth*) used to come their way. So the head-

225 Qāḍī Ismā'il, from whose unpublished collection this story comes, says that *qallada-kum Allāh* is used in adjuring a person to speak the truth (*al-ṣidq wa-l-'ḥaqq*) in testifying (*shahādah*), or in judgement of some case (*al-hukm fi qadīyyah mā*). It means something like *nāshadtu-ka 'llāh*.

226 i.e. Who is the mean person? Qāḍī Ismā'il also has a saying, unpublished, *Ḥidhāq Yahūdī*, Jewish miserliness, *ḥidhāq = bukhāl*.

227 Qāḍī Ismā'il, unpublished.

228 Based on Joseph Qāḍī, *Jewish life in Šan'ā'*, Jerusalem, 1969, 88-92. Cf. Brauer, op. cit., 105, *Fleischspeisen*.

229 J. Ratzaby, *Bo'i Teman* (Come thou south)—*Studies and documents concerning the culture of the Yemeni Jews*, Tel Aviv, 1967, 190-1.

230 See p. 423b.

231 Ibid.

232 Nazih, *Riḥlah*, I, 60.

233 J. Ratzaby, op. cit., 187-88.

234 This person is known to Brauer, op. cit., 40.

235 This Hebrew term is from the same root as *qānūn*.

236 The *majbā'* is paid to the Imāmī Government. Cf. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato*, 137, varie imposte sulle macellazioni (etc.).

237 A Talmudic phrase.

238 Gloss. *daḡ*, *ja'atha* = lacérer, déchirer (of clothes). This phrase looks like a sort of cliché and the sense is not quite certain.

men, the ancestors (*al-'uqqāl, al-qadmōnīm*) considered that a quarter plus an eighth of a *qirsh* should be imposed (*yataqa'ada*) on each head of cattle (slaughtered) and from this (money) should be taken the site-tax for the whole Jewish community so as to preserve the poor (from inability to pay what the Waqf demands).

In addition, Sālim b. Šālīh al-Qārah testified on behalf of his father that the quarter plus an eighth (of a *qirsh*) fixed, was for the poor only, to preserve them from raggedness.

Sulaymān b. Yūsuf al-'Uzayrī testified that this quarter and eighth (of a *qirsh*) was initially fixed for the poor. Any of it that used to be left over after paying the site (tax) (*tasfīm al-'araṣah*) would be shared out for the poor under the supervision of Sayda-nā the Shaykh Sālim b. Hārūn al-'Irāqī, may he rest in peace.

Yahyā b. Maḍmūn also testified that this quarter and eighth was fixed for the sake of the poor and any of it left over after paying for the site would be shared out for the poor.

The Court's²³⁹ decision was that the eighth of a *qirsh* out of that half *qirsh* should be delivered to the Shaykh—i.e., the customary impost (*al-majbā al-mu'tād*) upon each head (of cattle slaughtered). From the remaining quarter and eighth (= 3/8ths) the customary ten *qirsh per mensem* for the sites should be delivered to the Governor (*wāfi*) of the Waqf. The remainder (after that) goes to the collector for charity (*ha-ṣedaqah*) for alms to the poor. The Mashāyikh have no right whatsoever in it, either in respect of the beasts slaughtered on ordinary occasions (*dhabā'ih al-sā'ir*), beasts slaughtered at the feasts (*dhabā'ih al-'yād*), or in abattoir (*majzarah*) or in (private) houses. All reverts to the poor and the charity fund (*tevat ha-ṣedaqah*) between the lines.²⁴⁰

All is decided and settled.²⁴¹

Signed by Shlomo b. Yeshū'ah, God preserve him.

Shlomo b. Yūsuf Turkī, God preserve him.

(Signature no. 3 unclear—all three, judges)

Mōrī Yahyā b. Mōrī Yūsuf Šālīh, 1787 A.D.
(Chief Rabbi)

An Agreement Between Owners of Adjoining Houses

It was not feasible, during our researches in Ṣan'ā', to launch into the study of property deeds. This would involve persuading individuals or bodies like the Waqf to allow us access to them, then the lengthy process of clarification of the vocabulary and import of the deeds, the vocalisation of names, etc. However the following agreement in Arabic in Hebrew characters, but with some Hebrew phrases, put at our disposal by Professor Ratzaby,²⁴² is similar in type to parallel Arabic Muslim documents. It deals with the kind of problem arising in a closely knit city.

The agreement, taken from the Jewish 'Miswaddah' of Ṣan'ā', was drawn up on Sunday, 12th of Aylūl, 1770 A.D. Our assumption is that the law applied here is local custom common to Muslims and Jews alike, but probably acceptable in both codes. Clauses 1 and 2 are self-explanatory. Clause 3 gives temporary permission for certain windows to look on to a neighbour's roof-terrace; it is linked with clause 5 which lays down that if the windows were not already there a charge for the admission of sunlight by means of them will be paid to the neighbour. In Muslim Ṣan'ā', we are informed, if A opens a window in a house-wall overlooking the property of B, then B has the right to build a wall directly in front of A's new window so that B is no longer overlooked.

239 The Beth Din.

240 This phrase simply means 'above/fore-mentioned'.

241 A standard formula.

242 Yusuf Sh. Hubarah, *Telaot Teman ve-Yerushalayim*, Jerusalem, 1970, 377-8.

243 Cf. 'A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān,' op cit., 127.

244 Vocalisation uncertain.

245 *Hawiyah*, an outside court behind the house into which refuse is tipped and heaped. (Goitein's glossary to Ḥabshūsh, *Travels*, 84.)

246 *Tarjī' al-'ayār*, 120, *hijrah*, a middle room/place (*makān*) between rooms like a passage (*mamarr*) to them.

Clause 4 deals with an ancient feature of South Arabian customary law, the question of ownership of the air-space²⁴³ above one's property. It seems that Abraham is granted the grace and favour use of Yūdā's well and permitted to open an access door to it, but this is not a right and can be withdrawn at Yūdā's pleasure. The final clause regulates the passage of rain-water draining away from one property through another, seemingly from one open court at the back of Abraham's house to the corresponding court behind Yūdā's house—to judge by typical Jewish houses in the Qā' today.

The Text of the Document

1. Agreement took place between Yūdā Ḥabārah and Abraham al-L b d²⁴⁴ that they will undertake the building of the wall of the court (*'imārat jadīr al-hawiyah*),²⁴⁵ (dividing the costs) into two halves. The clay (*turāb*) for the wall is (to come) from Abraham.
2. A quarter *qirsh* has been charged against Abraham which he will pay to Yūdā to meet Yūdā's complaint against him that his beam (*khashabah*) was broken by Abraham, owing to his putting clay bats (*libn*) and clay on top of Yūdā's roof-terrace (*jabā*).
3. The wall which is between them in the access passage/hall (*hijrah/hujrah*)²⁴⁶—there is no objection to Abraham putting up (*yu'alī*) the *qamariyyāt*²⁴⁷—windows which Abraham opened up facing Yūdā's roof-terrace (*ilā jabā²⁴⁸ Yūdā*), temporarily permitted to (lit., as a loan (*'arah*) in the hand of) Abraham.
4. The upper (part of) the well (*al-bīr al-'ulw*)²⁴⁹ belongs solely to Yūdā, (both) the air (Heb. *avir*) and structure of it (the well). Yūdā, allowed him (lit., loaned him (*a'ara-hu*)) to open a door (to the well?) until (such) time a Yūdā wishes to prevent access to the upper (part of) the well absolutely (*yamna' al-bīr mikhōl va-kōl* (Heb.), *al-'ulw*). Abraham will withdraw when Yūdā refuses (access). Abraham will erect a half-door/shutter (*daraḥ*) to the door of the well from his side (*min ṣālāh* = Ar., *min ṣalayh*).
5. The light (Heb., *ōrah*) of the *qamariyyāt*-windows—Abraham will produce evidence (*yavi Abraham re'ayah* (Heb.)) that they were (already) in the stair-way and with a ceiling over them (*fi 'l-darāj wa-masqūf 'alay-hin*). If not (*idhā lam*), he will pay a charge for light (Heb., *demē ōrah*) to Yūdā.
6. The draining-runnel (*siyāq*)²⁵⁰ of Yūdā's access-passage (*hijrah*), for rain only, would be at the disposal of Abraham, and for that (waste water) running at the Feast (*sawq al-'Id*)²⁵¹ only. Whenever there is a lot of rain-water in Abraham's court Yūdā will make an opening²⁵² to his court for that quantity of rain-water which the drainage-runnel of Yūdā's access-passage can hold, to enter. The repair of the passage for the flood-water (*tiqqūn* (Heb.) *majza' al-sayl*) to Yūdā's court, wherever it is (too) much, is the responsibility of Abraham (to repair), that being the extent of the drainage-runnel of Yūdā's access-passage. *Wa-'l-salām*.

Waqf Claims to Ownership of Qā' al-Yahūd Disputed by the Jewish Community

The collection of documents that follows is important to the social history of Ṣan'ā'.²⁵³ It is, in summary, the papers relating to the case brought by the Department of Waqfs against the Jews of Bīr al-'Azab, alleging that they have not been paying the full rent for the site of the Jewish Quarter which they occupy, coupled with a claim for arrears of rent going back to the first years of the Second Ottoman Occupation. The Jews counter with a denial that the area is Waqf land. The Waqf Department then produces

247 Moon-shaped windows, semi-circular fanlights.

248 The *jabā* is the roof, used for drying dung for fuel, drying maize etc., and for sleeping upon.

249 Cf. 'A Judeo-Arab house-deed . . .', 125-7, '*ukwah wa-sufālah*.

250 *Siyāq*, explained by Arab informants as *majrā al-mā*.

251 *Sawq al-'Id* seems to refer to the Passover Feast when much water is used.

252 Perhaps there would be a permanent opening normally kept stuffed up with clay or rags.

253 Published by Professor Jehuda Ratzaby (Yemeni Raṣābi) in *Bo'i Teman* op. cit., 194-99.

supporting documents from its registers showing that certain sites were leased to individual Jews. The Qāḍī entrusted with charge of the case then proceeds, accompanied by the representatives of both parties, to try to identify these sites on the ground, but it proves impossible to do so. The Waqf Department now produces witnesses showing that small sums were paid by the Jews each month to the Waqf. The Jews admit these payments, which they maintain were merely customary, and not as rent for the site, but they cannot produce documentary evidence in confirmation.

They do however produce a copy of a petition to the Imām Şāhib al-Mawāhib,²⁵⁴ this having been found by the Chief Rabbi, and containing that Imām's answer and his seal, which proves that his father, during the first years of their settlement at the Qā', had permitted them to build on top of houses in the land assigned to them. (Qōrah says that they also asked for permission to build 73 houses on it, but this is not to be found in the document itself.)

The Qāḍī finds it impossible to distinguish Jewish property from that belonging to the Waqf (which, Qōrah says, after measuring, could only show claims to one third of the total area). In consequence of this the whole property reverts to the Imām as is laid down by law in the maxim introductory to the collection in cases such as this. The Qāḍī then submits his findings to the Imām to make a decision.

The Imām's decision is not produced, the next paper only being a receipt for the purchase-money. Qōrah²⁵⁵ however states, 'The Imām's decision was that, as the part belonging to the Waqf has become mixed with the bought land to the extent that it is no longer possible to distinguish it, the sanctity of the Waqf (*qedūshat ha-waqf*)²⁵⁶ is now ineffective, and the Waqf lands are no longer any more under the rule of the Waqf, yet do not belong to the holders (the Jews); everything belongs to the Treasury of the King and is under the authority of the Imām.'²⁵⁷

In order to possess the Jewish community of the Qā' land the Chief Rabbi had no recourse but to persuade the Imām to sell it.²⁵⁸ The Imām consented and the Chief Rabbi bought all the land of the Quarter included in its bounds for 8,000 *riyāls*. The price payable was portioned out among the Jews according to their private properties, and each person paid the amount required of him to the Chief Rabbi who delivered it to the Imām. The sum collected was short of the purchase price by 500 *riyāls*—this the Imām decided to ignore in the interests of the poor and for all who could produce deeds of possession. The final document in the series was signed by the Imām himself.

Imām Yaḥyā entered Şan'a in November, 1918, and, if the dates of the commissioning of the enquiry and the production of the report are correctly given from the original, not only did the Imām set the enquiry afoot very shortly after his arrival in the capital, but the report seems to have been produced at what, for the legal profession, must be almost the speed of lightning. Yaḥyā took a close interest in the local affairs of Şan'a upon which he corresponded with its notables even while the city was under Ottoman occupation and direct control, and he may have been already interested in Waqf concerns.

Legal procedure, one can see from these papers, is admirably well established and, basically, Islamic law governing the relation of the Muslim and Jewish communities is justly observed. Though Islamic law does stipulate that the Jews be held 'in abasement and humiliation'²⁵⁹ in a limited number of respects, these do not apply here, and the case has every appearance of being impartially conducted and judged.

These papers show that about the end of the 18th century the Bīr al-'Azab Jews were paying the Waqf 247.65 plus 5.7 *riyāls*, probably per annum, running from Rajab to Rajab. By 1918 they were only paying the Waqf 5 *riyāls per mensem* (60 *riyāls per annum*) which was in actual fact handed to the collector of human excrement. The purchase-price for the whole area of the Qā' in 1919 was 8,000 *riyāls* less a rebate of 500 *riyāls*, probably approximately equivalent to something over £600 at that time.

Royal Seal

In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful

When a free property gets confused with a *waqf* property (*iltabasa min al-amwāl ḥurr-un bi-waqf-in*)²⁶⁰ without possibility of distinction, the whole goes to the Treasury of the Muslims.²⁶¹ We command the Qāḍī al-Fakhrī²⁶² to send persons of probity (*'udūl*)²⁶³ and surveyors to establish the extent of the (property in question) and arrange that (i.e., their findings) in a comprehensive document (*miswaddah shāmilah*). Dated 27th of the month of Şafar, 1337/2nd December, 1918.

The needy of God, praise to Him,
'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Şālih,²⁶⁴ may God pardon them both.

* * *

Praise to God in all assignments.

By command of our Lord, His Majesty the Imām, may God prolong the shade of his benevolence, and after receiving permission from the Eminent and Exalted Seat of Government (Maqām al-Wilāyah),²⁶⁵ there attended before me (*bi-taraḥi*) Qāḍī al-Fakhrī 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad b. Şālih b. Abi 'l-Rijāl, Secretary of the Waqf, deputising agent for the Inspector of the Internal Waqfs (Nāzir al-Awqāf al-Dākhiliyyah)²⁶⁶ the very learned Sidi Qāsim b. Ḥusayn al-'Izzī Abū Ṭālib, presenting a case (*mudda'iy-an*) against the two Dhimmīs (Jews) attending along with him, Ḥayīm son of Sulaymān al-Mashriqī,²⁶⁷ and 'Awād son of Sālim al-Şārim, representing themselves and acting as deputising agents for the Jews of Qā' Yahūd Şan'a, after their headman ('*aqil*'), known as the Hākhām, Yaḥyā Yishāq,²⁶⁸ and others, had verified before me that he had heard the empowering (of these men) by the majority of the Jews, to act as agents. Then there subsequently arrived also a power to act as agent (*wakālah*) penned by the trustworthy al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Muḥibb²⁶⁹ 'Alāmah containing the empowerment of the afore-said (Jews) to act as agents, issued by twenty Jews.

254 See pp. 82a-83a.

255 *Sa'arat*, 71.

256 the Waqf Department cannot sell the land because of course *waqf* lands are not to be sold. Because however the land is no longer *waqf*, the Imām can sell it, and he will receive the payment.

257 It is a pity the original Arabic is not quoted.

258 So Qāḍī.

259 See p. 417a.

260 This is a legal cliché.

261 A Shāfi'i jurist, Ibn Ja'mān, *Fatāwā* (private Ms.) states that if Jews do not own a site they pay rent to the owner if he be known, or otherwise to the Bayt al-Māl.

262 Al-Fakhrī (pronounced Fikhrī in Şan'a) is the title given to a person called 'Abdullāh. Anyone called 'Alī is known as Jamālī, Aḥmad is entitled al-Şāfiyy, Muḥammad has the title al-'Izzī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn al-Sharafi, Muḥsin has al-Ḥusām, 'Abd al-Raḥmān or al-Raḥīm and the like are al-Wajīh, Qāsim has al-'Alam, Ibrāhīm has Şārim, Yaḥyā has al-'Imād. Other names such as Maḥmūd and 'Abbās have al-Ḍiyā'. These titles may

also be used in a compound form like 'Izz al-Dīn, Şāfiyy al-Islām, etc. (*Tarjī' al-aṭyār*, 82).

263 Cf. the use of this term in *Qānūn Şan'a*, section 1, ii, *passim*.

264 This is the al-Fakhrī above and the Abū 'l-Rijāl who figures in the next paragraph.

265 Al-Wilāyah is the Ottoman Government Headquarters in Şan'a.

266 The Internal Waqf is discussed on p. 149b *passim*.

267 Ḥayīm son of Sulaymān al-Mashriqī was a money-collector of the Jewish community 'Awād b. Sālim al-Şārim, himself a Jew (Şārim, n. 262 *supra*, = Ibrāhīm), is described as a smart lawyer who represented the Jews in many cases. Qōrah, *Sa'arat*, pp. 76-77 has a portrait of Ḥayīm.

268 The Chief Rabbi, also entitled Hākhām Bāshi.

269 He is a *qāḍī*, a relative of 'Abdullāh b. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī (*infra*), described by Ratzaby as a go-between in cases concerning Jews. The 'Alāmah family had a house neighbouring the Jewish Quarter at Ḥayy al-Balaqah. They are *sadanah* and *a'immaḥ* of Jāmi' Ḥanzal—it is a Jāmi' because it is a mile away from Jāmi' Şan'a which, in Zaydī law, makes it possible to hold the Jum'ah Prayer there.

This plea by the deputy of the Inspector (of Waqfs) against the two afore-said was that the Dhimmis had not paid the Waqf rent of the site (*'araṣah*) upon which are built the houses of Qā' al-Yahūd like others of the rest of the sites (*'ariṣ*)—but nevertheless they have come to paying a little of what is due from them all (*mimmā yajma'u-hum*). He furthermore demanded the rent for the past from the date, year (12)89/1872 up²⁷⁰ to date. He demanded that the legal (*shar'ī*) rent for the future be calculated.

The site concerning which the plea is made, bounded on the east by the Square (al-Maydān) extending from north to south (*min al-qiblah ilā 'adan*) and the well of the house of al-Manšūr al-Ḥusayn, behind which, on the eastern side, are the gardens, on the west by the wall (*dār*) of Qā' al-Yahūd and the Gate of al-Qā', on the south by the wall of al-Qā' behind the mosque at the Gate of al-Qā' (i.e. Bāb al-Balaqah) and on the west, belongs to the Waqf and the private owners (*al-mullāk*).

The gist of the counter-plea (*ijābah*) of the two agents (acting for the Jews) was denial that the afore-said site is a *waqf*, denial of leasing and of knowledge of payment.

The agent of the Waqf produced the bound Miswaddah²⁷¹ of Waqf containing verdicts and evidential documents (*ruqūmāt wa-ḥujaj*)²⁷² in the hands of the Waqf, of various dates, in various handwritings, the bulk of them penned by the very learned 'Alī Ḥājir,²⁷³ and the report of Qāḍī the very learned Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Mishḥim.²⁷⁴ At the head of these was a quire (*daftar*)²⁷⁵ with a writing (*khayr*) at the end of it penned by the well known Qāḍī the very learned Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qāḥin²⁷⁶—in this he said *verbatim* (*mā ḥādḥā lafẓu-hu*): 'List of the sites of Qā' al-Yahūd—on each *libnah*²⁷⁷ six *buqshahs* in accordance with the noble Manšūrī command (*al-amr al-sharīf al-Manšūrī*). He cited the names of the sites of the houses and courtyards (*ḥawāyā*) etc., a total comprising five hundred and ninety sites (*'araṣāt*), the total extent of the *libnahs*, as he stated at the end of the afore-said quire, amounting to one thousand six hundred and fifty-one *libnahs*. Then following that come the names of the open sites (*'araṣāt*) totalling about thirty-eight *libnahs*.

Underneath this was a paper copied out in the handwriting of Sayyid al-Dīyā' 'Abd al-Šamad b. 'Abd al-Nāṣir²⁷⁸ Abū Ṭālib from the original of it in the handwriting of the Faqīh 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Rāziqī,²⁷⁹ the date of the original being the eighth of the month of (Rajab)²⁸⁰ year 1296/1879, the substance of which was that the Dhimmī Sālim b. Mūsā al-Sirri and the Dhimmī Shlūmū/Shlomo²⁸¹ attended on that date and undertook responsibility to the Inspector of the Waqfs for the rent of the site of the *waqf* of Qā' al-Yahūd (*ujrat 'araṣāt al-waqf ḥaqq Qā' al-Yahūd*), five *riyāls* per month from the commencement of Rajab,²⁸² (12)96/21st June, 1879, for the period during which they are appointed to the abattoir (*mustanibīn fi 'l-majzarah*).

The agent of the Waqf brought out the register of leasings of sites (*Miswaddat ajā'ir*)²⁸³ (*'araṣāt*) in which there were documents of leases of various dates to numerous Dhimmis, containing the

lease of each one from the Inspectors of the Waqf at the date it (was made) of what was in his hands.²⁸⁴ In one of these it was stated *verbatim*: 'We have leased to Ya'qūb al-Ḥamadī, the Dhimmī, three *libnahs* less a quarter in the Waqf field (*jirbah*) west of Qā' al-Yahūd, next the north (of it).' He then stated the amount of the rent, (continuing) until he said, 'On the north Sa'id al-Midwari(?)²⁸⁵ borders this plot (*'araṣah*), on the south Sālim al-Mu'allim, and, on east and west, the two through roads, the whole contained in the plot of the lessees.' Then, among the recent papers (*awraq*), there is, *verbatim*, 'In the field (*jirbah*) of the Waqf west of Qā' al-Yahūd next the northern side, bounded on the east by the *Masqā* of (*ḥaqq*) al-Shaykh Sālim al-'Irāqī²⁸⁶ and, on the west, by the path left for them in the middle of the field, north and south being Waqf (land?).' (There are as well) other papers in which the (description) of the boundaries follows this form.

Since ignorance arises as to what the two registers (*Miswaddah*) comprise it was up to us to survey (*kashf*) the place in dispute. So I set out, accompanied by the agent of the Waqf and the agents of the Dhimmis along with some of their notables. Scrutiny of the registers and enquiry as to the names of the sites was made, having regard to what they (the registers) contained, but I was unable to find any clarification of the matter.

Then came the production by the agent of the Waqf of witnesses for what is well known (*shuhrah*)—witnesses concerning the place in dispute, they being Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shahid b. al-Mahdi, Sayyid 'Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Manšūr and Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Tilhā.²⁸⁷ The testimony of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ḥasan covered al-Qā' and its bounds in general (*'umūm-an*). The testimony of the rest was to the Waqf receiving (*qabḍ*) five *riyāls* every month in the name of site-rent. He (the agent) produced a verification (*taḥqiq*) in the hand of the very learned Sidi Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Kibsi,²⁸⁸ God protect him, (stating) *verbatim*,

That which I know is, during my tenure of the inspectorship (*naẓārah*) of the Waqf, the Dhimmis used to pay five *riyāls* due to the Waqf each month by way of rent for the site of Qā' al-Yahūd to the Dhimmī cleaner (*muṭayyib*),²⁸⁹ by a transfer (*taḥwīl*) from us to the butchers in Qā' al-Yahūd from what is due from them all (*mimmā yajma'u-hum*). It was the same during the tenure of my father the very learned al-Sharafī.²⁹⁰ God preserve them.

When the Dhimmis heard what the agent of the Waqf had produced they countered it with numerous references back (*murāja'at*),²⁹¹ one of which was that their paying of the five *riyāls* was in pursuance of custom (*jary-an 'ala 'l-'ādah*) only, and that they did not recognise this as being on account of the site. Other points were that they request that the *waqf* and name of the donor (*wāqif*) be specified, and that their original documents (*uṣūl*) and old papers were among what was lost to them in the well known

270 I.e. from the first year of the Ottoman occupation of Šan'ā'.

271 This must be a *miswaddah* subsequent to that of Sinān, and I have in fact seen more than Sinān's register in the Jāmi' Mosque.

272 Sing., *raqm* = *wathiqah*, which the *ḥākim* issues (*yusdir-hā*), or an *'adl*, between two contesting parties *bi-shay' mathbūi shar'ī*. *Ḥujaj* are, literally, proofs.

273 Zabārah, *Nayl al-wajār*, Cairo, 1348-50 H., II, 122, has a summary notice that he flourished from 1180-1235/1766-1819 to 20 and died in Šan'ā'.

274 Mishḥim was born in 1155/1742-3. Al-Mahdi 'Abbās made him *qāḍī* in Šan'ā' (*al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 95).

275 *Daftar*, syn., *kurrāsah*.

276 *Al-Badr al-jālī*, I, 113 seq.; *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 274 seq., a celebrated personage, 1118-1199/1706-85, 'He had charge of the Awqāf of Šan'ā' and its districts along with the *qāḍī*-ship (*Tawallā niḡarat awqāf Šan'ā' wa-a'mālī-hā ma'a 'l-qāḍā'*). (p. 278). He was imprisoned by al-Mahdi 'Abbās in the Bustān al-Mutawakkil prison, but released by his son al-Manšūr in 1196/1782. Since Qāḥin died in 1199/1785 Qāḥin's note must be dated between these years.

277 Rossi, *L'arabo parlato*, 152, makes the *libnah* ten *dhirā'*. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī says ten square metres or fourteen square *dhirā'* equal one Šan'ā' *libnah*.

278 Hebrew character Nṣr. He must be of the well known family at al-Rawḡah.

279 This appears to be an error for al-Razzāqī.

280 In the text as published the name of the month has dropped out, and 'Rajab' is suggested as from below.

281 Al-Sirri and Shlomo were money collectors for the community in charge of the abattoir. They sold skins and fat to people and thereby collected money to pay the collectors of excrement.

282 Rajab is the term as in pre-Islamic and Sa'ūdī Arabia today—leases run from Rajab to Rajab.

283 Plur. of *ijārah*.

284 I.e. the site he was occupying.

285 This name in the published text is dubious.

286 This is the official, known as Sālim al-Uṣṭā, who had charge of the Royal Mint in the time of al-Mahdi 'Abbās.

287 Tilhā is a Šan'ā' family.

288 Muḥammad . . . al-Kibsi is mentioned in passing by Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 399. He was Nāẓir al-Awqāf.

289 *Muṭayyib* is a euphemistic name for a collector of human excrement. See 562a, v.25.

290 Ḥusayn as in n. 206 supra.

291 *Murāja'at* has the sense of reviewing again, with reference to *ḥujaj* etc., making legal appeals.

looting in olden years, bringing out copies which they stated to be of the documents (in question). These give information on the existence of transactions (*taṣarruḥāt*) of sale and leasing between themselves. In these there is allusion to the sites of some of the houses about which there is dispute, or something of the sort, with regard to *waqf*, but the dates of these originals are post-1200/1785,²⁹² and only relate to matters between themselves, with the exception of a copy of a Question in which (the questioner) says, *verbatim*,

What is the opinion (*qawl*) of the ulema of Islam who discriminate between lawful and unlawful (*al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*), through whose presence God, praise to Him, kept alive the *sharī'ah*-law of the Lord of Mankind (the Prophet), concerning the Jews of the city of Ṣan'ā', may God protect it through the upright among His servants? Since they are segregated from the Muslims, outside the city in a village by themselves, no Muslims being mixed with them, or building in their vicinity, may they build houses on the open land (*'araṣāt*)²⁹³ which the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (1087-92/1676-81), God's pleasure and mercy be upon him, assigned to them, and erect a storey over a storey above them (*yu'allū 'alay-hā saqf-an*²⁹⁴ *fawqa saqf-in*), especially since they are afraid of theft²⁹⁵ of their effects (*ḥawā'ij*) from their houses as they have no security for these on the ground floor (*al-saqf al-asfal*) because they are beside a large city outside its wall? Is their possession (*milk*) of the house-sites like that of the Muslims, 'from the earth to the Pleiades (*min al-tharā ila 'l-Thurayyā*)',²⁹⁶ and are they restricted from erecting (*ta'liyah*) (a further storey) only when overlooking the Muslims (*taraffu' 'ala 'l-Muslimin*) would come about—a thing inconsistent with the humiliation (*ṣaghār*)²⁹⁷ imposed upon the people of the Dhimmah?

The response is requested from the ulema of Islam, God increase them, and from their Head and Imām, the Commander of the Faithful and Lord of the Muslims, al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh Lord of the Worlds, may God Exalted preserve him from the vicissitudes of the nights and the days, may he never cease to be the Cave²⁹⁸ of widows and orphans and guardian of the *sharī'ah*-law of his ancestor Muḥammad, upon whom and his Family be the most esteemed blessings and peace . . . O God, the Commander of the Faithful.

At the top of this is the seal (*alāmah*) of the Imām al-Mahdī, God's pleasure be upon him, and underneath it, *verbatim*, the response as mentioned.

Let the afore-said (Jews) continue in that which my father established them—in God's and our security (*amān*) as long as they continue under our covenant of protection (*dhimmah*) held in abasement and humiliation (*lāzimūn al-ṣaghār wa-l-dhillah*).²⁹⁹ They have the right to erect (additional storeys) on their houses, and none of our governors (*ummāl*) has the right to obstruct them. Let this be known. God is enough and suffices us.

292 The probable date of Qāṭin's note supra.

293 'Araṣ is a misprint for 'araṣah (pl., -āt or 'urayṣ).

294 *Saqf*, lit., ceiling, used to mean a storey or floor, e.g., *bayt min thalāthah suqūf/fawābiq*, a house of three storeys.

295 A Ṣan'āni Jewish proverb (Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished) runs, *Lā tāman al-Bāliq wa-law qadūh fi 'l-ma'ārī*. Do not feel safe from the Balaqah man though he be in the cemetery (Hebrew *ma'ārī*, sing., *mi'rā*, a cave for burial). The story is that a man living in the Balaqah Quarter next to Qā' al-Yahūd, used frequently to enter and rob Jewish houses. Once the Jews caught and beat him roundly, then threw him into a well to rid themselves of him. When, next day, they saw him walking in the street they uttered this exclamation.

296 This ancient Arabic expression is used to express the right of an owner of a property to the air space over the said property. An example of the usage is to be found in Muh. b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī, *al-Sayl al-jarrār al-mutaddafiq 'alā Ḥadā'iq al-azhār*, Cairo, 1970, 370, *ḥurmat maqbarat al-Muslim wa-'l-Dhimmi min al-tharā ila 'l-Thurayyā*, the inviolability of a Muslim or Dhimmī cemetery is from the earth to the Pleiades.

297 Cf. pp. 417a, 421a. This 'humiliation' is a formalistic attitude, not to be understood

Alongside this is (written), *verbatim*,

Whatever Mawlā-nā the Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh and the ulema pronounce is to be acted upon for it is law (*shar'*). Whatever they (the Jews) construct in consonance with the afore-said precept (*wajh*) they have the right to do so. God is most knowing. Sayyid Mahdī b. Ḥusayn al-Kibsi³⁰⁰ wrote this.

Alongside this is (written), *verbatim*,

Praise is God's alone. What al-Mawlā (the Imām) pronounced, may God Exalted preserve him, is to be applied. They are prohibited from building higher than the houses (*dūr*) of the Muslims only when their houses are neighbour to the Muslim houses. God is most knowing. The humble (*ḥaqir ilā*) before God Exalted, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Maghribī wrote this.

There was also, above the Question, the following, *verbatim*,

By God who guides to what is right, whatever follows this description they have the right to erect (additional storeys) upon, they being prohibited only from what is inconsistent with the abasement and humiliation, such as raising their houses above the houses of the Muslims. Their possession of the possessions over which their right has been established is similar to the possession by Muslims, especially since the Imām al-Mahdī, God's pleasure be upon him, had already established them (in it); his decision eliminates difference of opinion and anyone objecting is left no way to do so. God, praise to Him, is most knowing. The humble before God Exalted wrote this.

This is the copy of what was stated, word for word, without addition or subtraction. This was transcribed in the month of Shawwāl the Blessed, year 1336/July, 1918. The humble (*ḥaqir*) ['Alī b.] 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Yamānī³⁰¹ wrote this. (concluded)

* * *

This is what the two sides put forward, and they request the positive³⁰² *shar'* verdict.

I state that, when I studied all the papers in the hands of the Waqf and those the Dhimmis produced, obscurity entered and it was impossible for me to distinguish what is private property exclusively (owned) by the Jews, from what belongs to the Waqf—seeing that what the Register (*Miswaddah*) contains about the site of Qā' al-Yahūd, this being that of which the Register has given an account above, evidently belongs to the Waqf—yet also the Dhimmis own that which the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan placed in their possession, and that is clear. Now when the afore-said confusion arose the verdict (*ḥukm*) (required) turned into being concerned with that which had got mixed up. For private property (*milk*) 'had become confused with *waqf*',³⁰³ and no (party) involved in the confusion challenged that when a free property is (confused) with *waqf* the sale/object-sold (*mabī'*) should go to the (public) utilities (*maṣāliḥ*),³⁰⁴ as is laid down (by law) (*manṣūṣ 'alayh*). On this basis the correct view (*mutawajjah*) according to *shar'*-law is that the whole of the Qā' site goes for

as an incitement to persecution.

298 'Cave' means a refuge. This is just a form of blessing with no special significance.

299 See n. 106 supra.

300 Al-Kibsi, according to Ratzaby, was a secretary of the Imām. Probably 'Muḥammad' should be read for 'Mahdī'—he would then be the same person as identified in n. 288.

301 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Yamānī al-Yadwami al-Ṣan'āni al-Ḥadramī was Shaykh al-Islām, not an office original to the Yemen, but introduced apparently by the Turks. His father's biography is in Zabārah, *Nayl al-waṭar*, II, 119. This is a well-known Ṣan'āni family. Ratzaby calls him one of the famous *qādis* and a teacher of Imām Yahyā. The published text omits the second 'Alī' but the name is correctly given at the end of the document.

302 *Al-ijbāb*, explained as *bi-'l-ithbāt aw al-nafy*, affirmation or denial.

303 A legal cliché.

304 *Maṣāliḥ*, rendered as 'public utilities', could comprise such as fountains (*sabīl*), *khanāt/samsarahs*, *sāḥah*—courts, open spaces, etc., under the appropriate bodies charged with the supervision of them.

the (public) utilities, under the supervision of the Imām of the Muslims, God succour him, and they must be satisfied with this (decision).

I have communicated the report orally (in person) and am of the opinion that it should be submitted to royal scrutiny (*al-naẓar al-sharīf*), may God give it support, and whatever (ruling) preponderates (*tarajjah*)³⁰⁵ is to be applied. Written upon its date, the month of Ṣafar al-Khayr of the year 1337/December, 1918.

* * *

In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful

Seven thousand five hundred *riyāls* have been received from the Dhimmīs. We have given a rebate of five hundred *riyāls* to such whose inability to pay is recognised or whose grey hair gives him a special claim.

Written on its date, on the 10th Rajab, 1337/11th April, 1919. God's is the praise. 'Abdullāh b. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī³⁰⁶ (signature).

* * *

Scrutiny of the written document (*al-muḥarrar*) inside³⁰⁷ and what is on it has been made by the Presence of our Lord the Commander of the Faithful, God succour him, and this conforms with the precept of the noble *shar'*-law. Then (came) what followed by way of the sale of the site, under the royal seal (*al-khatm al-sharīf*), and receipt of the payment in full. Thereby the validity of the ownership of the Dhimmīs of the whole site is established in its entirety to dispose of it as they will. Let this be depended upon. Written upon its date, the month of Rajab al-Fard, 1337/April, 1919.

After praise of God whose right praise is. When it became established that Qā' al-Yahūd, enclosed within the road leading to Bāb al-Qā' on the south side, the wall (*dā'ir*) on the west, the hard ground (*ṣulb*) of the well known Qā' al-Yahūd on the east, and, on the north, by the garden of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Kibī³⁰⁸ and the garden of Yūsuf Effendi, is part of the properties of the public utilities (*al-maṣāliḥ*) on account of the confusion of the *waqf* with (privately) owned property (between which) it was impossible to distinguish, despite much search, and the establishing beyond doubt that in part (of it) was *waqf*, though it could not be distinguished separately—there took place the sale by us to the agent of the Jews dwelling in the houses afore-said on the site visited (*al-'araṣah al-mazyūrah*),³⁰⁹ he being the Ḥawkhām Yaḥyā Ishāq, a valid legally effective contract by affirmation from us to all those appointing him (their) agent, and acceptance on his part. Each one owns the site of what he holds in the way of houses, shops (*ḥanāwīt*), hostels (*samāsir*), synagogues (*kanā'is*), baths, roads, courts (*aḥwāsh*), gardens, and all the boundaries afore-said comprise in the way of what is in the hands of the Jews afore-said. The contract has been concluded according to the completest and most valid procedures (*nawāḥi*) in return for a price amounting to eight thousand *riyāls*, half of which, forty hundred *riyāls*, goes to the public utilities because it is concluded that the greater advantage lies in selling.

This took place in the presence of al-Mawlā Shaykh al-Islām the Qāḍī 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Yamānī and the Qāḍī al-Fakhrī 'Abdullāh b. Ḥusayn al-'Amrī.

We have assigned the cost of the roads to be (charged) on the Jews, excluding the weak (*du'afā'*) and needy, under the supervision of the Ḥawkhām Yaḥyā Ishāq and those men of integrity (*'udūl*) of the Dhimmīs with him who have allotted out the costs (*faraqu 'l-athmān*).

(Written) on its date, Rabī' I, year 1337/December, 1918.

305 *Al-ḥakīm yurajjih al-maṣlahah fi 'l-bay' fa-yabi' li-ṣāliḥ al-waqf*, The judge comes to the conclusion/arrives at the view that the advantage lies in selling so he sells in the interest of the Waqf. For instance, in a quite different circumstance from the Waqf, that of an orphan's property, it may, if in his interest, be sold. For *tarjih*, cf. p. 182a, n. 23.

306 Imām Yahyā's Prime Minister, murdered along with him at Hizyaz in 1948, father of Ḥusayn al-'Amrī.

307 It looks as if this endorsement was penned on the back of the general collection of documents.

308 The Kibī garden is at the present day Wizārat al-Khārijīyah on the east side of the Qā'.

309 Perhaps *mazyūrah* should read *mazbūrah*, i.e., 'visited' should be 'afore-said/recorded'.

Chapter 21

The Hindu, Bāniyān, Merchants and Traders

Hindu merchants have doubtless settled in the ports of the southern Arabian littoral from ancient times long before Islam. A Hindu Quarter (Ḥāfat al-Bāniyān)¹ was in 786/1384 so long established in Aden as to be the location mentioned in a will for a property owned by a Muslim, and the problems posed by the existence of a colony of pagan merchants living in a Muslim community figure here and there in the *Fatāwā* of the Shāfi'i legist Ibn Ja'mān² about 1600 A.D. Ettore Rossi³ even claims that they introduced the sweet-smelling *kādhi* into the Yemen, but if so it was long ago, since the agricultural treatise *Bughyat al-fallāḥin* of the 8th/14th century already gives detailed instructions for cultivating it. Al-Jarmūzī,⁴ writing of the second half of the 11th/17th century, cites an eye-witness as saying that at al-Shiḥr or its coast there are about three hundred merchants of the Bāniyāns, God humiliate them, they being Brahmins (Barāhimah).

The earliest notice of an Indian at Ṣan'ā' at present to hand is a reference to a certain Aḥmad al-Zawm⁵ said to have come there in the days of the Turkish Pashas (*al-bawsh min al-Atrāk*) but he may have been of Hindu origin. Another, Ibrāhīm al-Hindī al-Ṣan'ānī (ob. 1101/1689-90) was born of a father who had been one of the number of Bāniyāns who had come to Ṣan'ā' and adopted Islam at the hands of one of the family of the Imāms.⁶ Al-Jarmūzī⁷ however gives a very enlightening account of the Bāniyāns in the reign of al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il under the events of the year 1066/1655-6.

The Bāniyān sect of the Barāhimah of India had grown numerous in the Yemen because of the security (*amān*) they perceived for themselves and their property as, too, the justice accorded them and others. A town or market on land, sea, mountain and plain, without them was rare, to the extent that they had settled in the Shahārāh market and people turned to them so as to buy from them, to seek to borrow (*istadān*), and to 'give property on condition that the gain should be divided between them'⁸ in their properties—

because of the eagerness people have to seek out the least in price and procure advantage (*taysīr*) in business dealings (*mu'āmalah*). This had a serious effect on many of the Muslim traders (*ahl al-bay' wa-l-shirā'*), becoming specially great in Ṣan'ā' the Preserved, so they complained of it to the Imām⁹ who ordered that places confined to them (*maqṣūrah 'alay-him*) should be set (aside) for the Bāniyāns. Notwithstanding, those who had business (*ḥājāt*) approached them as was their custom, and the Ṣan'ā' people again complained to the Imām, the heads (*kibār*) of the Bāniyāns attending. 'What offence to the people of Ṣan'ā' is ours,' they said, 'except that they have been excessive in their evasion and deceit (*tahayyul wa-gharar*), whereas we have accepted small profits (*fā'idah*) and given the poor (*ḍa'if*) respite (to pay); in return for goods (*biḍā'ah*) we have accepted goods, out of consideration for what is easiest for those having dealings with us'.¹⁰ Or whatever they (actually) said.

The Imām ordered they should be allowed to remain in their places although the Ṣan'ā' people had declared that Ṣan'ā' is not large enough to hold both us and them. When the Bāniyāns returned to Ṣan'ā' people who had business (*ḥājāt*) went to them all the more to buy what they had and do business with them. Often indeed they became the kinder and friendlier to them. The Ṣan'ā' people however spoke and complained much to the learned and virtuous (*ahl al-'ilm wa-l-faḍl*), saying, 'The Imām's friends (*aṣḥāb*) support infidels (*kuffār*) against Muslims and they have deceived the Commander of the Faithful.' Or whatever they (actually) said.

Now the very learned Qāḍī, the virtuous (*fāḍil*) Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Yahyā al-Saḥūlī used to frequent al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, attending the recital of the Qur'ān and the litany (*rātīb*)¹¹ the performance of which was observed (*al-muḥāfaẓ 'alay-hi*) in those days, few people not attending the litany in the days of the victorious emergence (*al-makhrāj*)¹² al-

1 Abū Makhramah, *Tārīkh thaghr 'Adan*, ed. O. Löfgren, *Arabische Texte*, II, 155.

2 Cf. my *Portuguese*, 32 seq.

3 *L'Arabo parlato*, 168.

4 *Al-Sirat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 257. A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, London-Madras, 1925, 117, 'There are apparently a few references to Banians—Indian merchants' in the 10th-11th H. history he has used.

5 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 181-2. *Zawm* means boiled curdled milk (*Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1974, I, 62). This al-Zawm was commissioned to have made for the Pasha's son a *maṣnaf*, waist-wrapper (cf. *Gloss. dat.*) to match one of the weave of al-Dirayhami (near Hodeidah) which he already had. This would probably be similar to the *maṣnaf* manufactured today at Bayt al-Faqih, evidently imported to Ṣan'ā' in these days also.

6 Ibid., I, 30. He was of the Ḥanafi rite, common in India, but one would have expected him to be a Zaydi under the circumstances mentioned.

7 Op. cit., 175 seq.

8 *Murabāḥah*, the translation is from Lane's *Lexicon*, but I do not know what sort of transaction this was in Yemen at that time.

9 The Imām was not in Ṣan'ā' at this time.

10 Barter in the country districts of the Yemen was quite common until at least 1962.

11 The Imām had ordered the *rātīb al-Qur'ān* to be read in the mosques, especially in Ṣan'ā', and people to assemble to hear it.

12 This is the Imām's conquest of al-Mashriq and parts of Ḥaḍramawt (ibid., 129).

manṣūr) of the Imām. Crowds of all sorts of Ṣan'ā' people who had nothing to do with buying and selling, even their maintenance (*nafaqah*)¹³ perhaps coming from the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl), collected along with this public gathering, to the Holy Jāmi', with lighted candles in their hands and shouted at those attending the *rātib*, saying, 'Let your recitation and prayer be against those who support infidels against Muslims!' They shouted at the Qāḍī and demanded he send for (their antagonists), but turned away before he could reply to them—as is the usual way of the likes of the townsfolk. There was tender-heartedness (*riqqah*), patience¹⁴ and gentleness in the Qāḍī (God succour him) and he could do nothing other than keep silent before them. Then, with candles in their hands, they went on in the same fashion, directing themselves towards the Mashhad al-Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, one of the irresponsibles (*sufahā'*) having ascended the minaret of the Jāmi'-Mosque to make (public) announcement of the calamity to Islam and of condolences to the people of (Islam). So our lord 'Alī, son of the Commander of the Faithful (God succour him), ordered them to be arrested, and certain horse-men rode out and plundered such of their cloth/clothes (*thiyāb*) as they were able, arresting some of them. But the rascals (*ahl al-baṭālah*) had extinguished the candles and stolen away under cover of darkness. Many of the Ṣan'ā' people and those of virtue (*faḍl*) wrote to the Imām dissociating themselves (*tabarra'ū*) from what had happened. The Imām ordered those who had committed most of the deeds and those first to speak and act, to be sent up (to him at Shahārāh), and he punished them and imprisoned some of them, taking severe measures with them. After this the town quietened down and most of the talk was directed against the Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn, that he had allowed them to speak (freely) when they began to leave his house attacking the Imām's person and the virtuous (*fuḍalā'*) also.

Prior to this incident, in the year (10)59/1649 it had happened that one of the Ṣan'ā' people had come across something in the shape of idols with one of the Bāniyāns—this latter having hung it up in a place in his shop (*ḥānūt*) and inside the warehouse (*samsarah*). In (his) disapproval the Ṣan'ānī shouted out at the top of his voice, saying 'Help O Muslims, something other than Allāh is being worshipped in Ṣan'ā'!' The *faqīh* Luṭfullāh b. Aḥmad al-Saḥūlī relates, 'I was one of those who ran to give aid (*sāra'a 'l-ghārah*)¹⁵ to the *samsarah*,' (the *faqīh* having business (*a'māl*) in the Market and *samsarah*), 'but', he said, 'I wasn't able to pass through since the streets and mouths of the lanes filled (with people)—so it wasn't possible (to do so) except with helpers¹⁶ and with difficulty.' He went on, 'We seized it—and there it turned out to be a thing of brass (*naḥās*) like a pair of scissors of medium (size) or rather smaller than that, in which was some resemblance to men (*ādamiyyūn*). So we arrested¹⁷ him, locked up the Bāniyān's goods in his shop, shutting it up tightly, and sent up the news about him to our lord 'Alī, son of the Commander of the Faithful, and he passed it on to the Imām who ordered the Bāniyān to be sent up to him. When he came to him he ordered him to leave the land of the Muslims. He petitioned that Imām for a period of respite in which to recover debts (owing to him) and to pay what he owed the Muslims. So he gave him four months respite,

but made (public) witness against him that if he should be found that he would be beheaded.'

The Imām remained some time considering the affair of the (Bāniyāns) and their large numbers. Then he commanded that the poll-tax (*jizyah*) be (imposed) upon them, and that a proclamation be made concerning collecting it from them. A *qirsh* per month was imposed on each person, lowered or raised according to their condition.¹⁸ In the Yemen they had numbered thousands, and many of them refused to submit to it and returned to India—this being what the Imām wished—to lower their numbers.

The disturbance of 1066/1655-6 is reported from a different point of view by the author of *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*.¹⁹ In Ramaḍān, he says 'a body of the people and Ṣūfis of Ṣan'ā' ganged up together against the Bāniyāns because of their corrupting (*taghyīr*) the Statute of buying and selling (*Qānūn al-bay' wa-'l-shirā'*) and because of their attempting to gain ascendancy²⁰ over the Muslims in the *khānāt* and other things. The Ṣan'ānīs considered this one of their evil actions and ardently desired to expel them, were that possible for them. When the Imām heard of this he disclaimed what they had done, and apprised them that the (Bāniyāns) came under his protection by virtue of paying the poll-tax, and that a legal (*shar'i*) proof upon which to rest a case for the breaking off the covenant of protection (*kharm al-dhimmah*) was essential, but no word had been heard about that (*wa-yaṣīḥḥ al-sukūt 'alay-hi*). He then consigned a group of them to one of the forts but released them after a few days.'

As in the parallel case of the Jews, the Imām displayed great firmness in refusing to have his protection of the Bāniyāns violated even if there might be popular feeling against them. The alliance against the Bāniyāns was one of merchants or shopkeepers and 'Ṣūfis', this latter probably not a term of approbation in a Zaydī author, but, from al-Jarmūzī's version of the affair, it looks as if the Bāniyāns were far from unpopular with the customers of the Ṣan'ā' shopkeepers. The shopkeepers, significantly, based their case on the commercial code, *scilicet*, of the city, an undoubted ancestor of the Statute (*Qānūn*) of Ṣan'ā', which has already been studied in detail.

Occasional acts of violence there might be, as when a slave knocked out the eye of a Bāniyān,²¹ but the fact that the event was recorded seems to show they were exceptional. On the other hand Bāniyāns and Jews were occasionally marked out in commotions and such troubles (*fiṭnah*) as that of Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Maḥṭawarī²² (a son of the Imām al-Qāsim al-'Iyānī) who, from the time of his rising in 1111/1699-70, slew an uncounted number of Jews and Bāniyāns—massacring over a thousand Jews and Bāniyāns at Ḥajjah, 'Affār, Kuḥlān and al-Ṣalabah.²³ He also circumcised a vast number of Bāniyāns. He appears however to have been a fanatic and a butcher, and is described by Zabārah as a magician (*sāḥir*).

The French captain de la Roque²⁴ who visited the southern coasts of the Yemen between the years 1708-13 supplies us with details about the Bāniyāns unrecorded in the Arab sources. On his arrival in Aden the principal Bāniyāns who are the 'Brokers of Arabia' came to pay the French a visit and offer their services—de la Roque calls their headman 'the Captain of the Banyans'. These Bāniyāns, 'by the assistance of whom all the Trade in Arabia is managed', come from the Indies and particularly the island of Diu. 'They come into Arabia in their youth, to seek

reason, is mentioned in *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 730.

18 Perhaps to be understood as a block sum imposed on the community but the individuals would contribute according to their means.

19 Op. cit., 30 b.

20 Arabic *isti'ṭā'*.

21 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 555.

22 Ibid., I, 42. Ibrāhīm was from hijrat al-Maḥṭawar.

23 Al-Ṣalabah is in al-Sharaf; from an agricultural point of view a *ṣalabah* is a place not planted.

24 *Voyage to Arabia Foelix*, London, 1732, 44-5, 131-4.

13 Those maintained by the Treasury would presumably be holders of minor religious offices, etc., and may be identified with the Ṣūfis of the parallel account *infra*.

14 *Riqqah* also means weakness, and gentleness might also be rendered as sedateness, calmness. The word rendered as 'patience', reading '*azāyah*' for the text's *ra'āyah* is conjectural.

15 For *ghārah*, cf. p. 147a.

16 By helpers, an officer, armed attendant may be meant.

17 Or it could mean, 'seized it'. A nailing up of the *khānāt* of the Bāniyān money changer (reading *al-Bāniyān al-sayrafi*) at Raymah for some unstated

their Fortune by Trade.' 'There are among them very rich Merchants, many Weighers of Gold and Silver, and Men in short of all sorts of Trades. For the rest, they are the cleverest Arithmeticians in the World; for, out of three or four Characters traced upon the Thumb Nail, when they are in haste, they sum up an exact Account in the twinkling of an Eye. Nevertheless, it behoves one to be upon the Guard with them, for they cheat with a wonderful deal of Skill. For my Part, I believe that the Commerce of these People has spoil'd the *Arabs*, who are naturally sincere and honest, making it a point of Honour to appear such; but they have found the way to cheat also, when they can do it with Safety.'

'The *Arabs*, who abhor these *Banyans*, and suffer them among them only on account of Trade, do not permit them to marry in *Arabia*, nor to have any correspondence with their Women; so that they are oblig'd to return to the *Indies*, when they have a mind to marry, and have made some Fortune in *Arabia*.'

In the very year that de la Roque arrived at Aden the town of Ibb was sacked by the Yāfi' tribe who took everything there was in its market and the *Khān* of the *Bāniyān* and the mosques.²⁵

In the 12th/18th century there rose to influence one of the strictest, yet greatest of the *Zaydī* ulema, al-Badr Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr al-Šan'ānī²⁶, a *mujtahid* and *mujaddid*, and the author of a large number of treatises. He took a severe attitude to both *Bāniyāns* and *Jews*—in the case of the latter he had some provocation as recounted above, but where the *Bāniyāns* are concerned he seems to have been motivated by the desire to see a strict application of Islamic law. The Qāḍī 'Abdullāh b. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn al-'Arāsī put the question to him in verse²⁷, as to whether it is lawful 'to extend security to the polytheist . . . like the *Bāniyān(s)* and their like—those who worship other than the Guardian (Allāh).' 'Nay', he asserts, 'there came to us the prohibition that anyone who rejects the *sharī'ah* should remain in our island.'²⁸ In verse too came the rejoinder, that there were three categories of non-Muslims. Of these the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, here the *Jews*, have the right to live in quarters of their own far from the Muslims, but he denies that by analogy that the 'foreigner like *Bishrām* and one who worships the calf and the light-diffusing sun' can, by analogy with the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, be accorded protection provided they pay the poll-tax (*jizyah*). This of course is in direct controversion of the argument of al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il in the preceding century.

The Imām al-Mahdī al-'Abbās, about the third quarter of the 12th/18th century, did indeed take some action against the *Bāniyāns* when²⁹ 'he gave instructions that the idols that were in Mocha *bandar*, belonging to the *Bāniyān* sect should be removed, and al-Badr (Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr) composed a valuable treatise on this.³⁰ Al-Mahdī promptly ordered them (the idols) to be removed and their temples (*būyūt*) to be demolished. He seized all their³¹ property for they had extensive property, about 50,000 *riyāls*. Then he took and sent one of their idols to His Majesty the Imām at a time when al-Badr was with him. So al-Badr ordered it to be broken up—it having the form of a female—and it was trodden underfoot with sandals.'

Though al-Mahdī 'Abbās did not expel the *Bāniyāns* for the obvious reasons given earlier by de la Roque, he did try to impose a sumptuary law upon them. A well known astrologer (*munajjim*), evidently an almanac compiler of the sort one still finds today,

wrote, 'In this year's almanac there are torches (*mashā'il*) lit over the heads of the *Bāniyān(s)* and I see a flame bursting forth from their bodies. So (the Imām) made them wear red and made an innovation (? *badda'a*) with them, but subsequently they sought deliverance of him and he absolved them from (wearing) red gowns (*ummuṣ*), but he did not absolve them from (red) turbans, so that they became a current custom (*sunnah*) on the necks of those who disbelieve.'³²

Two European travellers, each approximately contemporary with the two phases of formulation of the *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, have noticed the existence in Šan'ā' of these Hindu merchants. For the year 1763 Niebuhr³³ gives the figure of about 125 *Bāniyāns* in Šan'ā' who paid 300 *écus* (i.e. dollars) each month to the Imām—whereas the large village at Qā' al-Yahūd paid only 125 *écus*. As a sort of death duty when a *Bāniyān* died his heirs paid 10-15 *écus* to the Imām. It was they, no doubt, who dealt largely in the Indian, Persian and Turkish merchandise that Niebuhr found in the Šan'ā' markets, and of course in the 19th century the *Qānūn Šan'ā'* shows that they were paying watch-tax plus collection charges of 60 *qirsh*, whereas the *Jews* of Sūq 'Aqil paid 46¼ *qirsh*—both far and away the highest charges in the Market, but some indication of the relative wealth of the two communities. Cruttenden³⁴ (1836) found that, 'The *Banians* are also numerous, but they are compelled, like the *Jews*, to conceal what they really possess, and however wealthy they may be, to put on an outward appearance of abject poverty.' Cruttenden and other Western travellers were probably inclined to consider the situation of *Bāniyāns* and *Jews* in detachment from that of the Muslim merchants and shopkeepers vis-à-vis Government officials and soldiers able and liable to 'squeeze' traders of any of the three religions alike, as will be seen in the case of the Mocha merchant Sa'd al-Dīn al-'Udaynī.

On the whole Muslim society seems to have treated *Bāniyāns* and *Jews* with toleration, but whereas with the *Jews* this was often accompanied by a certain respect and affection to judge by the proverbial literature and what I have heard many times from *Yemenis* of today themselves, de la Roque's summing up of their sentiments towards the *Bāniyāns* who were foreigners and with no real stake in the country in contradistinction to the *Jews* who may be called simply non-Muslim *Yemenis*, must be accepted as valid. The Arab proverb³⁵ says, 'Mā kān fi 'l-ruzz quwwah wa-lā fi 'l-Hindī muruwah, There is no strength (good) in rice, and no manliness/chivalry/honour in the Indian.'

A tale illustrative of business activities and inter-relations of Indians, Muslim Arabs and the Government official, is related by Zabārah,³⁶ and is to be dated some time after 1141 H./1728 A.D. One of the foreign Indian merchants (*aghrāb al-Hunūd*)³⁷ died at Mocha, leaving no heir other than the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl), and the inferior quality of cloth (*al-bazz al-ḡa'if*) he had in his place had been transferred to the port (*bandar*). Now the shaykh, Sa'd al-Dīn (al-'Udaynī), had about 600 *riyāls* with which he wished to purchase goods, so the headmen of the Market ('uqqāl al-Sūq) urged him to purchase the property of the (deceased) Indian—which he found to be of inferior quality, yet was obliged to go through with it. 'I have only 600 *riyāls*,' he said. To which they replied, 'We shall grant you a stay up to the coming season (*mawsim*)³⁸ for the greater part of the price, but bring what you have in hand.' The cloth was valued at 3,000 *riyāls*.'

25 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 876.

26 *Ibid*, II, 505 seq.

27 *Diwān al-Amīr al-Šan'ānī*, ed. 'Alī al-Sayyid Šabah/Šubh (?) al-Madani, Cairo, 1964, 95, seq.

28 *Bal fi jazirati-nā atā-na 'l-nahyu 'an 'l-qā'i man huwa li-'l-sharī'a ti-jāhidu*.

29 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 519.

30 The editor of *Diwān al-Amīr*, II, calls it, *Risālah fi wujūb izālat aṣnām al-Hind (al-Bāniyān)*, 'A treatise on the obligation to remove the idols of the Indians, the *Bāniyāns*.' He adds that they were openly practising the rites of their worship in Mocha port. The treatise was composed for the Imām al-Mahdī 'Abbās.

31 The property of the temples seems intended.

32 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 215.

33 *Description*, I, 336. On p. 340 he mentions a *Bāniyān ṣarrāf* or money-changer.

34 'Journey from Mocha to Šan'ā', 284-5.

35 *Arabian Studies*, I, 72.

36 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 727.

37 *Gharib* is a term also used in *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, p. 183a, *passim*. By *Hunūd* the *Bāniyāns* are usually meant.

38 The *mawsim/musim* is the time of the arrival of the India trading fleet with the monsoon. See my *Portuguese*, 82.

'When he arrived back at his place with what he had brought (*ajlaba*) he decided to give alms (*ṣadaqah*) to the needy from it, but he pledged himself to God not to sell any of it before covering³⁹ any defects in it. So he examined it and inside each piece he found some sort of the most splendid, expensive and finest qualities (of cloth) with which the Indian had done this for fear it might be discovered—the price of this came to many thousands in money.'

The rest of the tale, though it has nothing to do with the deceased Indian Bāniyān, is too characteristic of life in the Yemen to omit. Sa'd al-Dīn who had started life by de-husking coffee (*khalāṣ al-bunn min qishri-hi*) when he became rich, was along with his brother, envied for their wealth. The Amīr of Ta'izz, clearly with intent to 'squeeze' them, summoned them to come to him. They demurred, but after pressing, set out for Ta'izz with 30,000 Maria Theresa dollars (*riyāl Farānṣah*) in the hope of averting any trouble by the Amīr, beseeching God to aid them with the Amīr. As they entered the Gate of Ta'izz they heard the Amīr's death being announced, and they realised that their prayer had been answered!

Yemeni comment to me on this story was that at the customs post of al-Rāhidah today, people try to outwit the customs in identically the same way by concealing valuables inside inexpensive cloth!

A curious sidelight is thrown on the business practice of the Bāniyāns in Ṣan'ā' by another of Qāḍī Ismā'il's proverbs.⁴⁰ '*Idhā fallas al-tājir sarraj*, When a merchant goes bankrupt he lights the lamps' in his shop (*ḥānūt*) during the day-time, and the news of his insolvency becomes known and other merchants come to divide out among his creditors such assets as still remain to him. The Qāḍī considers this was a Bāniyān custom which they introduced during the Ottoman occupation⁴¹ when insolvencies were frequent among individuals of that community.

However, '*Idhā sārḥarab al-Hindī f-ibnih 'indī*, If the Indian runs away I still have his son.'⁴² One customarily says this of a debtor delaying repayment, but the creditor has something that ensures he will obtain his due. Goitein gives other interpretations of the proverb but reports that it applies to the insolvent Hindu Bāniyān banker.

It is to be noted that Bāniyān warehouses are more often perhaps known as *khāns* and not *samsarahs*. In the Ḥaḍramī port of al-Shiḥr a Sūq al-Khān is known to historians, but not to Shiḥrīs whom I have asked today—there is however a Sūq al-Hunūd. Al-Khafanji the gifted poet of *malḥūn* verse of the 12th/18th century speaks of a *samsarah* belonging to the Bāniyān in Bīr al-'Azab.⁴³

In the disorders about 1850 in Ṣan'ā' 'the Jews and foreign merchants were dispossessed of all they possessed',⁴⁴ and even after the election of al-Ḥaymī the anarchy was such that 'but three Banyan merchants remained in the city; and of these two were murdered during his (the Rev. Stern's) stay, and their property seized by the governor; the third, a very old man, was on the point of abjuring his religion, in the hope of saving his life.'⁴⁵ Nevertheless there were still many Bāniyāns in the Yemen until after World War I, following which their numbers are stated to have greatly diminished, but one still sees a few in the newer parts of Ṣan'ā'. During Imām Aḥmad's 'Journey' in the Tihamah in Imām Yaḥya's day there were Bāniyāns and Bohrah in Hodeidah.

An eye-witness at the British conquest of Aden reports that 'Aden contained 600 inhabitants before hostilities commenced of whom 250 were Jews, 50 Banyans, and the remainder Arabs.'⁴⁶ At the taking of the town, 'The Banyans and Jews took refuge in a mosque with a flag of truce flying and were unmolested.' He further describes the Hindu place of worship in Crater. This does seem to imply the existence of a great measure of practical tolerance by the Arab Muslims there of other religions.

39 By covering the defects the author probably means making them good, not concealing them.

40 *Al-Amṡāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 108, no. 302.

41 I surmise that he means the second Ottoman occupation. Wellsted, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1837, says of the Bāniyāns of Muscat that a bankrupt sits in his shop with candles lit while his creditors come and beat him, cf. P. Helfer, *Travels*, London, 1878, II, 6. It is interesting to note that they controlled the coffee trade and dealt in Persian tobacco.

42 *Ibid*, I, 88, no. 247; *Jemenica*, 22, no. 111, the latter adding that in Ṣan'ā' they do not often appear.

43 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 195.

44 R. L. Playfair, *A history of Arabia Felix of Yemen*, Bombay, 1859, and 1970 reprint, 155.

45 *Ibid*, 156.

46 In J. Kirkman and B. Doe, 'The first days of British Aden', *Arabian Studies*, Cambridge-London, 1975, p. 179ff. This is the account of John Studdyleigh, discovered by J. Kirkman. It is interesting to compare with statistics I have quoted in Michael Adams, *The Middle East*, London, 1971, a little after the conquest. The Bāniyāns numbered 35, the Somalis 26 males, 37 females, the Jews 257 males, 301 females. The Arab population was 276 males, 341 females and formed only some 44% of the total population.

Chapter 22

The Houses of Ṣan'ā'

Introduction

Yemeni towns are usually concentrations of high houses, slightly more sophisticated in structure and decoration than rural houses, but in most respects quite like them. From a fairly dense centre, the houses spread out to merge into the scattered tower-house farms at the edge of the town. In the old city of Ṣan'ā', the presence of a surrounding wall produced a fairly sharp demarcation between city and country. The ease with which extensions to the area of the city were provided westward by building new walls, whenever these were necessary, suggests that congestion was not a primary factor in the upward growth of the houses.

The characteristic type of house in Ṣan'ā' is a tall, square, tower house with an entertaining room or rooms at the top (pl. 2). There is a second type of house, of which there are very few within the walls of old city, but a larger number in the 'new' quarters of Bīr al-'Azab, Bīr al-Bahmī and Bīr al-Shams. These are lower, and have their entertaining rooms on the ground, looking out across vine-shaded pools with fountains (pl. 79, 22.111). A third type, also rare in the old city, has been identified by Rathjens¹ as the Jewish type with a courtyard at the topmost level, from which a number of rooms are approached up and down short flights of steps (pl. 22.137 & 140). Finally, outside the city walls, there are cylindrical tower houses belonging to the farm building tradition (pls. 22.112 and 117).

Most Ṣan'ā' houses are built of stone in the lower storeys with burnt brick walls above (pls. 3, 18, 43). Less common is the use of coursed rammed-earth and plastered mud brick above; some have coursed random rubble stonework below and mud brick for the upper storeys (pl. 22.131). Most Jewish houses, after the Jewish population had been resettled in al-Qā', were built of rammed-earth and plastered mud brick (pl. 89). The cylindrical farmhouses were almost always of the same simple materials (pl. 22.113).

The predominant square tower houses impress the visitor with their height. Many houses are more than five storeys high, the largest commonly having seven, eight or even nine storeys (pl. 40). A view of the city from a distance, with many hundreds of these houses soaring behind each other above the city wall, makes an unforgettable impression (pl. 5).

The Typical Islamic House in Ṣan'ā'

The Concept of the Tower House

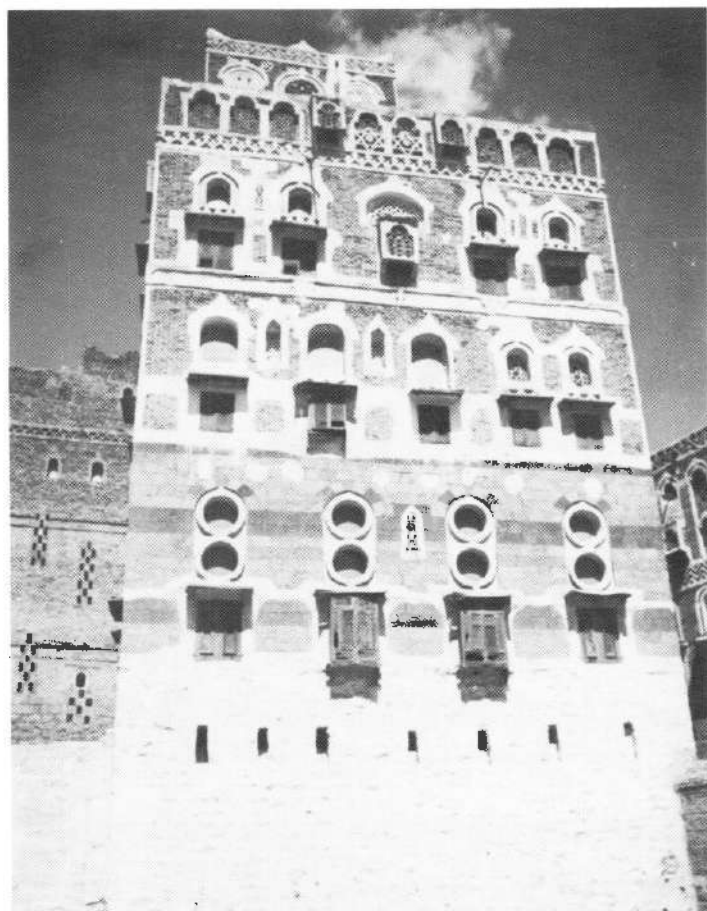
The ground floor is reserved for animals and timber storage, the first upper level is usually used for grain storage and a guard room, if the house is large and important enough to warrant one. The second floor, the first habitable level, has one room in which strangers are received, as well as an ancillary room. Above that is usually the main family room, used for ceremonial occasions, and other living rooms. The kitchen is on the floor below the top-most level, so that it can serve either up or down. The top floor has one or more rooms for afternoon entertainment of guests to chew *qāt*. The staircase usually, but not always, rises through the full height of the building in a square stairshaft surrounded by thick walls, and with a solid central pier. It is placed in the darkest corner of the site, that is, against neighbouring houses, but some natural light is provided through a side wall or a neighbouring light shaft. Small peep-hole-like windows in a stairway are called *rawāqāt* or *thurayyā*.

Women are not restricted within a special part of the house, but the second level from the top, which contains the kitchen, is more their regular preserve than any other. This level is often provided with an adjacent open courtyard with high screen walls in which laundry and drying can take place, and the women can enjoy some sun without being seen from the street or other houses.

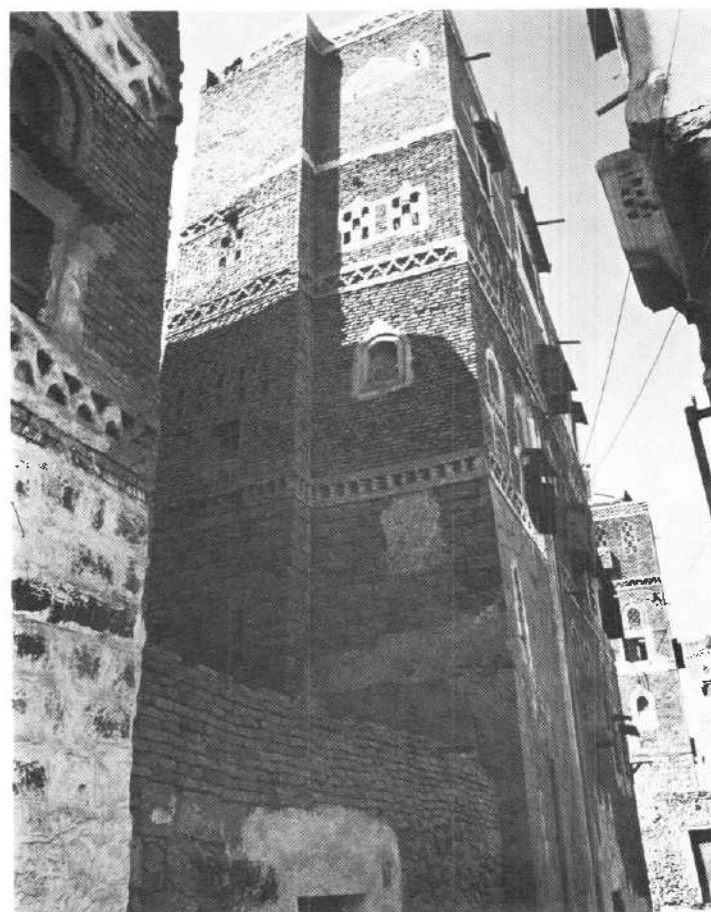
Because the walls of the houses are of masonry, and thickly plastered, the extremes of heat and cold experienced from noon to midnight are rarely felt indoors. The thermal capacity of the walls introduces a heat lag which smoothes out most of the temperature difference. There is no heating, although the climate is quite cold in winter.

Permanent ventilation is provided in the staircases and lobbies by means of projecting masonry cooling boxes. These have shuttered doors which can be closed in cold or windy weather. Rooms are normally ventilated at a high level by tiny ventilation flaps set in the walls between the fanlights. In the rare event of high humidity after rain, the lower shutters can be opened to provide cross ventilation at body height into the lobbies.

¹ C. Rathjens, *Jewish domestic architecture in Ṣan'ā', Yemen*, with an introduction and appendix by S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1957.



22.1 Characteristic house front, with a separate structure for the *mafrāj* on the roof.



22.3 Exterior of House W from the east.



22.2 Exterior of House W from the west.



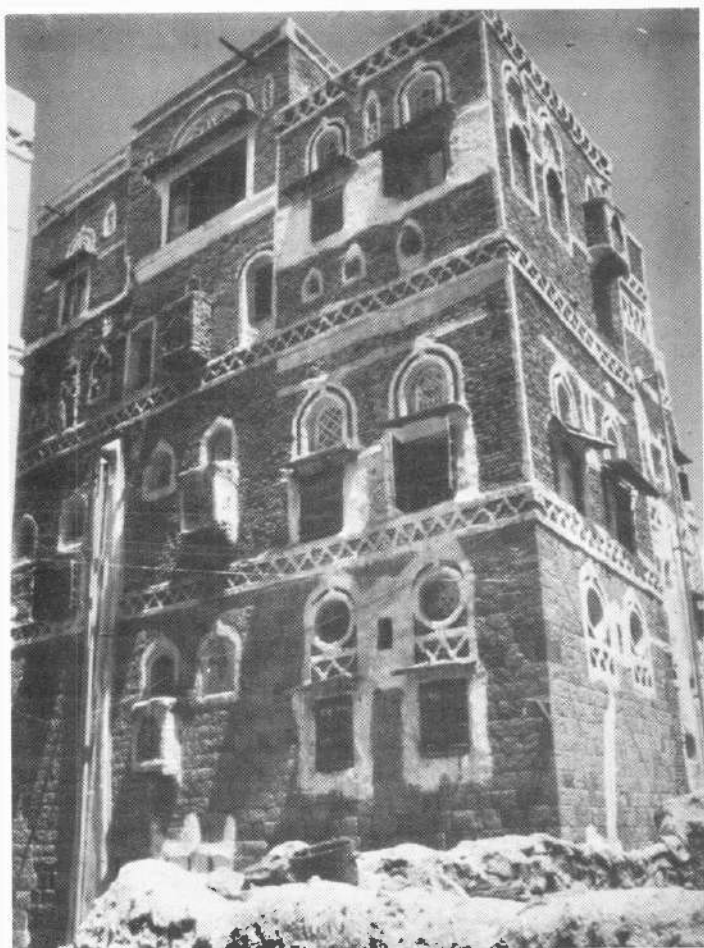
22.4 Exterior of the lower levels of House W from the south.

Key to all figures

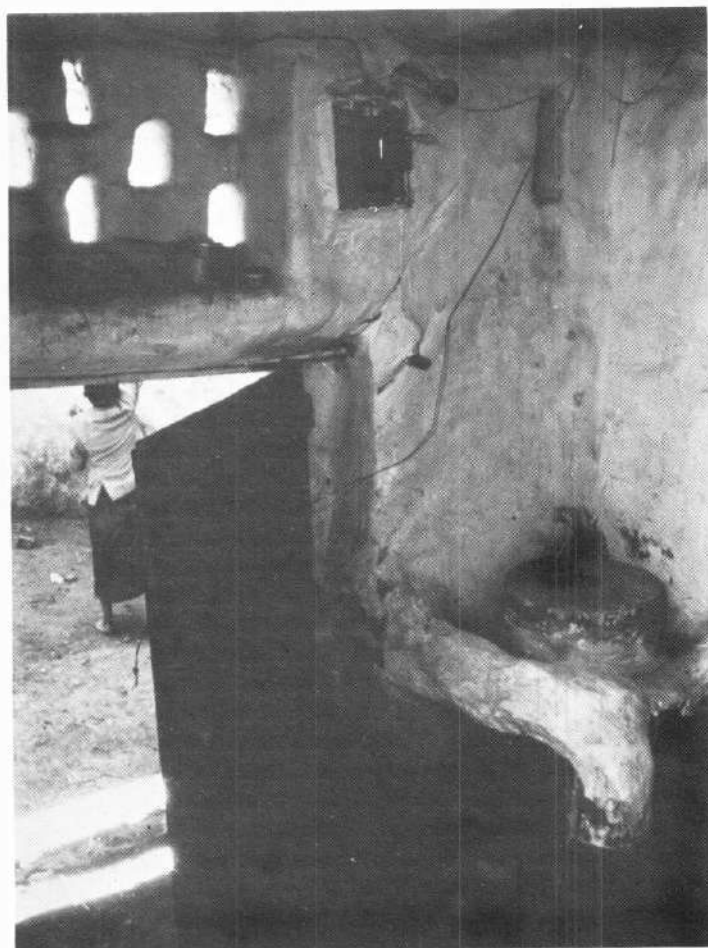
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a animal stalls | b bathroom | br boiler | c court |
| cu court upper level | ch changing room | d <i>diwān</i> | e entrance hall |
| eu entrance hall upper level | f warm room | fr furnace room | g grinding mills |
| gh <i>ghayl</i> —water level | h excrement room | hr hot room | j grain and fruit store |
| k kitchen | l lobby | lt laundry terrace | lb lavatory/bathroom |
| m <i>mafrāj</i> | mn minaret | n <i>mihrāb</i> | nw washing floor |
| o loading and mounting animals | or restaurant/eating place | p passage | pl pool |
| plr cold pool room | q public ablution area | r room—general use and sleeping | rr reception room and business |
| rl library | s store | sh sheep pens | sp shop |
| t terrace | tm tomb | tr treasury | u shaft |
| v rain water cistern | vm man in charge | w well | wb water cooling box |
| wr well ramp | x <i>minbar</i> | y women's room and wardrobe | z <i>manẓar</i> |

Fig. 22.1 Plans and section of House W.





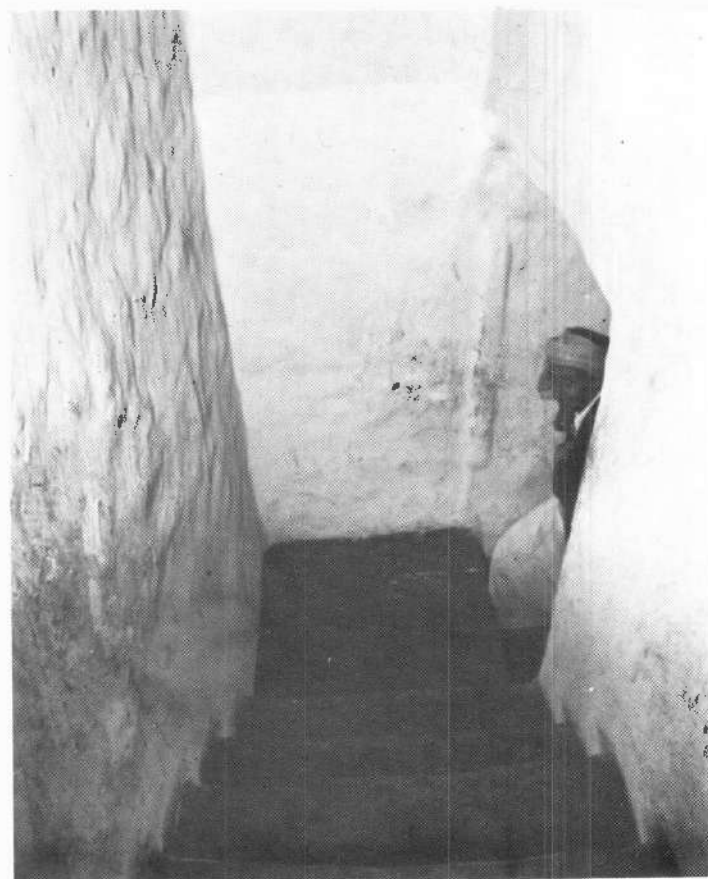
22.5 Exterior of the upper levels of House W from the south.



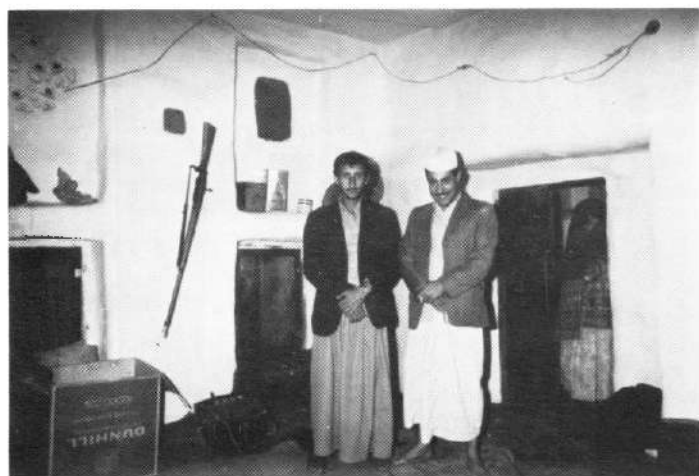
22.7 House W. The entrance from the street, seen from inside.



22.6 House W. Entrance hall, showing some of the animals kept on the ground floor, a goat and two sheep. Note the feeding trough.



22.8 House W. Staircase.



22.9 House W. Lower living room, the south end.



22.10 House W. Lower living room, the north end.

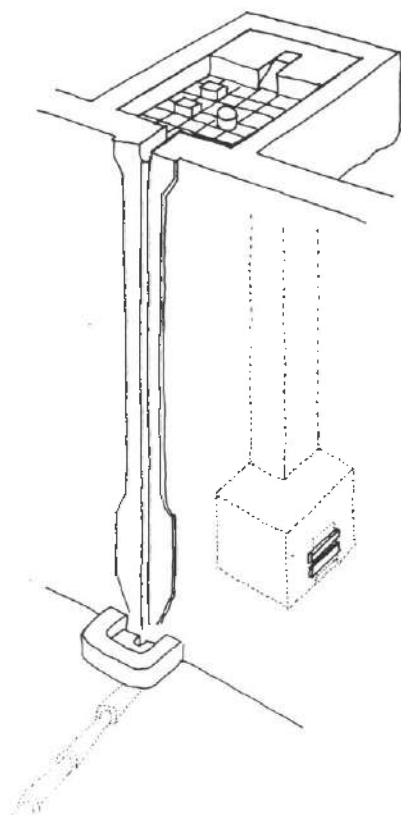


Fig. 22.2 House W. Diagram showing the functioning of the lavatory.



22.11 House W. Staircase, showing the door to the small lavatory.



22.12 House W. Lower lobby.

The lighting levels are high, due to the large areas of fanlight above the low shuttered openings. In some cases the fashion for coloured glass has reduced them, but in the older houses the alabaster panels above the shuttered windows flood the interiors with a golden light.

Orientation is considered so important that there is a current saying that a house facing south (*'adani*) is called *bayt kāmīl*, lit. a complete house, a house facing west (*gharbi*) is called half a house, *nuṣṣ bayt*, one facing east (*sharqi*) is called *rub' bayt*, a quarter of a house, and one facing north (*qibli*) is no house at all (*mā yikūn bayt*).

Yemeni houses are normally built for one family unit; old houses may have two, or even three, closely related families living in them; in a few cases houses are owned by a shaykh, or are *waqf* foundations, in which case they may be subdivided.

The houses are seldom joined together to make one architectural facade. Each house, even if wall to wall with another, appears to direct attention to itself and pays little attention to an exact alignment with the others. Many of the larger houses are so packed that they do not have an entrance court, others stand in small gardens hidden by walls from the streets and lanes.

A Description of an Average-sized House

House W (fig. 22.1, pls. 44, 45 and 22.2) has lower levels of ashlar stonework, up to approximately 6 metres above ground level, and exposed baked brick (*yājūr*, pl. *ājūr*) above. The house is thought to be more than a century old, though it is clear that later modifications have taken place in the upper storeys, as has happened in most Ṣan'ā' houses.

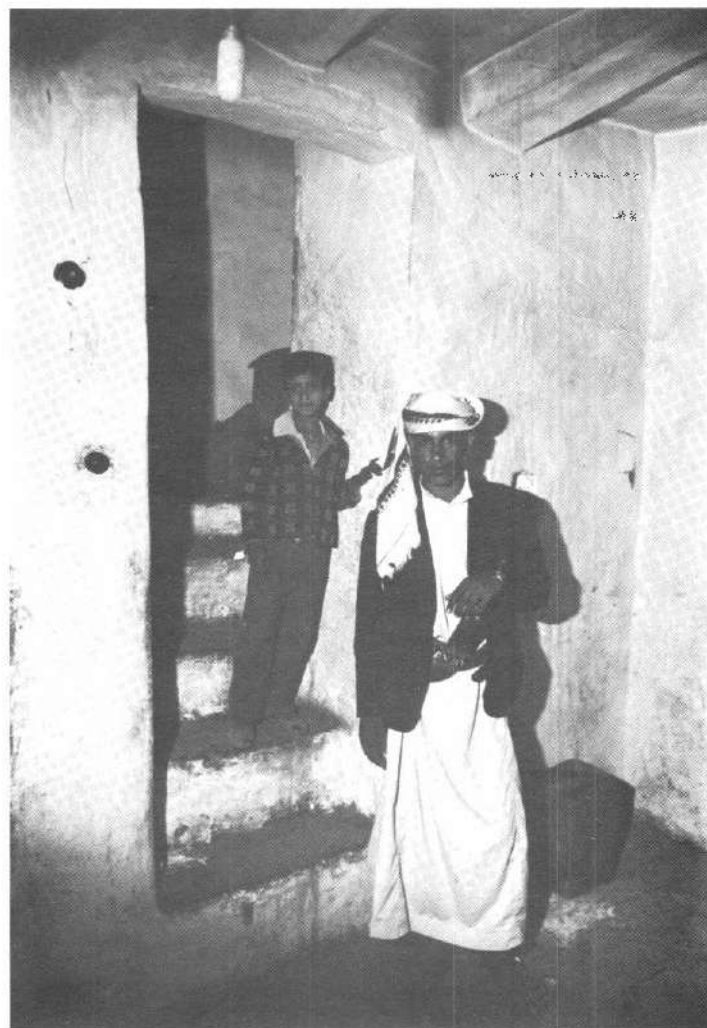
Externally the building is rectangular in shape; there is a slight irregularity in the western wall.

The house is entered through only one opening, a squat wooden door in the middle of the southern side (pl. 22.4). The street level has risen so that one now steps down 20cm to the interior floor level.

The ground floor contains the stalls for the animals, both large stalls (*harr*) and small. They usually take the form of enclosed rooms approached through a hinged wooden door, and ventilated onto the street through small openings in the outside walls. Goats, sheep, fowl, and occasionally a cow and a mule are kept inside the houses of the city in this way.² Sheep are sometimes provided with special pens. In house W these pens were under the stairs, with a feeding trough outside two openings in the wall of the pen, through which the sheep thrust their heads to eat (pl. 22.7). (Recently the space above these pens has been closed in with plastered masonry in house W to prevent their escape.)³ Firewood for the house is stored in the larger animal stalls. The ground floor of the houses also contains the closed room for soil (*qū'ah*) under the 'long-drop' lavatories. Here the excrement is stored and dries until it is shovelled out through a low opening in the street wall and taken away to be used as fuel in the public baths.

The square entrance hall (*dihlīz*) of this house contains the circular stone grinding mill (*maḥḥan*) standing on a square masonry base (pl. 22.6). This is used for grinding the grain and salt used in the house. From the entrance hall the stone staircase (*darājī*) winds upwards around three sides of a central stone pier (*quṭb*) which runs through the full height of the house (pls. 22.8, 11, 13). The entrance hall is lit through slits arranged in a pattern above the front door.

The entrance door is pivoted on stone pads top and bottom, and fits into a recess in the thickness of the outer wall. It is furnished internally with two sliding wooden bolts. The lower one can be operated from outside by a large key, which must be turned four or five times to force the bolt to slide back by a series



22.13 House W. Stairs on top lobby.

of notches cut in its under face (pl. 22.126)). The upper bolt cannot be opened from outside, but it can be closed by pulling a cord passed through a hole in the door. This enables the inhabitants to completely secure the house against intruders, even the possession of a key to the house not enabling the door to be opened. This second bolt can furthermore be opened from any level of the house by pulling on a cord (*majarr*, sing.) which passes over a wooden pulley and up vertically through holes in the floors of the upper staircase lobbies; the cord is fastened to the end of the bolt, drawing it from its socket. It is customary for a visitor to shout from the street to the inhabitants above, who then open the door in this way. Alternatively, a special knock may be used on each house which is known only to close friends or the inhabitants. The bolt operated by the key serves then merely to lock the house when no-one is inside, to prevent inhabitants leaving, or as a second security lock at night.

The first upper level (storey: *ṭabaqah*, more usually *dawr*, pron. *dōr*, also *ṭarḥah/darḥah*, pl., *ṭarḥāt*) of the house W contains two rooms and a bathroom-lavatory. Above the entrance hall there is a lobby (*ṣālūn* or *hijrah*), off which double doors open into a family living room (called a *makān wasaṭ*), the equivalent of a lower *ḍiwān* in larger houses, into which strangers are customarily shown for reception. On the opposite side of the lobby is a store room for grain (*makhzan*) and the bathroom/lavatory. The floors throughout are made of flag stones, which are carpeted in the family living room.

The family living room is furnished in the fashion of almost all

² Animals are driven through the streets to pasture during the day, and fed and watered in the evening. See p. 170. The floors of their stalls in the houses are seldom paved, but are made of clay or loam.

³ Under the stair (*taḥt al-daraj*) of a house in Wādī Ḍahr we saw a pen (*'itwaf*), for the *'aṣf*, an animal being fattened. The pen has a wall in front of it but a hole in it so that the animal can look out.

Yemeni rooms, whether they are used for eating, sitting or sleeping, or all three functions together (pl. 56, 59). That is, the area nearest the door is generally kept clear to allow the removal of shoes just inside the room, and part or all of the remainder of the space is carpeted or covered with linoleum (*mushamma'*) and fringed around the walls with a continuous seat of cushions or mattresses. Where the centre of the room is carpeted, linoleum or a sheet of plastic is carried in when *qāt* is to be eaten, on which the stalks can be thrown after they have been stripped of their tender leaves; therefore one speaks of *al-mushamma' haqq al-qāt*. A leather mat used to be used for setting food upon, this being known as *al-naṣa'/al-naḍa'*—one would say, '*ḡib al-naṣa' nakul*, Bring in the leather mat and let us eat'.

The seating cushions or mattresses (*mafrashah*, sing. or *yurqān*, or *farsh*) are stuffed with wool and generally 11cm thick and 64cm wide. Behind the mattresses or cushions, against the plaster wall surfaces, stand vertically-placed hard cushions as back-rests, called *wisādah*, which are stuffed with straw and measure 45cm by 60cm. Above these are sometimes placed small softer cushions as head-rests, often fringed white anti-macassars, called *bint al-wisādah*. There are usually hard armrest cushions, 25cm square, stuffed with straw (*madkā*, pl. *madākī*). There may be a small soft cushion on top called a *mikhaddah*. Strip carpets (*fardah*) may cover the seat cushions, or they may be separately covered in patterned cloth. Curtains (*bardah*, pl. *-āt*) are sometimes used (Turco-Persian *pardah*).

The windows have low sills, approx. 45cm high, so that people may see out from a sitting position. There are typical small opening windows (*fāqah*) below, each closed by two wooden shutters (*duruf*, pl. *diraf*) and a separate arched or circular area (*'aqd*) above each window, of fixed translucent material to give light to the room even when the shutters below are closed. This material is either thin alabaster sheeting (*qamari*) approx. 1.5cm thick, or coloured glass set in gypsum sheets, a process which is described below (p. 484b). (If plain glass this type of window is called *'aqd ṣāfi*, if of coloured glass it is called *'aqd mulawwan*.)

During this century the practice of introducing a pair of clear glazed sashes inside or outside the lower wooden shutters has slowly grown up in Şan'ā' as can be seen here. It is not found in older, unaltered houses, or in outlying areas.

Between each pair of arched upper windows there is often a small opening for ventilation which can be controlled by means of a small shutter (*shāqūs*) (pl. 56, 22.50).

On the walls of the room are high shelves (sing. *raff*, or *rafif* or *ṣafif* in Şan'ā') made of hard gypsum plaster without reinforcing, on which articles can be placed when not needed. Wall recesses, known as *mughaffarah*, are usually of panel shape.

The ceiling, both the rough beams and the surfaces in between them, is completely plastered and whitewashed.

The bathroom-lavatory contains a 'long-drop' lavatory and a 'bidet-shower'. The lavatory (*masqaṭ*) consists of a stone platform 70cm square with a square hole in the centre 22cm by 14cm (pl. 44). The latter opens into a vertical shaft which drops down into the masonry room for collecting excrement underneath. In front of the hole is a sloping section in the stone platform, the same width as the hole, which leads liquid down to a channel in the stone floor. The channel takes the liquid through an opening in the outside wall (*majrā*) whence it runs down the face on a specially constructed and shaped vertical draining surface, made of waterproof *qadād* plaster called *mashalah* (pl. 22.14). Frequently these vertical drains are elegantly shaped and decorated. As soon as it reaches the ground the liquid disappears into an underground drainage sump, *'uqah* from which it is led to underground french drains for dispersal into the soil. A recent tendency, introduced within the last few years, has been to collect liquid at a sump at the level of the lavatory and lead it down the face of the wall in a pipe, whence it is taken into the city's new drainage system.

Smell is completely eliminated from the lavatory in two ways.

Firstly, by ensuring that liquid is not led into the 'long-drop' shaft, or the chamber far below, the excrement dries very quickly (Şan'ā' has a low humidity) and becomes odourless. Secondly, a pot or scoop (*maghraf*) stands on a stone cylinder near the lavatory with which the surfaces over which the liquid has flowed are swilled down after washing on completion of defecation.

The bathing facilities consist of a pair of square stones spaced approx. 12cm apart (*'aḍidah*, pl. *'aḍā'id*) on which the user squats, and a cylindrical stone (*kharazah*) centrally in front of them which has a recessed top upon which the water pot is set. This latter is usually an earthenware pot of about 20cm diameter, without handles and with an open neck approx. 7cm wide. Sometimes a low, more open, container is used. Often a much larger earthenware vessel for water is placed in one corner of the bathroom or its lobby, from which the bather's supply can be replenished.

In the outer wall of the lobby (*mas'ā*) is a projecting window box (*shubbāk*), built of open-work masonry above timber beams (pl. 22.5), with spaces to allow the passage of currents of air. The bottom is made of wooden slats, or of boards with several holes drilled in them. This serves both to permit a view of the front door below without being observed, and as a cooling box in which earthenware jars of water may be placed, or hung on hooks, to catch the wind. It is therefore sometimes called *bayt al-sharbah*. There are two arched fanlights of coloured glass in the wall above to light the lobby. A neatly framed hole in the south-west corner of the floor allows the passage of the rope to open the front door bolt, which runs up that corner and continues through a neat hole in the ceiling to the floor above.

The second upper floor is reached by returning to the staircase and proceeding up a further three short flights around the central stone staircase pier. At the top of the second flight is a door which leads into a low bathroom (*ḥammām mā'*) which has a shower-bidet but no lavatory.

From the second floor lobby (pl. 22.12) double doors lead on the east to the main family room (*ḍiḡān*), and on the west to a private sleeping-living room with a store-room behind it. The family room is used, in many houses, only for important events, childbirth, weddings, feasts and the laying out of the dead, and kept locked at other times. In house W, where an uncle's family share the house, it has become a second general-purpose room. The lobby has another water-cooling box built of masonry projecting through the front outer wall, with a wooden slat bottom which allows a screened view of the street and of people waiting at the front door.

The third upper storey is reached up a further three flights of the same staircase. At the top of the second flight is a bathroom similar to the one below it.

The lobby (pl. 22.13) has a third water-cooling box projecting through the front wall. This is centrally placed, while the two below are to right and left of the centre, so that all three retain a view of the front door.

In the east wall of this lobby a low door gives access to a store of generous area, reached down two steps, which, however, is less than two metres high.

On the other side of the lobby is the kitchen, (*maṭbakh*, or, in Şan'ā' dialect, *daymah* pl. *diyām*), a smoke-blackened room containing a masonry bench in which are set the barrel-shaped pottery bread ovens (*tannūr*) on the northern wall (pl. 22.14). There is a masonry oven next to the bread-oven, which has a chimney emerging on the roof two floors above. The bread oven bench, more than a metre deep and a metre high, is composed of a row of three or four pottery ovens, each with a hole above 15cm in its top, built into a masonry bench, with front access (*bāb al-manāq*) to each oven so that hot coals can be inserted or removed during the cooking process. The masonry construction of the bench is packed with ash for insulation. There is another masonry bench on the southern wall, extending

slightly around the western side, which is used for the cutting and preparation of food, and for individual quick eating. Near the door is the raised washing platform which drains through the wall on to the vertical drain outside. A vegetable pounding stone (*mashaqah*) with a stone roller stands on the floor, and is operated by a woman squatting in front of it.

Smoke from the coals in the *tannūr* finds its way out through the northern, western and southern walls, which are pierced with a large number of holes arranged in seven patterned areas (pl. 45 and 22.15). There is a window below the holes in the southern wall, closed by a single shutter.

On one side of the room there is a low hole for garbage to be thrown outside to the lane (*zuqzuqī*).

The fourth upper level is composed of three main rooms all at different levels, since each is approached from a corner landing of the three-flight staircase. The central staircase pier is here reduced to less than half its former width, since it now has to carry only the weight of the top floor and the roof. This permits the lobby to the room on the east to be made larger, and allows a small storeroom for clothes to be included. In the outside wall of this storeroom is another projecting box for water cooling. This suite, at the right of the first flight, is used almost exclusively by women and young children.

At the head of the next flight two further steps lead to a smaller landing—off which opens the western room, a general-purpose room used for sleeping, entertaining close friends or eating. This is the only room in the house which has a view-window facing north, over the market (*Sūq al-Milh*) some 500 metres away, and for this reason is called by the name *manṣar*, meaning a reception room with a view.

The final flight of steps leads to the highest room, the main entertaining room for private parties, in which *qāt* is chewed in the afternoons. This room faces south, as it should ideally do to catch the sun, has a magnificent view over rooftops, mosques, minarets and gardens, and is the principle *manṣar* of the house (pls. 54, 55). In keeping with its function as the main entertaining room it is more richly decorated with plasterwork and coloured glass than any other room (pl. 22.18).

A small door at the top of the stairs, just outside the door to the higher *manṣar*, leads on to the roof.

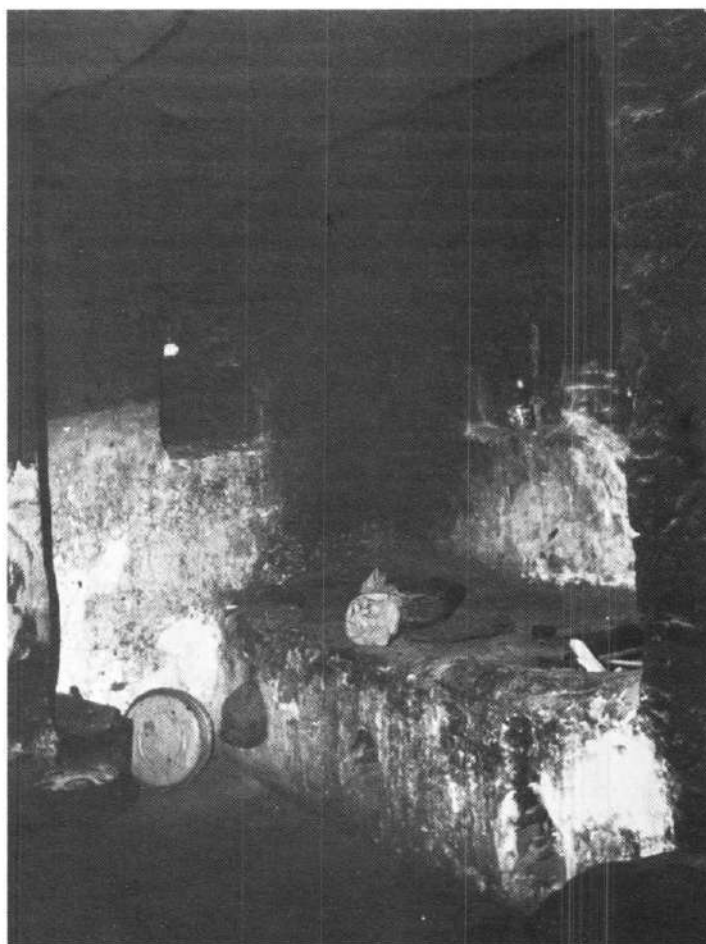
The roof is a flat plastered surface used for spreading out washing to dry. Rain which falls on the roof is collected at the low outer parapets and then discharged well clear of the walls by means of wooden spouts (*mashrub/mizāb*) averaging nearly a metre in length (pl. 22.3).

Variations in Other Average-sized Houses

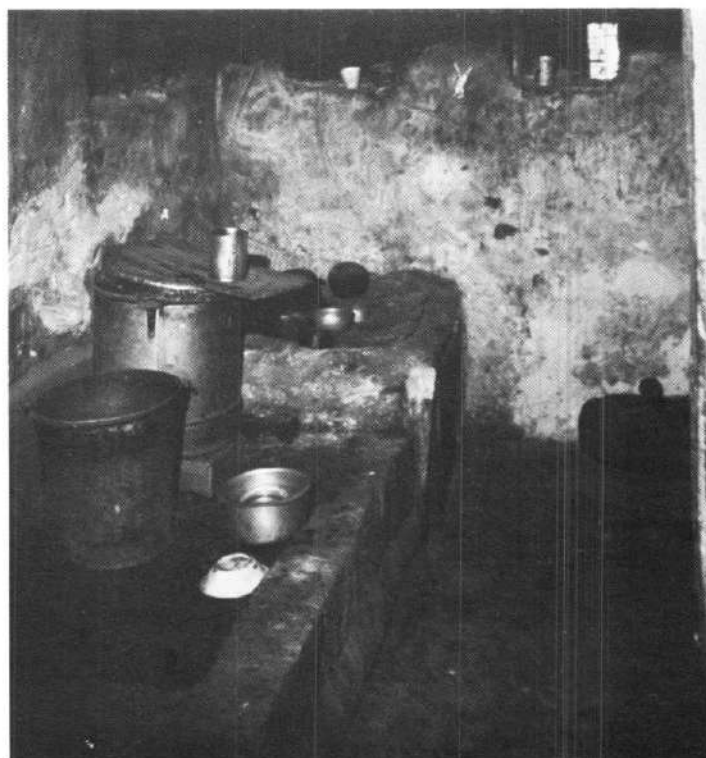
Size of rooms: House W has smaller main rooms than the average Şan'ā' house. House N (fig. 22.3, pls. 50, 74; 22.19-24) and house NT (fig. 22.4, and pls. 22.26-31, 34-41) have *diwāns* which are respectively 6.5m and nearly 5m long, compared with only 3.75m in house W. Similarly, the family living rooms of houses N and NT are both nearly 5m long while that of house W is again merely 3.75m. Finally, the *manṣar* of house NT is 6.5m long, as against a little more than 3m in both house W and house N.

Wells: Many average houses have a well inside the house, whereas house W does not, situated as it is within 15m of a public well. The well in house N is in a small room off the ground floor entrance lobby, approached up a flight of steps. That in house NT extends up through the house to the second floor from the top, the kitchen level (pl. 22.34). It is a small square shaft within the house, about 28cm by 22cm, built above a circular stone well which extends approximately 30m into the ground.

There are wooden pulleys over the well above the top level at each floor of the house so that water can be drawn on the ground floor for the animals, on the living floors for the living rooms (pl. 22.37), and on the kitchen floor for the kitchen. The well is



22.14 House W. Cooking stove.



22.15 House W. The other end of the kitchen

cemented with a special strong waterproofing mortar made by mixing wood ash, animal hair and hairy seeds of rushes into the lime plaster. A leather bucket is used, drawn on a rope.



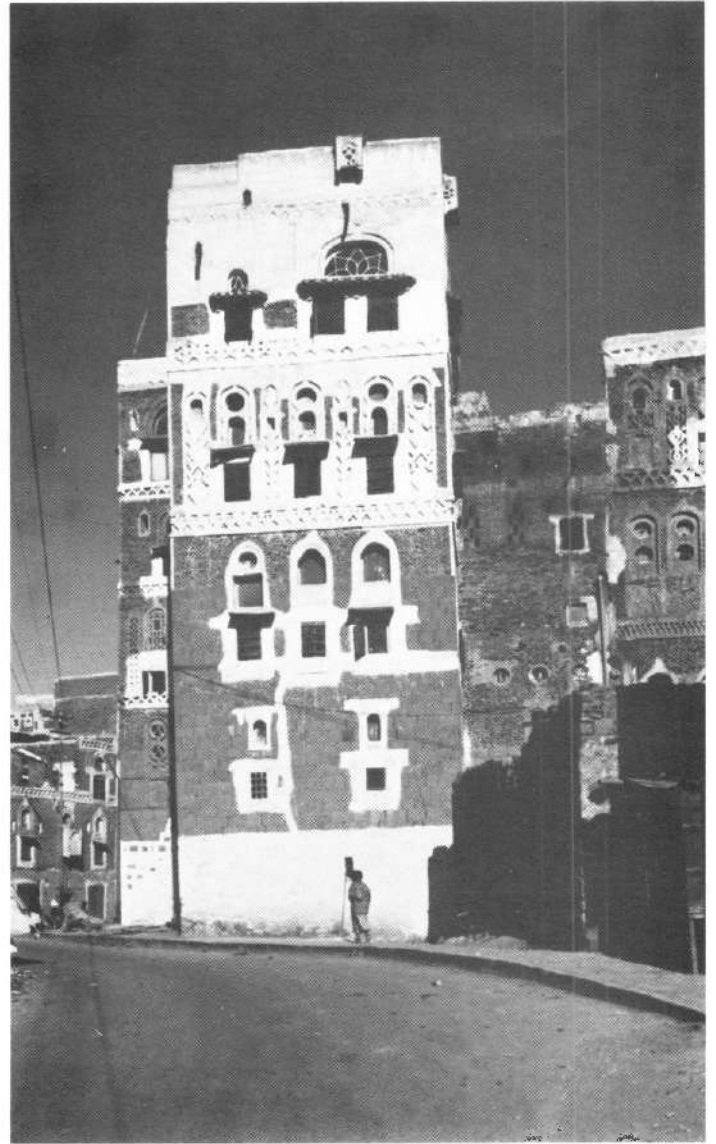
22.16 House W. Small room for use of the women.



22.17 House W. Central *manṣar*.



22.18 House W. Central *manṣar*, another view.



22.19 House N. West facades.

Vertical distribution of rooms: While house N has a very similar vertical distribution of rooms to that of house W, house NT is one floor lower, and has combined the family-living room level (usually the first upper level in a small house) with the kitchen level which remains on the second top floor. In effect this has eliminated the first upper floor level as it exists in house W, with the result that the *diwān* is the lowest main room. This is a variation occasionally met with in other small houses. In house NT the *manṣar* is approached from the roof terrace, on to which the top of the staircase opens.

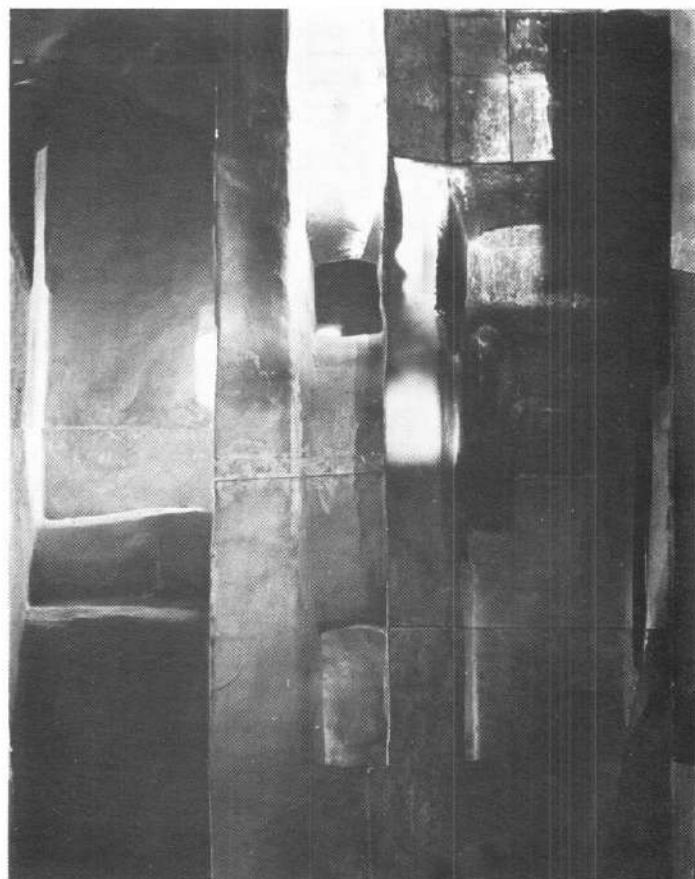
Kitchens: The kitchens of houses N and NT both have elaborate provision for disposing of the smoke through a range of chimneys immediately above the stove (pl. 22.40). The whole ceiling area of house NT above the stove is raised so that wind passes through on both sides to draw smoke from the room (pl. 22.38). In house N the kitchen is actually the highest room in the house, a few steps above the *manṣar*. It seems possible that this house, which is often pointed out as being at least 250 years old, once had a higher room for entertaining; a supposition supported by a projecting water-cooling box at roof level.

These kitchens contain a washing floor (*sāḥil*) with a raised kerb, which is drained through a hole in the wall, a feature house W does not have.

Lavatories: Both houses N and NT have bathrooms which contain lavatories on three upper floors. This means that a vertical soil shaft passes through the lower bathrooms. It is a



22.20 House N. Exterior of entrance.



22.22 House N. Staircase from landing, showing the pierced central pier.



22.21 House N. Interior of entrance.



22.23 House N. Eating a meal in the *dīwān*.



Fig. 22.3 House N. Plans and section.

plain masonry box plastered so that it appears part of the walling of the house. The lower box contains two shafts. Liquid passes on to a vertical draining surface on the outside of the house, shared by the three bathrooms.

Bathrooms in most houses are on the cold, or north, side of the building. The walls are hard smooth gypsum plaster for ease in washing.⁴

Alabaster Plasterwork: House NT preserves in its entrance hall, staircase and lobby walls an old feature which was probably removed from the other two houses at some time during their renovation. This is the decoration of the lower wall surface up to waist height with hard honey-coloured plaster (*marmar*, or *qamariyyah*) polished so that it shines like marble. In the lobbies the plaster surface is moulded into patterns, each contained within a framed panel (pl. 22.37). In the staircase a stepped band runs continuously and reflects the pattern of the stairs (pls. 22.29, 30 and 34). Throughout the house there is a theme resembling a fleur-de-lys with dots incorporated into this plasterwork, a half fleur-de-lys surmounting each step in the upper decorative band

on some areas of the staircase wall. It has, however, been suggested that, 'In northern Yemen a constantly recurring motif, especially in external plasterwork seems to be the young *dhurah* plant'.⁵ This type of plaster is made of ground alabaster and gypsum; it gradually darkens with age until it is almost black, a characteristic shared by the alabaster panes in the upper windows (pl. 22.37). This darkening may be why it has been so often stripped from Şan'a' houses. (Similarly, alabaster window areas have often been replaced in recent years by sheets of obscure or clear glass).

Windows: Both houses N and NT are older than house W, and preserve more of the original circular alabaster windows above the shuttered openings. Those of NT have tiny glazed opening sashes let into several of the alabaster panels, apparently to allow extra ventilation

Rooms incorporated from adjoining houses: House N incorporates two storerooms on a mezzanine level between the ground and first floors which are within a neighbouring house. They are entered from the second staircase landing. This is not commonly done in Şan'a'.

4 Al-Rāzi *Tārīkh madīnat Şan'a'*, 97, says that 'one's privy (*khala'*) in Şan'a' is called *mustarāh* because of the pots in it of all these sweet-smelling herbs (*rayāhin*) which I have mentioned to you and the rest of odiferous herbs, and on account of their spaciousness, roominess, and the 'concrete' (*qaḍāq*) of their pits (taking *qī'an* as a plur. of *qū'ah*), channels (*majāri*) and walls, the penetration of air into them, and the clear light in them, unlike the privies elsewhere in which you come face to face with and see confinedness, and the foulness of the air that hangs about them, so that the relief through them is

more harmful to bodies and spirits than many of the afflictions which beset a man from other unpleasant and dangerous things caused by the confinement of the air in the privies hanging about them.'

Another term is *muṭhār*, as in Goitein, *Yemenica*, 137, no. 1008, *lāzim fī kull bayt muṭhār*, Every house must have a lavatory. Various applications of this proverb suggest themselves.

5 Doe and Serjeant, 'A fortified tower-house in Wādī Jirdān (Wāḥidī Sultanate)', 1, 9.

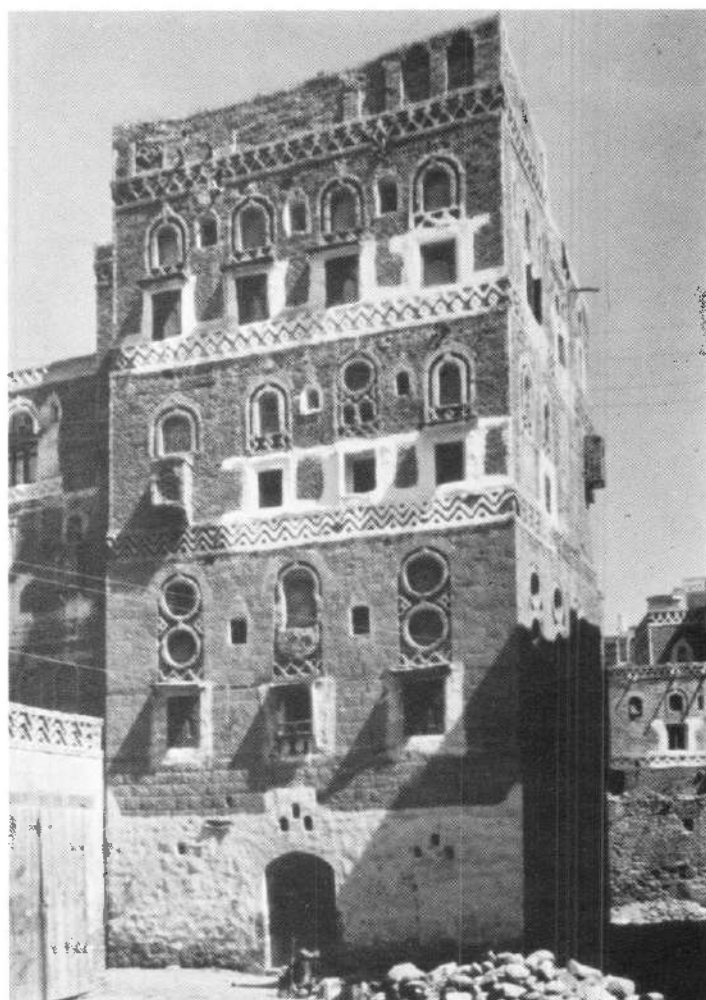


22.24 House N. *Manzar*.



22.25 A youth playing a flute in the *manzar* of a modest house.

Outside storerooms: House NT is one of a relatively small number of houses in Şan'ā' which have private storehouses (*samsarah*) attached to them. This is possible because the house is flanked by a second street on the south, from which a wide gate opens into a rear yard (*hawiyi*) which in turn provides access to the storehouse. The latter is a separate structure of roughly coursed rubble (pl. 22.41) with a ceiling of unplastered beams and tied sticks, waterproofed externally with plaster; it has a floor



22.26 House NT. View of exterior.

area nearly that of the ground area of the house. The storehouse may be reached from the house by means of a back door which opens into the courtyard from one of the animal stalls. Such stores were built related to the houses of the farmers who live in Şan'ā', but farm in areas outside the walls.

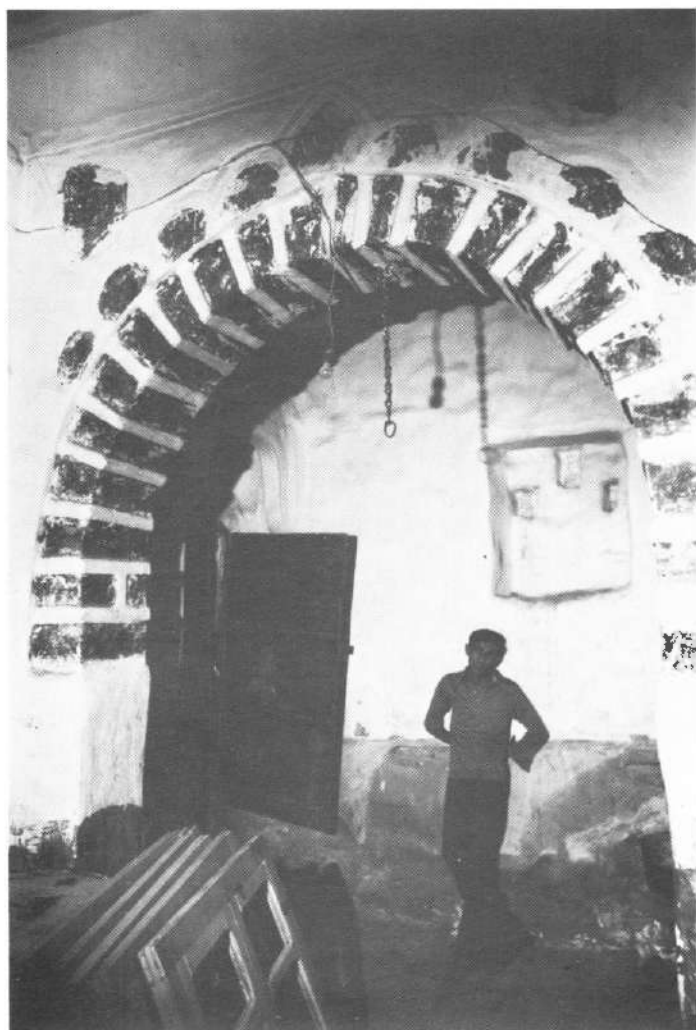
Symmetry: Symmetry, or at least symmetrical balance, was felt to be desirable in Şan'ā' houses, as is clearly evident by comparing the main facades of these three houses (pls. 22.2, 19 and 26). In house W this desire has produced a nearly symmetrical plan. In houses N and NT the plans are less symmetrical, because the staircase is on one corner, but the main facade retains its balanced eurhythmy: even having a central doorway, in house NT, and in the other case having no doorway, which is on another facade, but instead two symmetrically placed lower windows.

It is thus clear that Şan'ā' architecture, even in small houses, had a strong ingredient of conceptual formality. It is this which gives a quality of ordered repose to the exteriors, a characteristic which is even more strongly felt in the interiors, with their plain whitewashed cubic or rectangular rooms punctuated with even rhythms of doors, square or circular windows and shelves; rooms which in each house are approached up a plain staircase of short easy flights within a square plan.

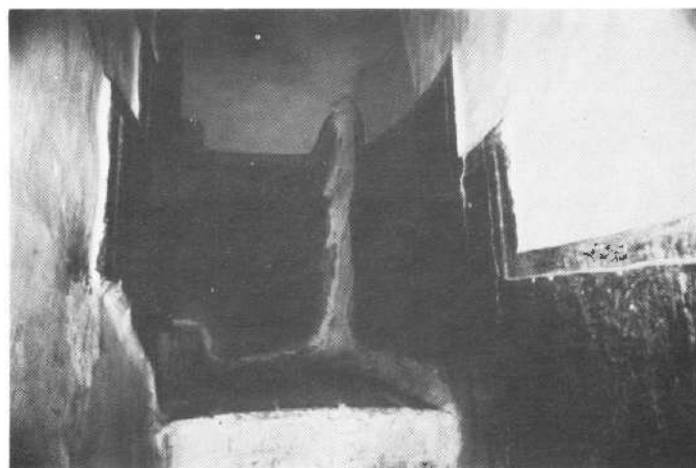
It is a classic architecture of simple form, proportion, balance and spaciousness.

Large Houses and Palaces

Large houses are substantially bigger than those considered above, both in area and in height. The added storeys make possible the inclusion of two new floors: a mezzanine between



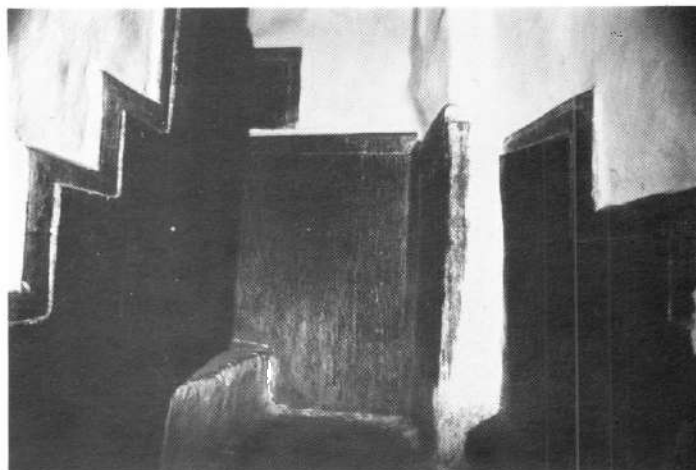
22.27 House NT. Entrance hall, showing arch carrying the cross wall above.



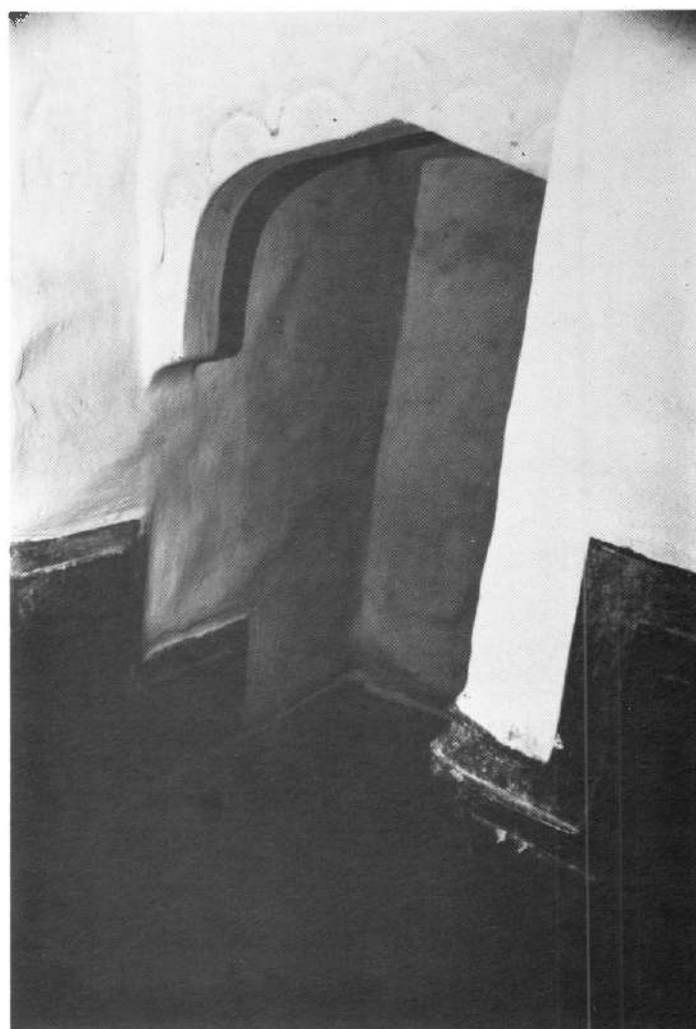
22.28 House NT. The beginning of the staircase at ground floor level, showing the dado of alabaster plaster.

the ground and the first habitable level, for the storage of grain and goods, and a large reception room on the roof, with a view in every direction, the *mafrāj*. A *ṭabaqah* is another floor with a *makhzan wa-ḥarr* i.e. a store and a stable. The added area allows more spacious lobbies on each floor, which begin to be used for service activities, and sometimes permits suites of rooms for the use of different families sharing the same dwelling.

The entrance hall: In a large house the entrance hall is very spacious, allowing a number of saddle animals to be housed and providing space for riders to mount and dismount. A small



22.29 House NT. Landing of the staircase between the ground and first floor levels, with an alabaster plaster dado.



22.30 House NT. Staircase at first floor level, looking down.

masonry platform (*raṣīf*) is usually built for the latter purpose against one wall, approached up a small flight of two or three steps (fig. 22.8). A second or alternative platform is sometimes provided outside in the street, built against the wall of the house next to the entrance door.

The entrance hall usually rises through two storeys, the mezzanine level for the storage of grain surrounding it, with access either through small doors placed high in the walls from the main staircase (house JY, fig. 22.8), or up a special flight of steps with secondary access from the main stairs (house S, plans, fig.

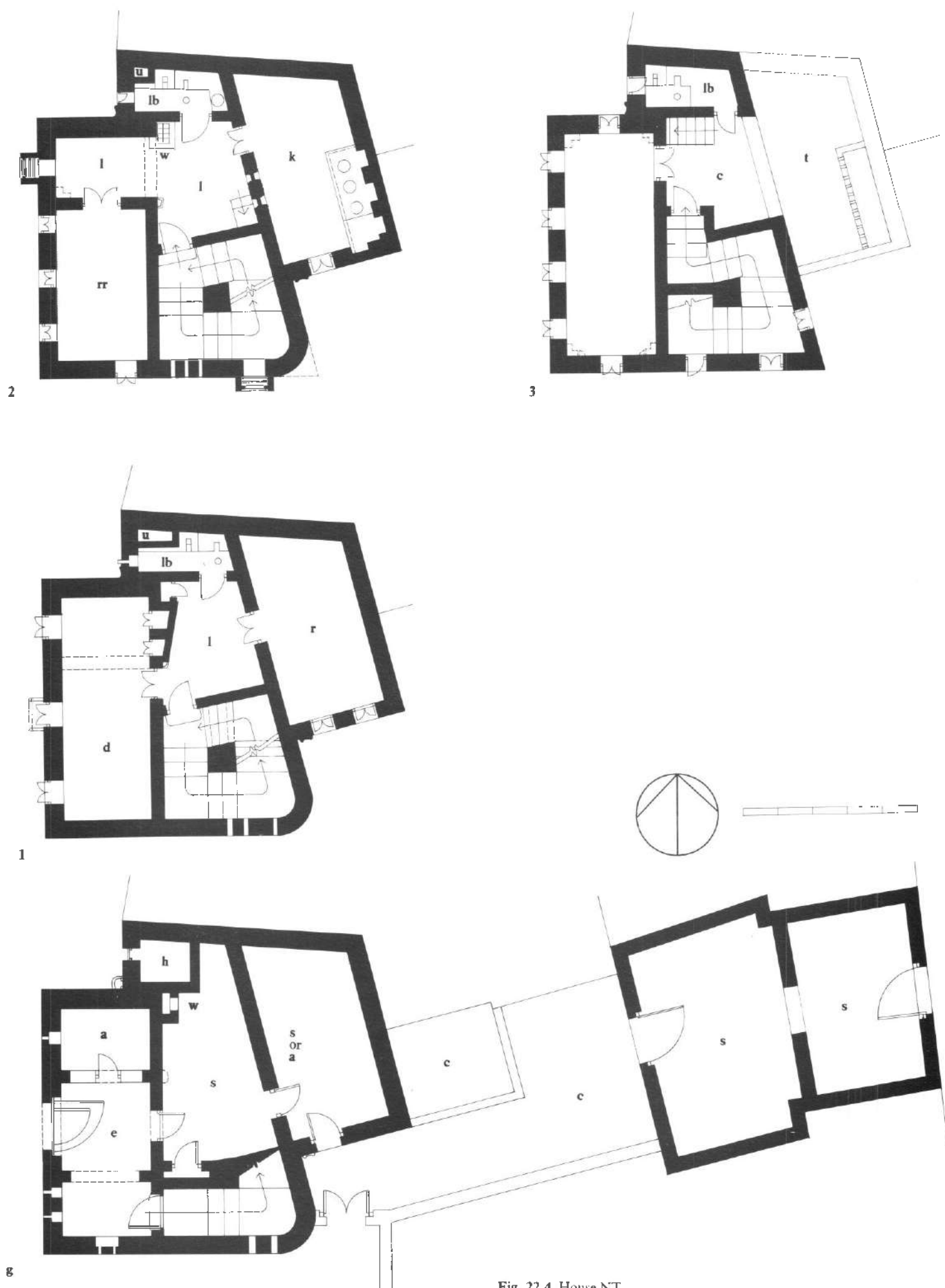
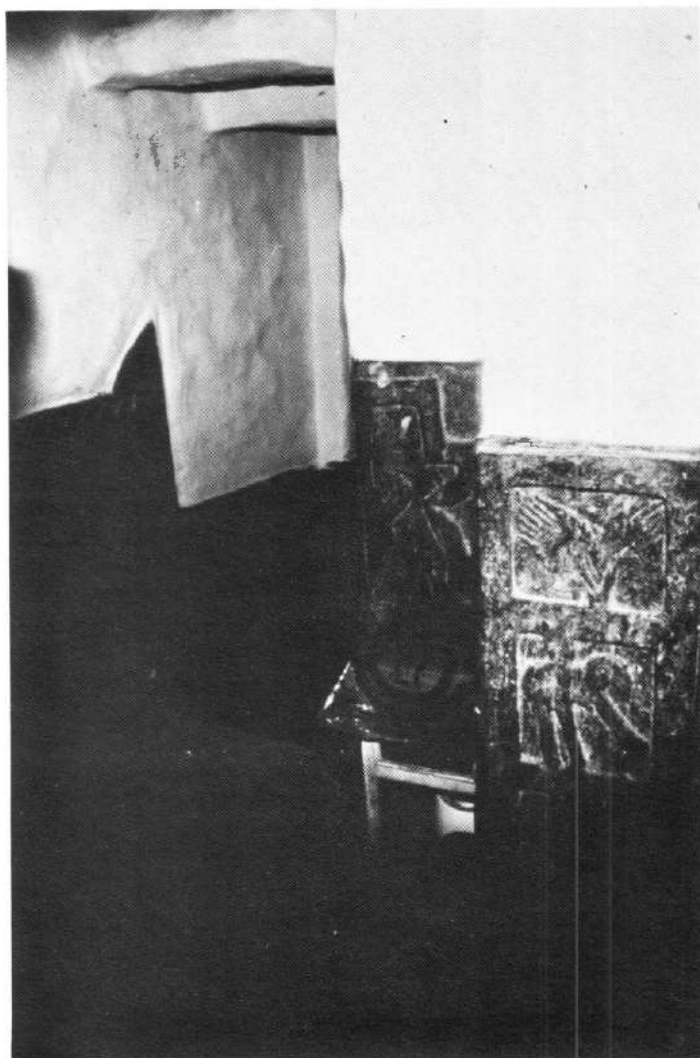


Fig. 22.4 House NT.



22.31 House NT. Lobby, at first floor level, showing the well in the wall, with a brazier and a bundle of leaves in front of it.



22.33 A staircase and landing of another typical old house, with a decorated dado in alabaster plaster.



22.32 Alabaster plaster dado on the staircase wall of an old house near the Great Mosque.



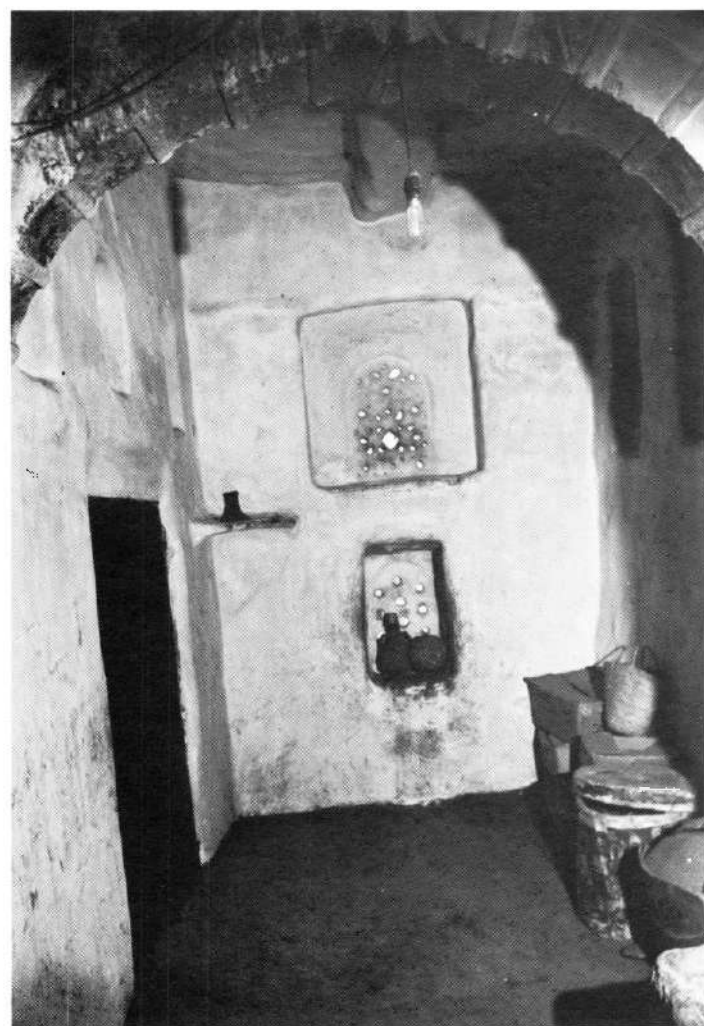
22.34 House NT. Staircase at second floor level, with richer decoration on the dado of alabaster plaster.



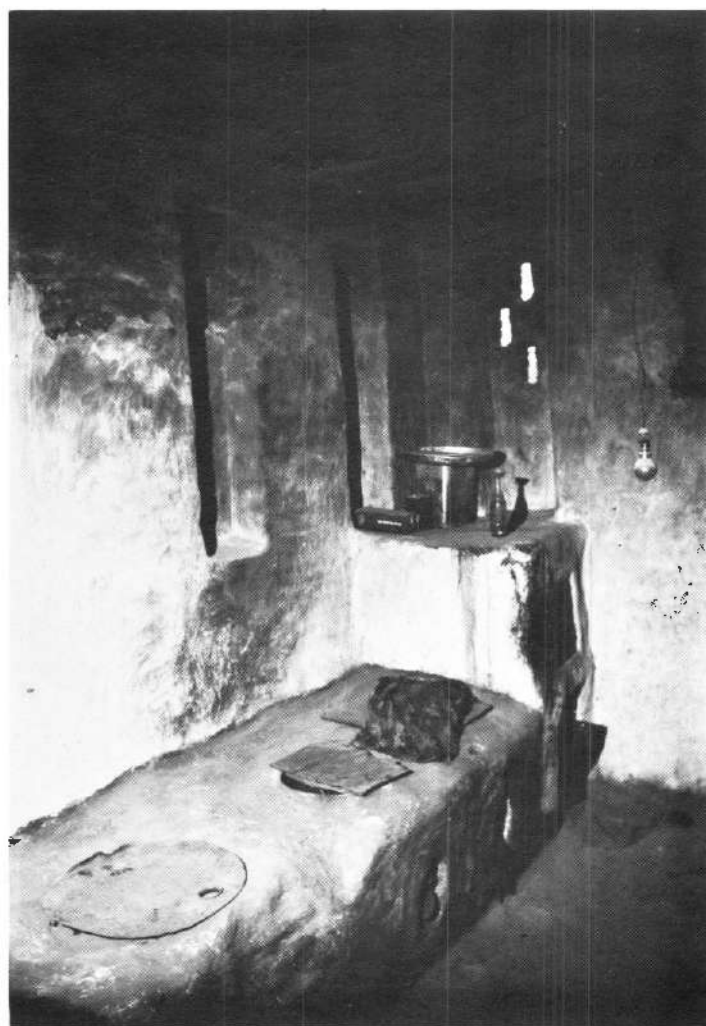
22.35 House NT. Lobby at second floor level, showing the communicating well to the lower lobby.



22.37 House NT. Lobby at second floor level, showing the richly decorated dado, and the stand for a water jar.



22.36 House NT. Lobby at second floor level with the entrance to the *ḍiṭwān* on the left.



22.38 House NT. Kitchen. The cooking range with the cupboard for fuel to the right.



22.39 House NT. Roof.



22.40 House NT. Ceiling of kitchen, showing the flue over the cooking range to remove smoke.

22.5). One or two large arches, built of exposed stones voussoirs, usually cross the entrance hall to support main internal walls on the upper floors.

The masonry shaft of the internal well passes vertically through one corner of the entrance hall, with a door to allow water to be drawn from it for animals. The remainder of the ground floor space is given to animal stalls, which are small close rooms with ventilation holes through the outside walls and man-height wooden doors from the entrance hall. A room for an animal within the house is called *al-kirs* and one says '*karras al-makān*', he made the room into a *kirs*. One room is given to the storage of fodder, and often another, low room, has a masonry bench with mills for grinding grain and salt built above it, approached up a short flight of steps.

The masonry room for collection of excrement from the lavatories above is also located on the ground floor, and emptied through a small low opening on the outside.

The Mezzanine level: Commonly this contains no living rooms, although there is one in the case of one very large old house (house S, plans, fig. 22.5). In this latter house, and in house B (axonometric, fig. 22.6) there is a guard room at mezzanine level which overlooks the entrance hall. It has a private sleeping room adjoining, together with a lavatory, in house B (pl. 22.55).

Most of the mezzanine space is used for grain stores. The wheat, corn, millet, or other grain, is placed in large open masonry bins called in some places *maḥqib* or *hijbah* with walls which reach to waist level and are *muqaddaq*, i.e., covered with *qaḍāq*; these stand in rows down one side of each storeroom (pls. 22.48, 49). In some houses (e.g. house JY) the grinding mills are placed in rooms on this level instead of in the entrance hall (pl. 22.71). Occasionally, when there is not enough space below, animals are housed in some rooms on the mezzanine floor.

The staircase: Staircases in large houses follow the same pattern as those in smaller buildings, but are often more generous in width. The steps and landings are of stone, and have steep goings, that is, the steps are wide (33-38cm) but the risers are rather high (25-33cm). Nevertheless the twenty-three metre climb (house JY) to the top floors of these high houses is less arduous than it might seem to those who have never experienced it. Flights are short and landings frequent; there is considerable variation in the number of treads in a flight, the staircase space being made so ample that extra treads can be incorporated without difficulty, to allow ingenious changes to floor level.

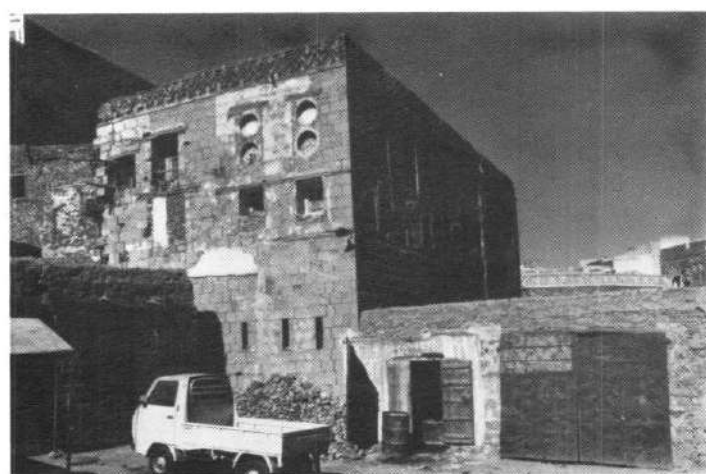
In the walls of the staircase there are sometimes high wooden grilles which permit women on the floor above to watch who is on the staircase without being observed themselves (pl. 22.72).



22.41 House NT. View from roof looking down on the *samsarah* at the rear of the house.



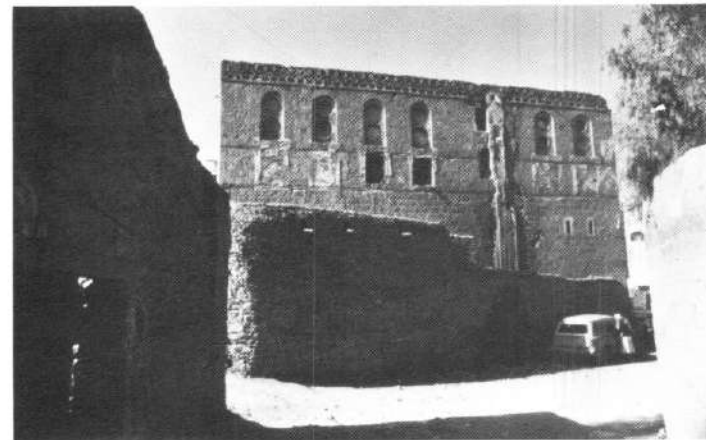
22.43 House S. A photograph taken by a Turkish medical officer, ca. 1900. (University Library, Istanbul.)



22.44 House S. Exterior from the east.



22.42 *Diwān* of a small house prepared for childbirth.



22.45 House S. Exterior from the north.

The central stair pier in large houses is frequently up to two metres wide, and contains recesses in which guards used to squat to control movement up the staircase (pl. 22.50). At higher levels these recesses become cupboards (*khizānah*) built of masonry and closed with small doors.

A few big houses had double staircases. Some of these undoubtedly resulted from the incorporation of two houses together, but one, at least had a short staircase which turned inside the main staircase, to provide separate access, through a separate outside door, to a small room on the first upper level (Dār al-Ḥamd Palace). It is not known what the function of this room was meant to be, but it is possible that it was a room for

transacting public business, hearing cases, etc., the double staircase ensuring that visitors were unable to have access to the remainder of the house.

Storerooms: Large houses often have another floor level of storerooms (e.g. H, fig. 22.7, and pl. 22.65). These stores, if for grain, are called *makhzan al-ḥubūb*, Ḥusayn al-'Amrī called one *mikhzān al-ṭāḥīn*, the flour store, but added that many other things are kept there like *qishr*, coffee, etc. Alternatively, there are rooms set aside as storerooms at higher levels in the house; these are called *ṭabaqah* if they are without windows.

The well: The well shaft rises either into the kitchen, passing through the entrance hall below (house BS), or it rises through the

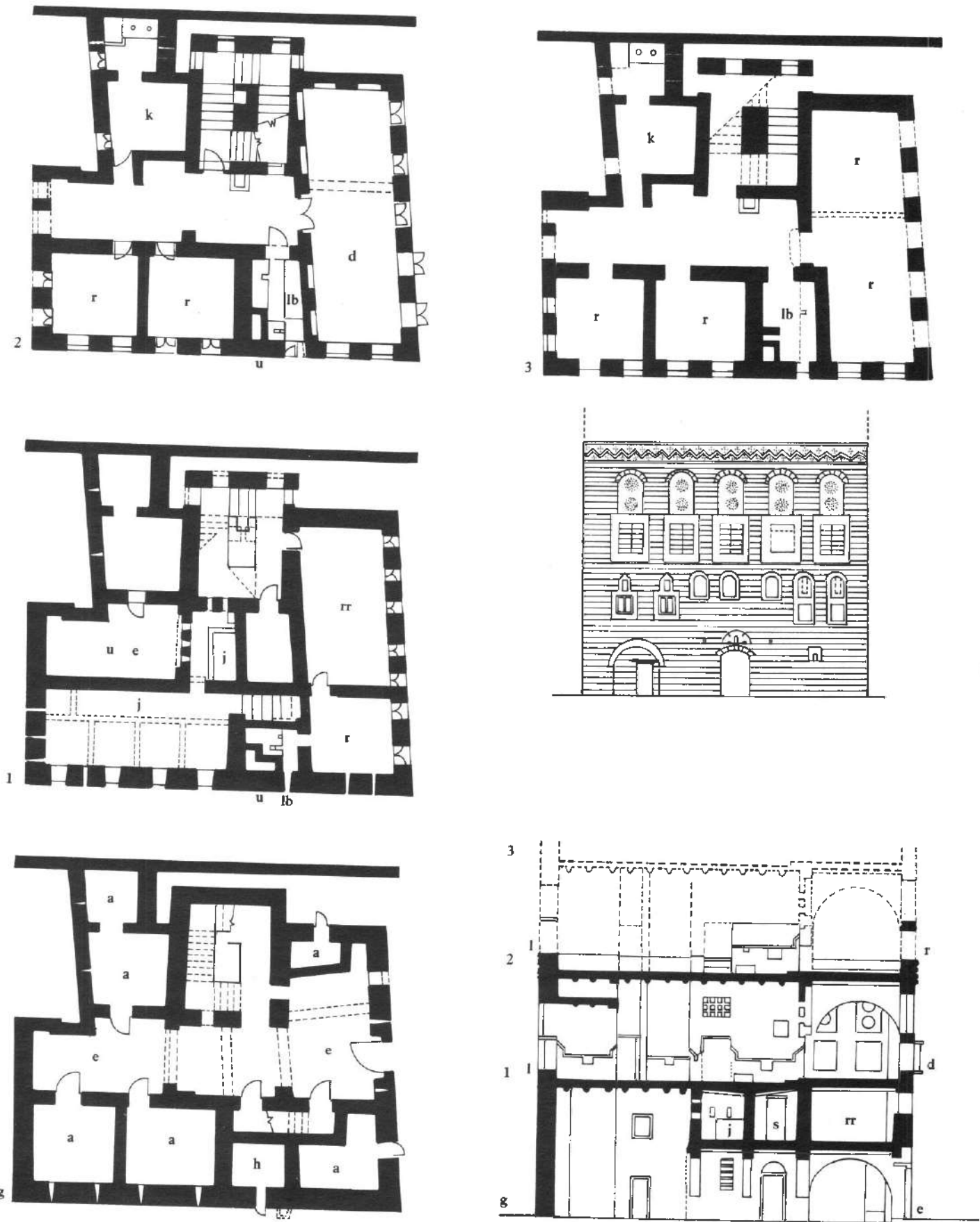


Fig. 22.5 House S. Plans, section, and elevations. The broken lines indicate the destroyed upper section.

main lobbies which serve to the *ḍiḡān* and the upper living rooms, so that water may be drawn in the public circulation area on each floor level, as well as in the entrance hall (house S, fig. 22.5, and pl. 22.51, house JY, fig. 22.7).

The first living level: In large houses the lobby often becomes a grand hall, almost as wide and long as a *ḍiḡān*, but lit by fine windows, in which the work of preparing food, drink, brazier and water-pipe for smoking may often be carried on (pls. 22.58 and 69).

The first large reception room is entered off the lobby, as well as smaller living rooms, possible a storeroom for food, drink and tobacco, and a bathroom-lavatory. One of the smaller rooms may be used regularly as a family eating room in which case it is known as *makān al-ghadā*.

The second living level: This is generally quite similar to the first living level in layout, type and size of rooms, and general appearance. The windows may be more splendid in material, colour and pattern than those below. The *ḍiḡān* doors are usually kept locked, and are richly appointed and ornamented (pls. 75 and 22.73).

The ḍiḡān and the family living room: These two rooms, almost always one above the other, are frequently very large, and are then crossed with masonry arches to strengthen the structures (pls. 60, 22.52). Generally, one end of the room is more important than the other, and is kept furnished with cushions, rugs and carpets; in the *ḍiḡān*, this end is used for childbirth (pl. 22.42) and laying out the dead. In the case of the family living room, and of the *ḍiḡān* when it is used for family gatherings and feasts, it is usual for older people to gather at the more important end with the young at the opposite end. Naturally when they are being used by the men, especially if there are visitors present, women do not use the rooms for eating or sitting. During feasts or when the rooms are being used for entertaining, the furnishings of the room will often be supplemented by the addition of a large brass tray carrying waterpipes, and by a brazier and spittoons—as described in the section on the *mafrāj* below.

The windows of these two large rooms are occasionally splendidly decorated, the shutters of the lower, opening, section sometimes having different patterns carved on each shutter with bosses and fittings of ornamented brass or gilded iron (pl. 22.122). Sometimes a latticed box is provided, projecting from the building so that when women open the shutters to look out they cannot be seen from the street. Above there are large sheets of alabaster in fixed areas or double, plaster traceries, different in each panel, filled with brightly coloured glass in the inner panels (pls. 85 and 22.128). Older houses, like house S, have small circular areas of coloured glass tracery, fitted into spaces which apparently earlier held much larger sheets of alabaster (pls. 42 and 69), the remainder of the openings is blocked with additional plastered brickwork.

Important officials or big landowners who transacted business in their houses did so in a lower room specially set apart for the purpose (house AAO), or in the *ḍiḡān*, as in house M, where one of the most important men under the last Imāms held court from a large sitting platform recessed in the middle of the long wall of the room; it clearly shows as an elaborately supported and decorated projecting bay on the facade of the house (pl. 22.104).

Alternative second living level: In very high houses the *ḍiḡān* may be relegated to the third living level. In this case a suite of family living rooms is often interposed on the second living level. This suite may be used privately by the dowager mother of the household, by a close male relative and his wife and children (son, brother, etc.) or by the women of the household as a living and entertaining unit. Sometimes one of the rooms is used mainly for sleeping. Being self-contained, space is at a premium, and such floors are characterized by one or two low storerooms at a high level approached up narrow flights of stairs made of hard

gypsum plaster. One of these is used as a wardrobe for storing large quantities of women's clothing (*makhzan kummah*);⁶ it is usually over the bathroom-lavatory. If there is a second storeroom placed high up, it has a small workroom-store below it (fig. 22.9, pls. 76 and 22.94).

Some houses, such as house F, have a flight of stairs of this type leading to small upper rooms on the first floor level (pl. 70). In house H this flight is elegantly made of wood. The workmanship in this case is so fine that one suspects this to be a very old *minbar* from a mosque cut down for re-use in its present position (pl. 22.66).

There may be more than one self-contained suite in a large house or a palace. In suites of this type, built in the last century, a new idea was introduced, that of the *jamakān* (Turkish, *jamekyān*), a row of folding doors was fitted to separate a living room from a more private room behind it. Sometimes the *jamakān* doors have glass panels.

The kitchen level: On the second or third floor below the roof of the building is situated the kitchen, a slightly larger and more elaborate version of the kitchen than that in the average house. There is only one kitchen in the house, no matter how large the number of family units, and it is shared by the women. Food may, of course, be heated or re-heated elsewhere using braziers.

Large kitchens often contain a special low storage cupboard, built up of masonry, the *khizānah* (pl. 22.96).

In a few cases where the height of a house has been raised by the addition of extra floors, the original kitchen may end up well below the top of the building, indeed nearer the storeroom levels, but these exceptions do not alter the general rule. Reasons why the kitchen is normally on an upper floor include the seclusion of women, the need to serve refreshment up into the entertaining rooms, as well as down into the *ḍiḡān*, and the desire to keep smoke and fumes as clear as possible from the windows of living rooms. In the few cases where the kitchen is low, a special well, the *siyyah*, may be provided to allow the smoke to escape.

One of the oldest large houses, Bayt Muṭahhar in al-Tāwūs Quarter, has a passage (*makhṭā*) to the kitchen (*daymah*) with holes in it to let out the smoke. On the sixth floor (*al-dawr al-sādis*) of the house, the *siyyat al-daymah* or kitchen flue warms the rooms.

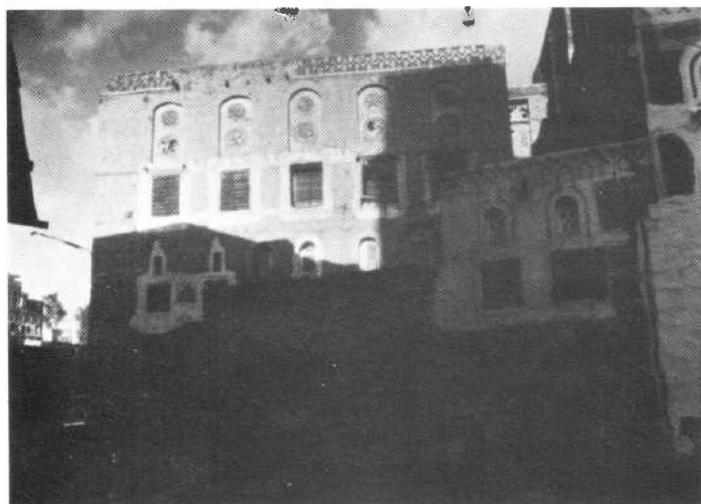
The kitchen, like the bathroom, tends to be placed on the north, cold, side of the house.

There may be a living room and storerooms used by the women and children on the same floor as the kitchen, or on the floor below. Sometimes the kitchen is on the roof of the main house structure, so that there are terraces opening off it, one of which contains the laundry. The kitchen may even be entered from an open terrace or courtyard (*shamsiyyah*) on the roof. The house normally continues upwards another floor or two, to the *mafrāj*, but this top-most part of the building has a greatly reduced floor area.

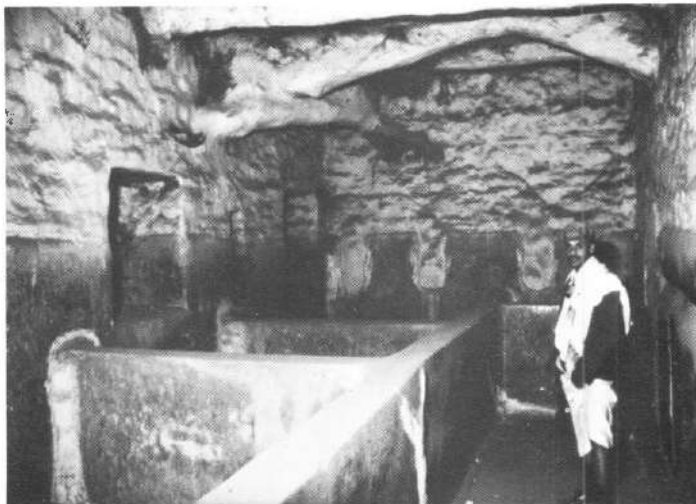
The laundry, described as *ghurfat al-ghasīl*, may be on an open terrace, or under cover (fig. 22.9, pl. 22.97). It consists of a deep, open reservoir for rainwater, which is collected from the roofs above and drains into it down a plaster spillway, and a hard flat plastered (*muqaddaq*) or stone floor surface (*sāhil*) on which the clothes are scrubbed. They are hung to dry on lines stretched across the terraces, or over the parapets. (A *sāhil* can also mean a platform for drainage, or a drain down the side of a wall for rain or a lavatory, etc.)

The upper reception rooms: In a large house these focus around the *mafrāj*, the large high room, with, on at least three sides, long low windows (*jarf*, sing.), used by the master of the house for chewing *qāt* and entertaining in the afternoons. But there are also other rooms for similar use. Often, one floor below the *mafrāj*, there is a smaller version of the same room, perhaps with view

6 Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 257, *piccole stanzette*; it has no windows (*nawāfiḍh*).



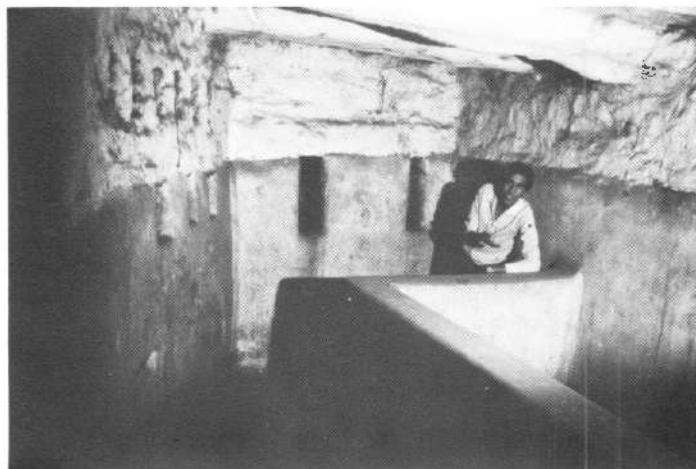
22.46 House S. Exterior from the west.



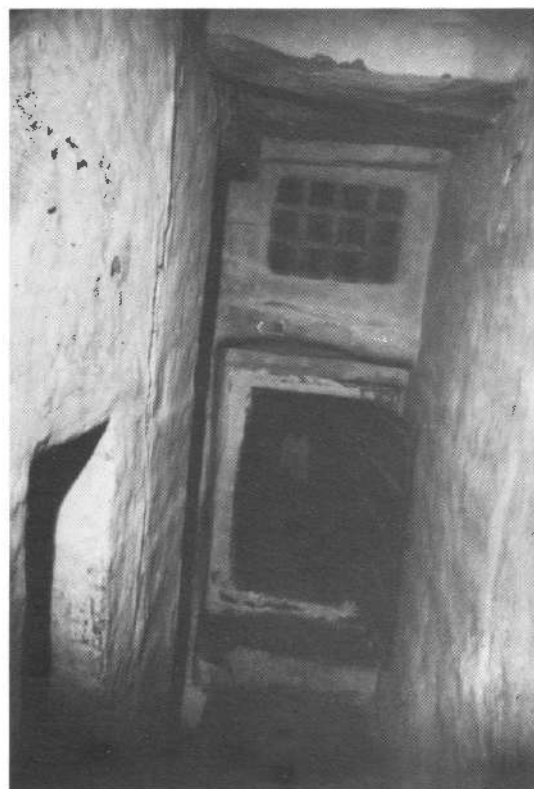
22.48 House S. Large grain store on the mezzanine above ground level.



22.47 House S. Entrance, with the entrance doors in the distance.



22.49 House S. Small grain store on the mezzanine above ground level.



22.50 House S. Staircase.

windows on only two, or even one, side. It is called the *manzar*, the name used for the highest entertaining room of a smaller house. If it faces east, it may be called the *sharqiyyah*. Since the volume of the house rising above this level is smaller, this lower entertaining room often has a roof terrace outside it. Sometimes it is the prerogative of the women to use this room for entertaining when the men are not in the house, in which case the terrace is carefully screened with pierced masonry arcading.

In other cases the arcading is open and unscreened, meant purely for decorative purposes, but convertible into a complete screen by hanging drapes over it.

Above the *mafraj* there is in a few cases another level, comprising one small room, the *zihrah*. This is used by the owner of the house when he wishes to chew *qāt* or smoke alone, or with a small number of friends. The room is seldom more than two metres square, with a window on every side so that it enjoys magnificent views. In several cases, such as house B (fig. 22.6), it is situated on top of the staircase walls (see pl. 64).

In house B, and typically in large houses, the staircase continues unbroken from the bottom to the top of the house, a solid construction of stone with a massive central stone pier (*quṭb al-daraj*), acting as a kind of structural spine to strengthen the whole building. In some cases, though, the reduced size of the top two or three levels necessitates the inclusion of a new staircase serving them in a different position on the plan (e.g. house JY, fig. 22.8). In one large house (house H, fig. 22.7), the main staircase extends from first floor level up to the roof, but there is a separate wide staircase connecting the ground and first floors in another part of the plan.

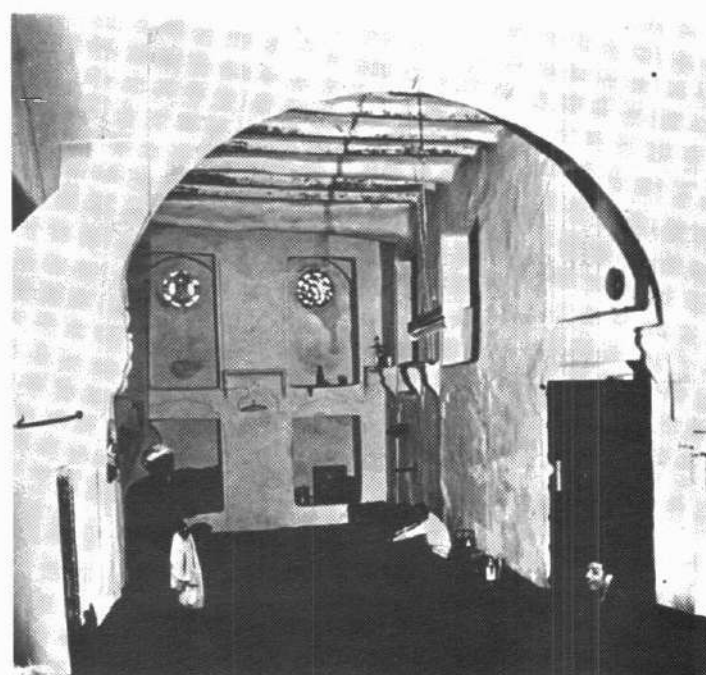
Under the *mafraj* there is sometimes a low floor containing a storeroom for grain and clothes, or a minor living room, called the *jabaqah*. It is characterized by small windows; its main purpose in this position seems to be to raise the *mafraj* as high as possible so that it may obtain better views (e.g. house JY, fig. 22.8).

Another small room near the *mafraj* is the *ka'mah*. This has only one window, and is a room used by an old person who wants to chew *qāt* alone. If the house has one, it is this room which is used for the dressing of the bride before her wedding.

The *mafraj*: (The word comes from *faraja*, it dispelled grief or anxiety.) This is the finest room in a Ṣan'ā' house.⁷ It is usually approximately six metres long and four metres wide, with a lobby (*ḥijrah* or *ḥijrat al-mafraj*) four metres square continuing its volume at one end. The *mafraj* is a step higher than the lobby; it is separated from it by double folding doors. At the end of the lobby is a large window (*jarf*) closed by double folding shutters which open to almost the full width of the room. There is a large semicircular fanlight above (*'aqd*, sing.) containing alabaster slabs, or else gypsum plaster tracery in two layers spaced 10 or 15cm apart; the inner tracery is the only one of the two to be glazed, usually with brightly coloured glass, the outer layer unglazed. Similarly wide view windows are placed at the opposite end of the *mafraj* and in the middle of one long wall, and they have also semicircular fanlights of the same type over them. The remainder of the long wall has smaller openings with fanlights on either side of the main view window; the opposite long wall has usually high fanlights only, with decorated plaster shelves underneath to hold ornaments and articles for use in the *mafraj*. The shutters and doors are stained natural wood, except in the richest houses where they may be lacquered and decorated with paintings (pl. 53). The window shutters (*tāqah*, plur. *tiqān* or *tiyāq*, *darf*, plur. *durūf*) have often a little shutter within them (*shāqūṣ*, pron. *shāgūṣ*). Its opening has a decoratively shaped top edge which is effective against the light in silhouette (pl. 63). Frequently the elaborate plaster decoration (*naqshah*, *takhrīm* in Ṣan'ā',

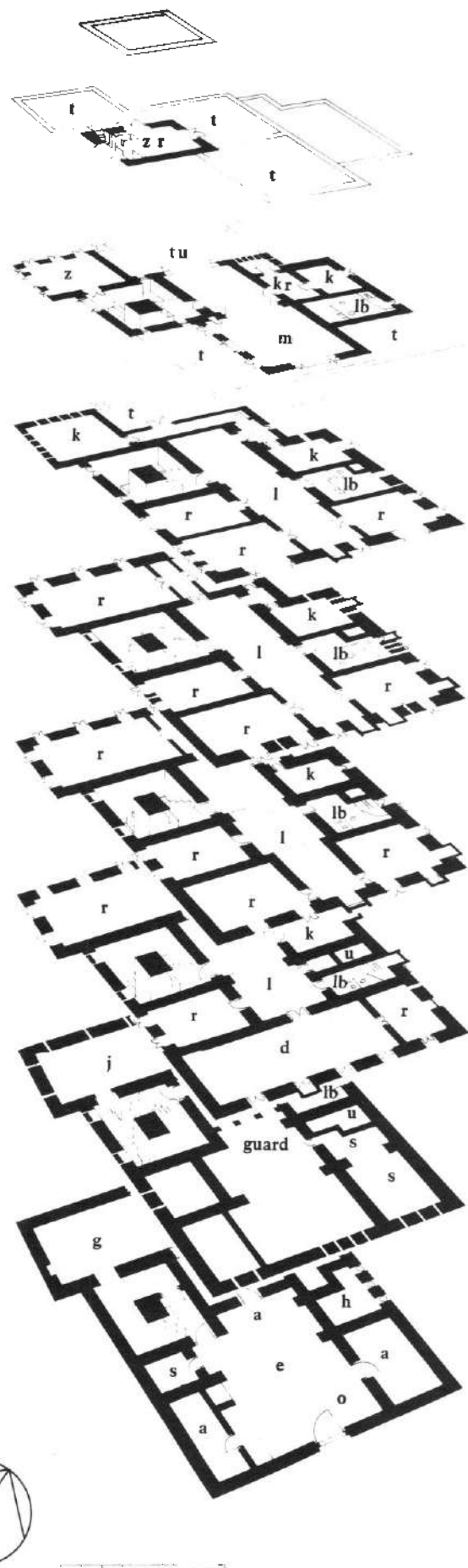


22.51 House S. Upper lobby.



22.52 House S. *Dīwān*, looking north, showing the inner wall. The reinforcing arch carried the cross walls of the floors above.

⁷ A *mafraj* is also a room at the side of a garden with a *shādhawān* in front of it, see below. 'This *mafraj* is specially for the *qaylūlah* gathering when those sitting (there) chew *qāt*.' Cf. *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah* I, 117. no. 322.

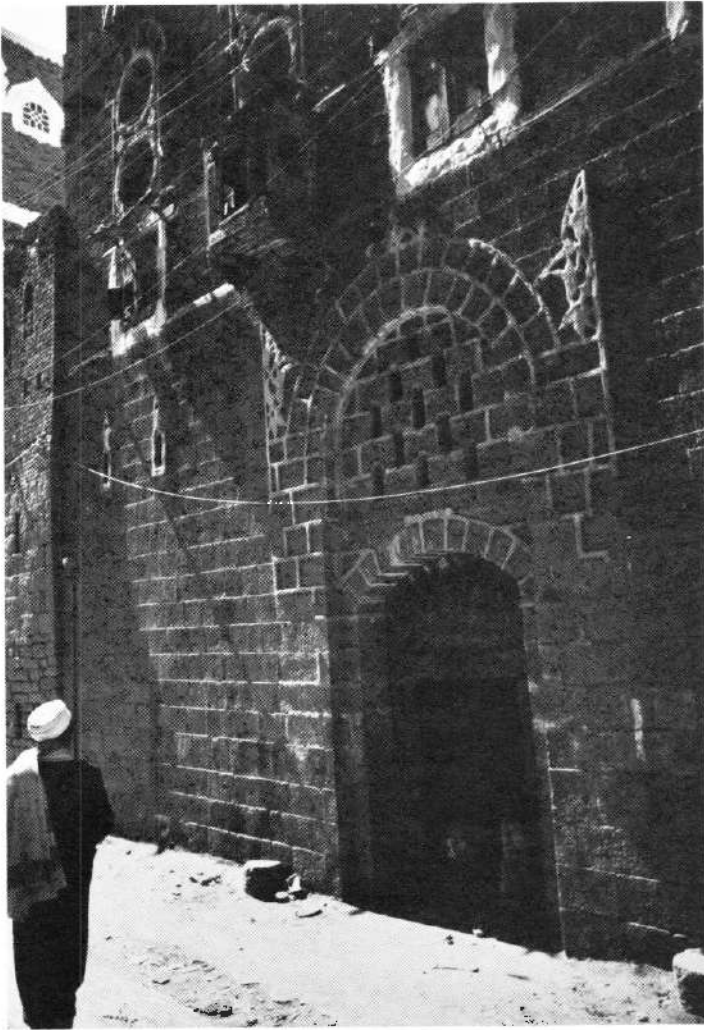


22.53 House B, Exterior

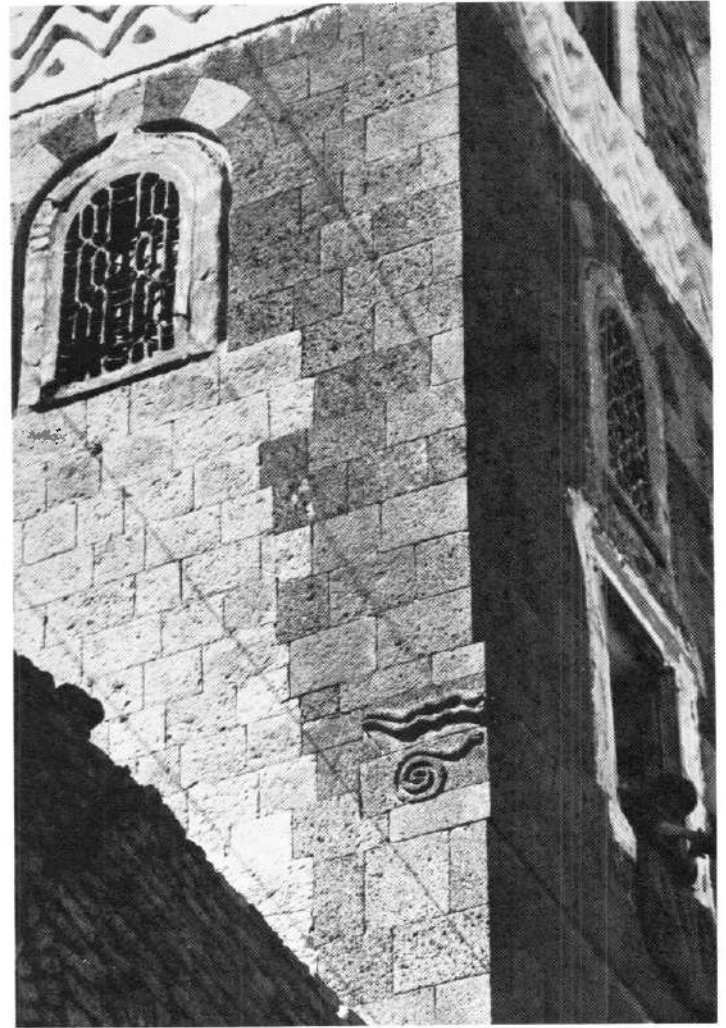
pls. 53 and 61) includes passages of poetry and verses from the Qur'ān, and in one case (house B, pl. 62) the owner's name and the date of the building of the *mafraj* are recorded. Typical is, as in Bayt Muṭahhar at al-Filayhī, such a blessing as 'Izz yadūm wa-ni'mah lā yanqadī, honour lasting, prosperity unending.' There are hooks for coats (*sils*) below the shelves. Small cupboards (*khizānah*) have richly decorated doors (house B, pls. 62 and 22.61). In the last hundred years sashes containing large clear panes have often been introduced in the window openings, either in addition to the original shutters, or replacing them.

The furnishings of the *mafrāḥ* follow the traditional furnishings of all Yemeni living rooms, described above (p. 442a), but are usually of the richest possible materials. There is an expensive carpet in the central floor space (*mushammaʿ*). A circular brass or silver tray (*maʿsharah*) stands on the floor near the entrance to the room, and is filled with pipes, braziers (*mawqūd*), jugs for water, incense burners (*mabkharah* for *bakhūr* incense) and spittoons (*madfal/matfal*) for use when chewing *qāt* (pl. 57). There is sometimes a high tray on a pedestal (*ṣaḥn al-ṣayānī*) with china cups for serving coffee. A low box which serves as a desk for writing may be brought in (*māssah*). Candlesticks (*mazharah*) sometimes stand on the wall shelves or on the brass tray.

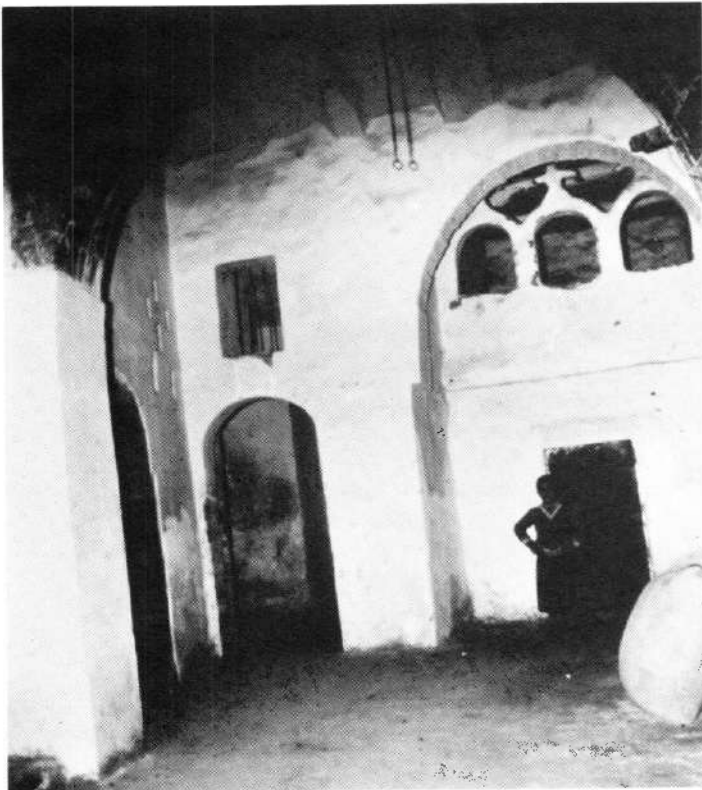
On the same floor as the *mafraj*, or on the floor below, is a lavatory for people using the entertaining rooms. There is usually in the lobby a large water cooling box projecting from the building, or even a special room with pierced walls built on the end of the building or on a corner of it, in which earthenware jugs of water are placed for cooling.



22.54 House B. Street facade, showing the entrance doorway.



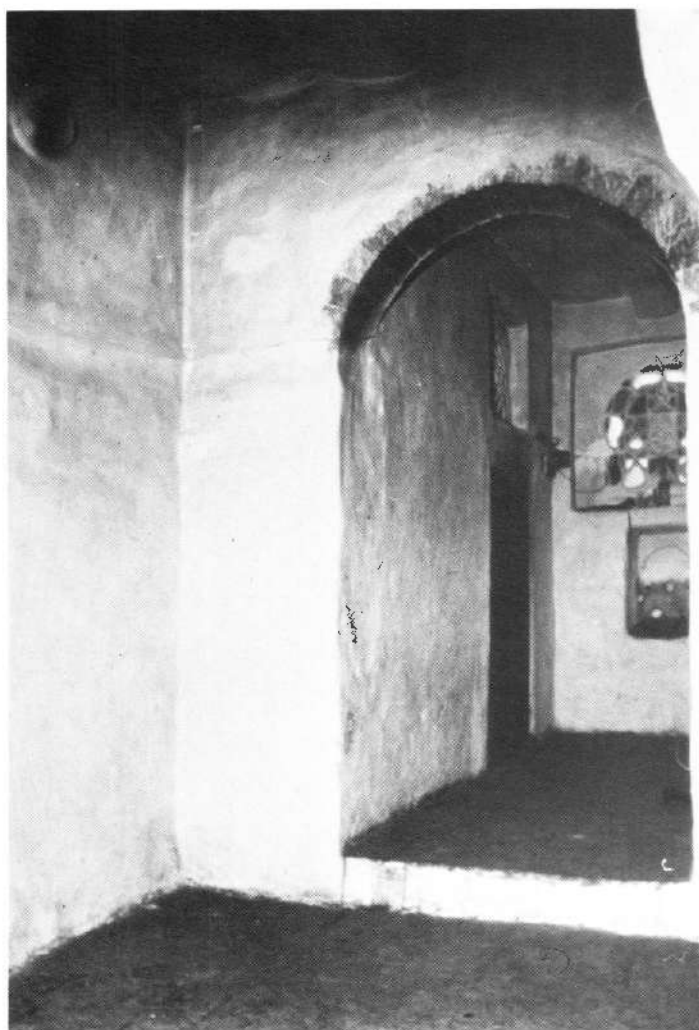
22.56 House B. Motif of 3 snakes in carved stone, built into a corner of the street facade about four metres above ground level.



22.55 House B. The entrance hall.



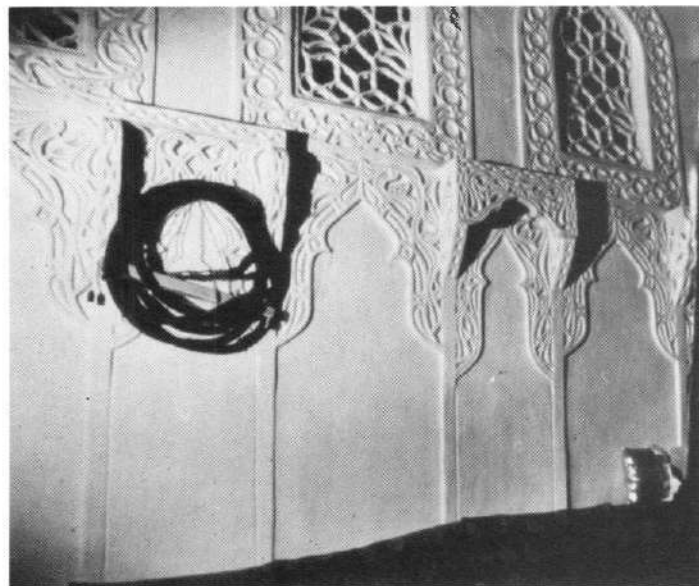
22.57 House B. The staircase, showing the grilles which allow the women in the lobbies above to observe movement on the stairs.



22.58 House B. A typical upper lobby.



22.60 House B. The lobby to the *mafrāj*.



22.59 House B. The *mafrāj*.

In some older houses the room used as a *mafrāj* is not a single room on a floor by itself, but is part of the main block of the house, sharing its level with several other rooms (e.g. house H, fig. 22.7 and pl. 22.63). One of the other rooms on the same level is called the *manẓar*. Other big houses or palaces preserve a similar group of rooms below the *mafrāj* (e.g. house M, pl. 22.104), to which the name *manẓar* has later been transferred, although the

largest probably served originally as the *mafrāj*.

Window boxes of aromatic and flowering herbs are often provided for the *mafrāj* and other entertaining rooms. Alternatively there may be a small garden of fragrant plants, mostly *rayḥān*, sweet basil, in pots on a roof outside these rooms.

Ideally, the long wall of a *mafrāj* should face south, although east or west are alternatives sometimes accepted, for lack of better; but the Şan'ānī saying is, 'Mā bayt illā 'Adanī, there is no room but one with a southern exposure.' The temperate climate of Şan'ā' means that protection against the wind is advisable on the sunless north side.

The Şan'ānīs, like Europeans have a house-warming known as *wakīrat al-bayt* when moving into a new house—the guest attending says *mabrūk* to the family.

Gardens and entrance courts: Large houses sometimes have entrance courts (*hawsh*, v. house H, fig. 22.7, pl. 22.63, house BT, fig. 22.9). On the street side these have high gateways (pls. 22.98, 105). Internally, the courtyard may be a small paved open space, or it may be planted with trees. Less often, there may be a back courtyard, sometimes planted in the same way. A small number of large houses stand apart surrounded by narrow gardens. These are always enclosed by high walls penetrated by a single gateway.

In view of the rarity of planted courts or gardens attached to the houses, it might be thought that in old Şan'ā' houses seldom enjoyed views from their windows into areas of plants and trees. This is far from being the case, however, as a great part of the city is devoted to large gardens (*bustān*) attached to the pious foundations (*awqāf*) for the maintenance of the mosques. There, vegetables and fruit are grown by the rentee farmer (*sharīk* or *bistānjī*), the *qashshām*, and these products are mainly sold



22.61 House B. The decorated door of the cupboard in the *mafraj*.



22.62 House B. Inside the *zahrāh*.

directly to the houses encircling the *bustān*, the surplus going to the market. Thus the houses, more often than not, enjoy views over extensive market gardens which may be unsuspected by the casual passer-by in the narrow, masonry-lined streets and lanes on the other side of the buildings (cf. pls. 6, 8, and 49).

The gardens frequently appear to be sunk below ground level. This is sometimes a delusion, produced by the accretion of

centuries of rebuilding along the streets, so that the buildings and the street level have been raised several metres. Sometimes, however, gardens are built in the bottom of claypits from which the material to make the bricks of the surrounding houses was taken; sometimes the market garden was dug below the level of water channels and *ghayls* to facilitate irrigation.

Palaces: There was little to differentiate palaces from the large houses of the rich, and in this section the two have been grouped together. Niebuhr mentions that when he saw it in the mid-12th/18th century the Mutawakkil palace (pl. 9.1) contained 'a spacious square chamber having an arched roof. In the middle was a large basin, with some *jets d'eau*, rising fourteen feet in height.'⁸ This is the only recorded instance of an internal fountain in Yemeni domestic architecture.

The Islamic House - an Alternative Type

The best building is one the court of which is wide, its ceiling high, its chimney tall and its ablution-privy far removed.

(*Khayru 'l-abniyati ma 'ttasa'a ṣaḥnu-hu wa-'riafa'a saḡfu-hu wa-ṣāla madkhanu-hu wa-ba'uda mutawaḡḡā-hu.*)

Al-Maydānī⁹

Not all houses have their *mafraj* on the roof; there is an alternative type, the *mafraj* with a reflecting pool and fountain at ground level (*shādhawān* or *nāfurah*). As this takes up considerable ground area there are now very few of this type within the walls of the old city; of course there may have been more in an earlier period. In the garden suburbs of Bīr al-'Azab, Bīr al-Bahmī and Bīr al-Shams the larger houses and palaces commonly have a *mafraj* of this type,¹⁰ though the richest may have another on the roof of the house as well. They are also found in al-Rawḡah, the resort of Ṣan'ā', 10km to the north, and to a lesser extent in other neighbouring towns.

A typical example is house G, near Bāb al-'Abīlah. This is a low villa which belonged to the Imām's family before the 1962 coup. Its *mafraj* and the adjoining pool and fountain are shown in fig. 22.10, pls. 22.106, 107. Although built within the volume of the house, this *mafraj* is characteristically not entered from inside the house; there is a separate outside entrance to it past the pool. An open arcade of lime-washed plastered brickwork shields the *mafraj* pool from the surrounding garden, providing a sense of enclosure. It is overhung by trees planted just beyond the arcade. A trellis for vines crosses over the pool and its central fountain, supported at the centre by two columns which rise through the water of the pool itself.

A large arcade frames a loggia which separates the pool from the *mafraj*; the roof above the loggia acts as a screened terrace for the private use of the women of the house.

The *mafraj* is somewhat unusual in having a masonry bench along its rear wall, on which carpets and cushions for sitting are placed. Low cushions of the normal type are ranged along the side walls. It is possible that the purpose of this raised bench is to allow those sitting on it a better view of the fountain and water surface of the pool. However, this type of low *mafraj* does not always have the masonry bench, and there are one or two examples of the high *mafraj* which have it. *Dirwāns* in Jewish houses (see below) are frequently provided with such a bench. It obviates the need to build up the lying-in bed in the *dirwān* with hard mattresses (see pl. 58). A third possibility is that this is a feature introduced by the Turks, either during the first or the second Ottoman occupations of the Yemen.

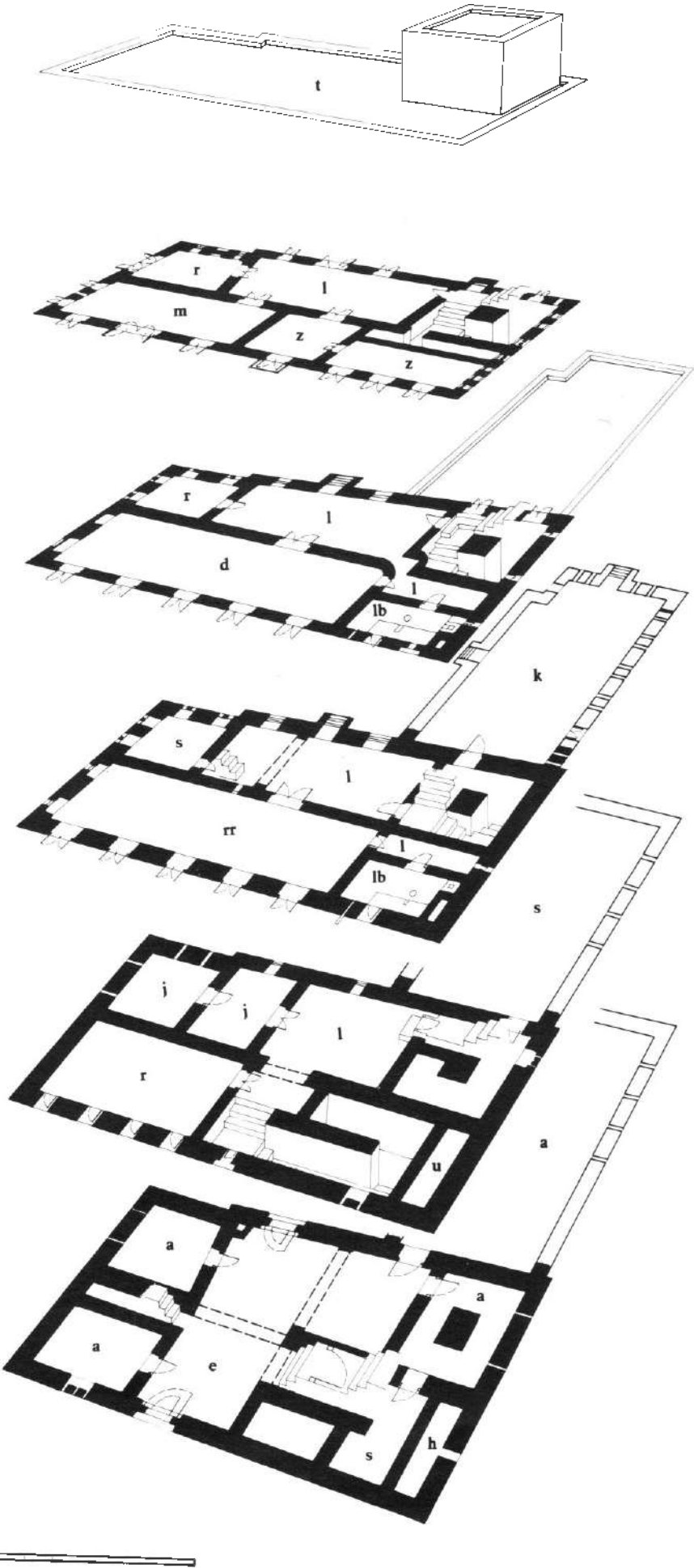
was even entirely open, upon one side. A number of fruit-trees grew in the garden. In the midst of it was a *jet d'eau*, similar to that which we had seen in the Imām's hall of audience. The water was put in motion by being raised in a reservoir by an ass and a man who led him.'

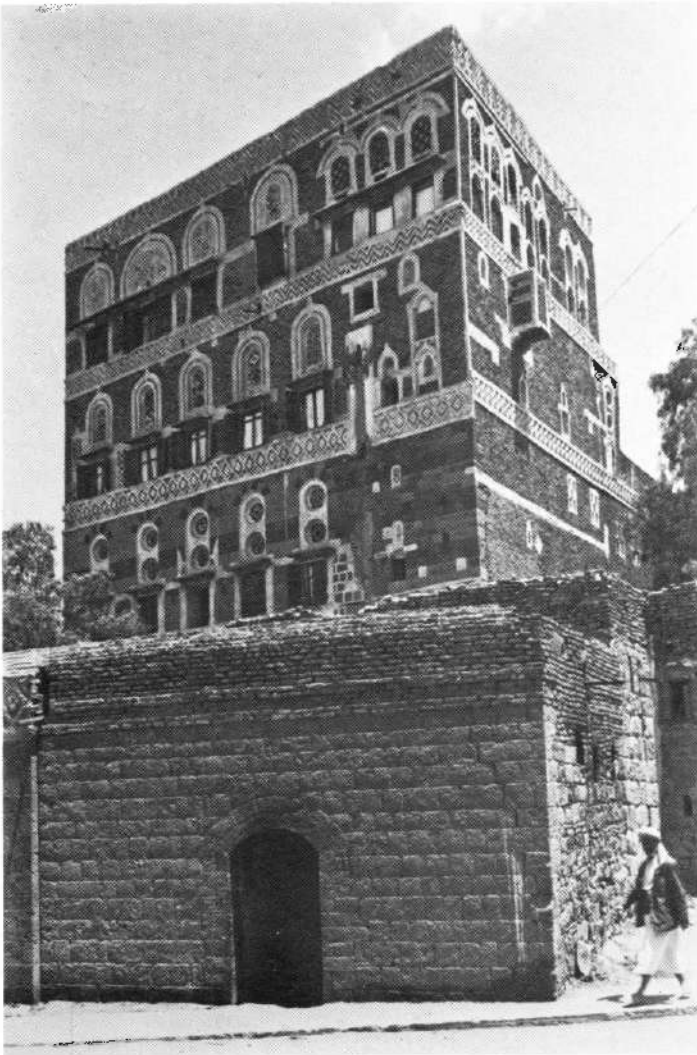
⁸ Niebuhr, op. cit., trans. Heron, I, 395.

⁹ G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbialia*, III, 142.

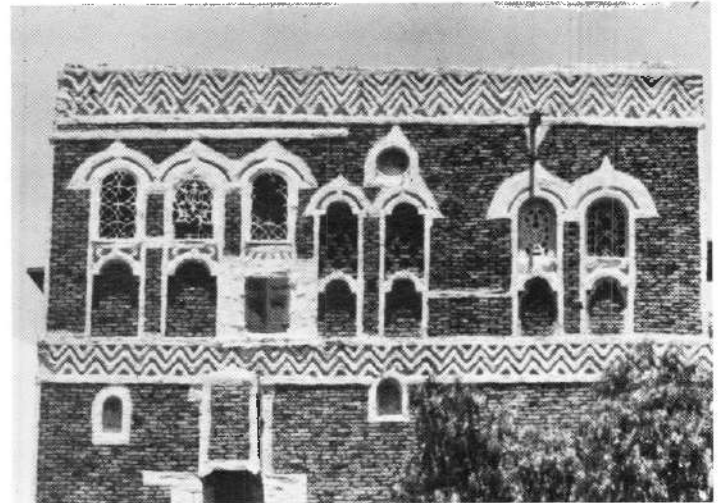
¹⁰ Such a house in Bīr al-'Azab is described by Niebuhr, who saw it in 1763. Op. cit., trans. Heron, I, 373. 'The Vizier's country-house was not large. It

Fig. 22.7 House H. Exploded axonometric, showing the plans superimposed.

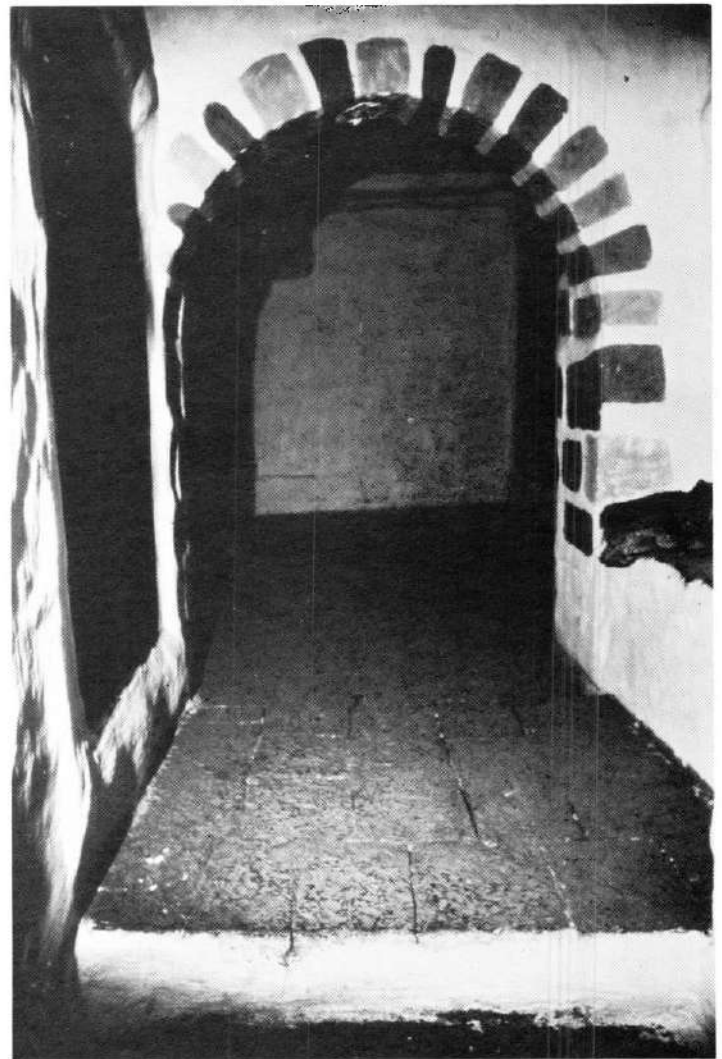




22.63 House H. Exterior. The house is set within a walled garden with an outer door serving as a gate.



22.64 House H. Exterior of upper storeys.



22.65 House H. Lobby at first floor level.

Other examples of the low *mafraj* are shown in pls. 79, 22.108-111, one an example from al-Rawḍah. The latter is again slightly atypical, in having a second larger *mafraj* sharing the same pool, on an axis at right angles to the *mafraj* which is within the main volume of the house. It has a lobby higher than the stone surface around the pool, and the *mafraj* floor raised again, so that the inhabitants look down on the surface of the water. As though to emphasize this effect the lobby has a low wide horizontal window with its head at the waist height of a man; there are alabaster fanlights in the wall above, so that attention is focused on the water. The quality of this design should refute those critics who claim that Arabs did not traditionally appreciate subtle visual effects in architecture. No fountains intrude to disturb the pure geometry of the dark pool. Fields of vineyards lie beyond the terraces and the creeper-covered shrubs to the east and south.

The Relationship of the Ṣan'ā' Houses to Village Houses and Farmhouses

High houses of the Ṣan'ā' type are found throughout the mountainous central plateau of the Yemen and mountains to the north and to the east; they occur further north,¹¹ in the southern part of present-day Sa'ūdī Arabia, and further south and east in southern Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. Although there are local varia-

tions in concept, especially in detail, the essential nature of the house does not change; that is, it has four or more storeys, the lower ones serving to house animals and storage, and the upper ones for habitation, with the most important entertaining rooms on the top level. There is usually only one door, and the house is simple and massive in bulk. Villages comprised of houses of this type may be seen within a few kilometres of Ṣan'ā', and

11 Ṣa'dah houses are discussed in Elke Niewöhner-Eberhard, 'Das jemenitisch-arabische Innenhofhaus in Sa'da, Jemen' in *Der Islam*, 1977, LIV, ii, 177-204.



22.66 House H. Lobby outside main living room of house.



22.67 House H. Lobby outside *diwān*. The staircase is visible through the doorway.

present just as urban an appearance as the houses of Şan'ā' itself. True, in villages only the most important houses will have squared, ashlar stonework in the lower storeys, and fewer still will have burnt brick above. More commonly, the upper storeys are of sun-baked brick, and the lower storeys of coursed clay (*zābūr*).

Farmhouses are often of the same type, but a different kind is also found, a cylindrical tower called a *nōbah/nawbah*. This appears to belong to an early tradition of building which has survived up to the present day, as similar structures in pre-Islamic or early Islamic cyclopean stonework have been found in ancient sites.

The mountains surrounding the highland plateau afforded good shelter for marauding tribes who might at any moment descend to pillage the villages and farms of the agricultural areas. Throughout the region, circular defensive towers seem to have been used for domestic purposes. Some northern villages still retain clusters of them too numerous in number to have been part of a fortification system. It seems likely that the modern, square, tower-houses seen in farms, villages and cities are sophisticated descendants of such a prototype. An intermediate stage may be represented by the circular farmhouses which continued to be built until the present day. These will often have loopholes



22.68 House H. *Diwān*.



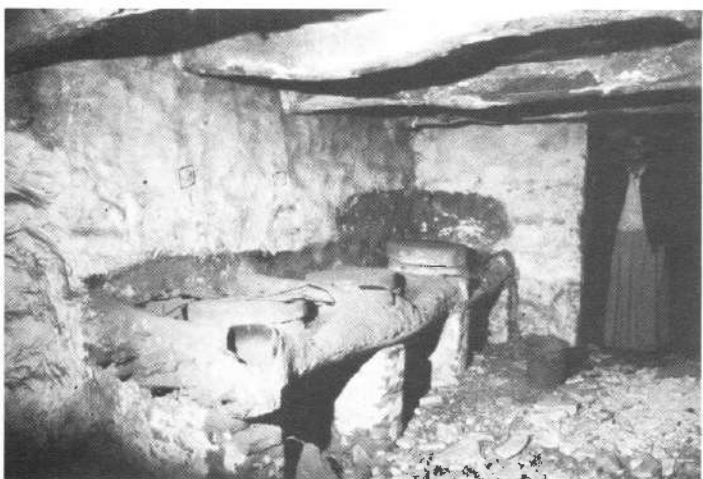
22.69 House JY. The front of the house facing onto a small *maydān*.



22.70 House JY. The entrance hall.



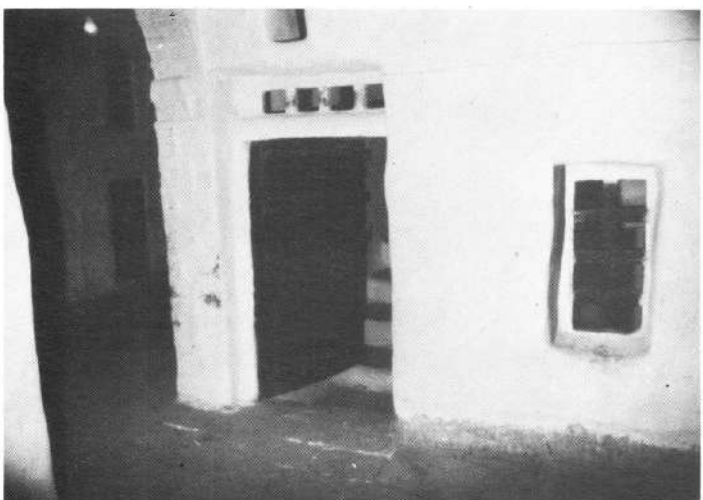
22.73 House JY. Doors to a rear *manzar*.



22.71 House JY. The querns on the mezzanine level.



22.74 House JY. The lobby of an upper *manzar*.



22.72 House JY. A characteristic upstairs lobby.

(*khuzqī*) for firing guns (*banādiq*).

Cylindrical houses of this type have been incorporated into Ṣan'ā' as it has expanded (fig. 22.11, pls. 22.112-6). In addition there

are several constructed of ashlar stonework as part of palaces of the ex-Imām (pl. 19.87). It is difficult to be certain whether the latter were built for extra security in defence or for architectural variety.

An obvious advantage of the cylindrical shape of these houses is that it increases their stability, especially if they are built in soft coursed clay. In addition it is claimed by some of the inhabitants that many existing *nōbahs* were once much higher. Evidence of their strength may be seen in the fashion, perhaps of fairly recent date, of building a large square *mafrāj* at the top, often

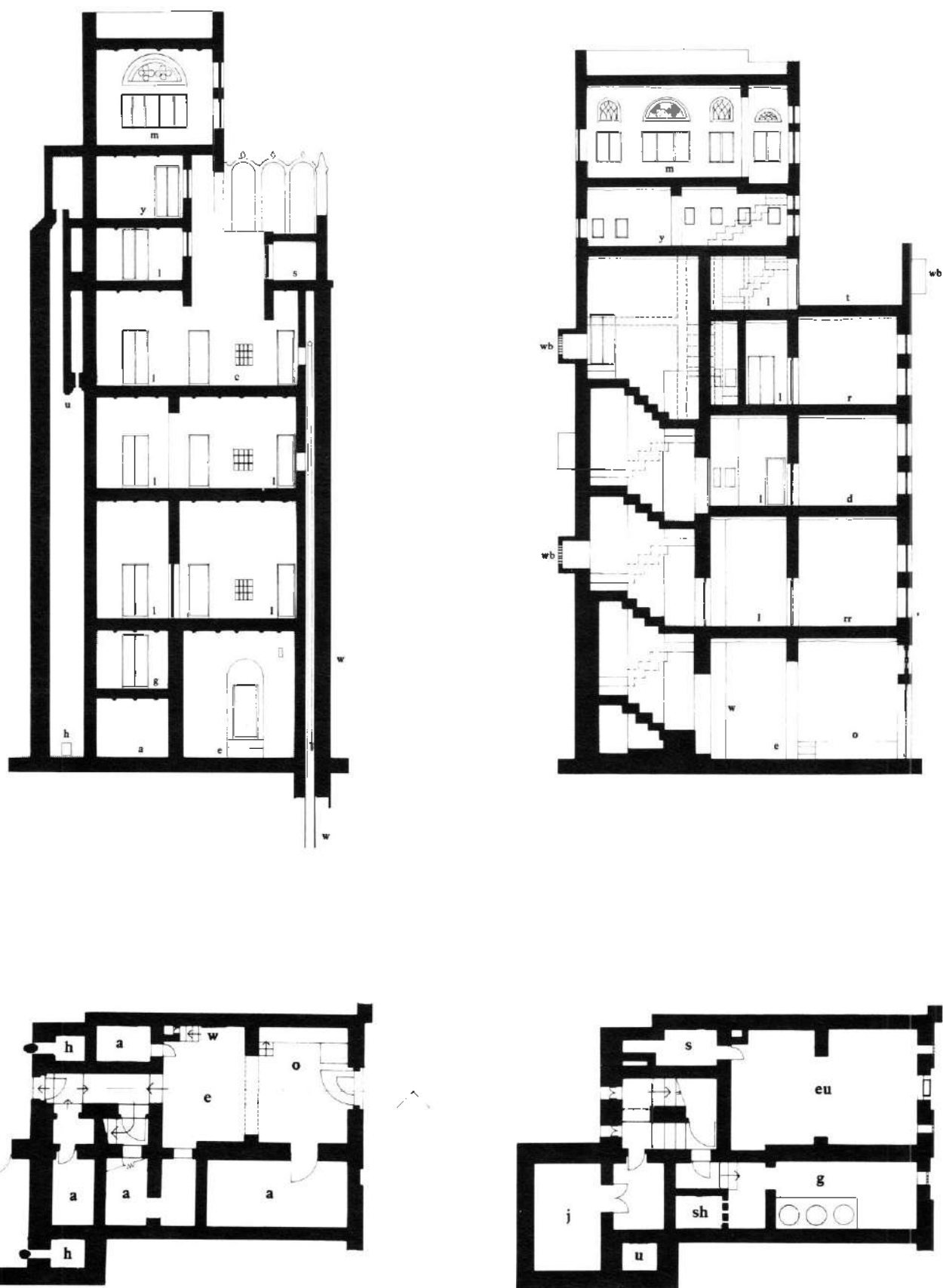
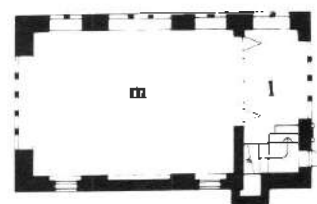
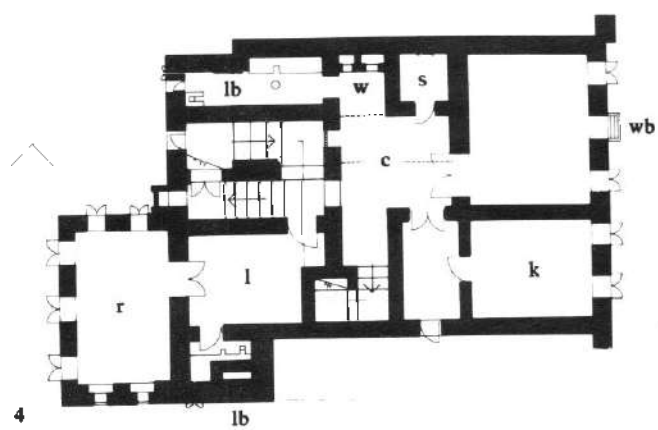
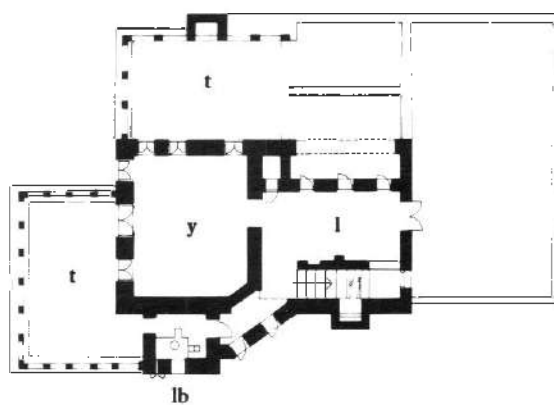
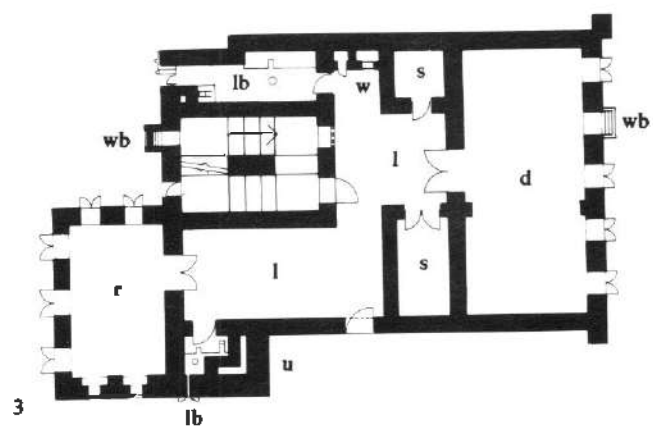


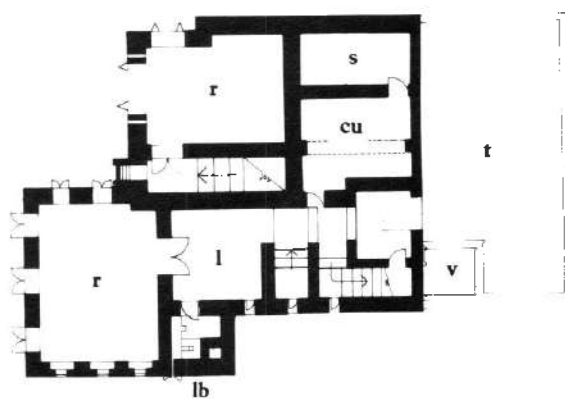
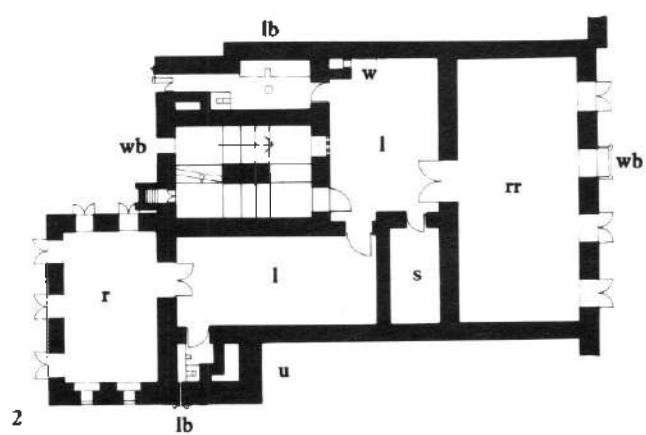
Fig. 22.8 House JY. Plans and sections.



7



6



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cantilevered considerable distances beyond the sides of the cylindrical tower below (pl. 22.117).

The vertical distribution of the accommodation in a *nōbah* resembles closely that in the town houses. The entrance hall does not rise up through two storeys, but is limited to one, and the whole of the first floor is usually given to storage. More store-rooms may be provided on the levels above. There is a *dīwān* for family occasions, sometimes a similarly large living room, with a small *manḡar* at the top, flanked by a kitchen, or with one on the floor below.

Construction

The lower levels of the buildings are usually constructed of square ashlar up to between three and ten metres above ground level. The blocks are shaped from broken stone on the spot by masons (*muwaqqiṣ*),¹² men or boys, whose special task is preparing the blocks. Each worker squats behind a shelter to stop stone chips from hitting his neighbour, holds the stone in one hand and strikes fragments off the surface with the sharp edge of his adze-like hammer (*mifras*) (pl. 22.118). They earn a standard rate for each block, and are among the best paid workers on the building site.

There are two types of agreement between the person who commissions building work and the labour or builders. Where a contract is made for a piece of work to be executed for a fixed sum this is called '*amal muqāṭa'ah*'. The other is called *al-mushāqāh* which is an engagement by the day from early morning to sunset (*al-'amal bi-'l-yawmiyyah, min al-subḥ ila 'l-maghrib*). This period is naturally longer in summer than in winter, but no account seems to be taken of this when it comes to wages. In the summer of 1972 workmen on the house knocked off round about noon and chewed *qāt*, returning to work some time between 2 and 3 p.m.

The description of the various qualities of cut stone was provided by 'Alī Hizām al-Ṣabāḥī of the Department of Public Works. It is curious that *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*¹³ (section 36, i) makes no reference to these different standards though we know from Ḥabshūsh¹⁴ that Imām al-Manṣūr 'Alī (before 1224/1809) would spend a *riyāl* on a single stone of *Ḥabash* for house-building, in hewing, trimming and building wages (*fī qaṭ'i-hi wa-tawqīṣi-hi wa-shaqā 'amārat-i-hi*).

- 1 *Rub' waqīṣ* - the surface of the stone in the middle is left rough and not finished off. The edges of the block are rough and not exact, but the corners are square.
- 2 *Nuṣṣ waqīṣ* - well finished, with pecking (*naqr*) on the surface. This is executed with a *fās*, in Ta'izz called *shurnī*, a form of chisel for *naqr*-work. There is a *fās li-'l-ḥaṭab*, for firewood, and a *fās li-'l-waqīṣ*.
- 3 *Waqīṣ kāmīl* - smooth square (*murabba'*) blocks, well made, with a good edge, but when used in building a little *quṣṣ* shows between the edge of each stone and the one next to it.
- 4 *Waqīṣ laqf* - stone so finely joined, one block to the next, that a needle (*ibrah*)¹⁵ cannot be inserted between them. An example of this is the masonry of the new Dār al-Ḍiyāfah.

The following list of types of stone used in building construction makes no claim to be exhaustive. *Ju'm* is black basalt stone used for foundations (*asās*—al-Ḥamdānī¹⁶ gives the term *marṯar*, still used today) under ground level, in rubble form or squared. It is hard (*ṣalbah*) and unaffected by salt or damp. Outside Ṣan'ā'

it is often oval (*mukawbal*) or round (*mudawwar*). A brown ignimbrite¹⁷ stone is also sometimes used. A hard black crystalline basalt (*ḥajar aswad, al-ḥajar al-sawdā'*, or simply *sawdā'*) is used for the first courses above ground, squared (*muqalfa'*). It is used also to prevent salt, from which it seems to be impervious, from rising into the structure. *Ḥabash* is a blue-grey stone, a slightly pumice-like vesicular scoriaceous basalt, easy to work but hardening rapidly on cutting, quarried at al-Jirāf north of Ṣan'ā'. It is used for the walls, jambs and lintels of the lower storeys of Ṣan'ā' buildings, but not for the foundations or thresholds, as it is easily worn and likely to be attacked by salts. *Ḥabash Dhamārī* is famous. *Shalf/shilf* is rough untrimmed stone used for the interior side of the wall, not the facing—it is used as rubble. The rough interior stone part of a wall is called *tarbī'ah*. *Ḥajarah Ḥushayshiyah* comes from Banī Ḥushaysh and *Ḥajarah Sayyāniyyah* from near Jahānah. 'Aṣīr/Aṣar provides a light coloured stone and a darkish stone. Writing in the twenties, Nazīh al-Mu'ayyad¹⁸ says that white stone is brought from Nuqum, and black from al-Jirāf mountain west of al-Rawḍah. They bring black volcanic stone, he says, from 'Aṣīr or al-Sinaytah west of Ṣan'ā', which is harder than al-Jirāf stone. For decorative bands or patterns two other stones are commonly employed, *ḥaraḍ*, a grey limestone more often used for carved oil lamps and cooking pots, and *balaq*, a creamy white limestone on which inscriptions are carved as they were in the pre-Islamic age—the word itself is ancient. It is also now used for carving fine stone mills for domestic use. Another white stone is *Ḥajarah Sa'wānī* from near-by Wādī Sa'wān. *Ṣawra'* or *ṣamm* is a stone without holes. Tufa is also found, a pale buff volcanic stone which is easy to work but hardens on exposure to air. Other limestones used for ornament are green and dull red in colour, the latter called '*iḥribī*' after a plant with flowers of this hue. Stone is usually called after its colour and/or place of origin.

The extra large stones in the masonry of a house at the corners are called *midmāk* (*madāmīk*).

Walls are normally made with a facing of stones inside (*mathnā*) and out (*ḥajar al-wajh*), 20cm square or larger, with a central core (*raṣṣah*), usually between 3 and 10cm thick, of clay plaster and aggregate (*shalf*). One way of determining the height of each stone is by the span (*shibr*) of a man's hand. Although perfectly rectilinear on the face of the wall, the stones are rougher behind, and have a slight taper as their surfaces recede from the face. This means that a new course of stones (*sir'* or *ḥabl*) has to be propped at the correct angle with a wedge of soft gypsum plaster *quṣṣ* (pronounced *guṣṣ*, also *gaṣṣ/jaṣṣ/goṣṣ*)¹⁹ which shows as a fine white joint, approximately 1mm high and later the space between the inner and outer rows of stones is filled with clay plaster mixed with crushed stone (*kabsah*) before the next course can be begun (pl. 22.119). Such a stone wall is at least 45cm thick, approximately a *dhirā'*, the building unit, which is generally 47.5cm. On the rough inner facing of stonework a plaster surface is obligatory, *al-quṣṣ faṭwāq al-mathnā*.

To the outside faces (*wajīhah*) of the external wall are tied the crosswalls (*qāṭi'*, pl., *qawāṭi'*), by which plan the area is divided into easily roofed sections approximately three metres wide. The system is one of the two devices by which the stability of the structure is assured, the other being the strength of the staircase pier, usually built throughout its height in stonework. Both the external faces and the staircase pier are built using gypsum mortar for extra strength.

The inner faces (*mathnā*) of the external walls support the floor, roof beams and lintels. The building of the external and internal faces of stonework is carried out by two entirely different

¹² Verb *waqaṣ*, *yūqīṣ*.

¹³ See pp. 227a.

¹⁴ *Travels*, Ar. text 104.

¹⁵ Azraqī, 89, cited p. 45b, uses the same expression, but one cannot take it literally.

¹⁶ *Iḥlīl II*, ed. Akwa', 8.

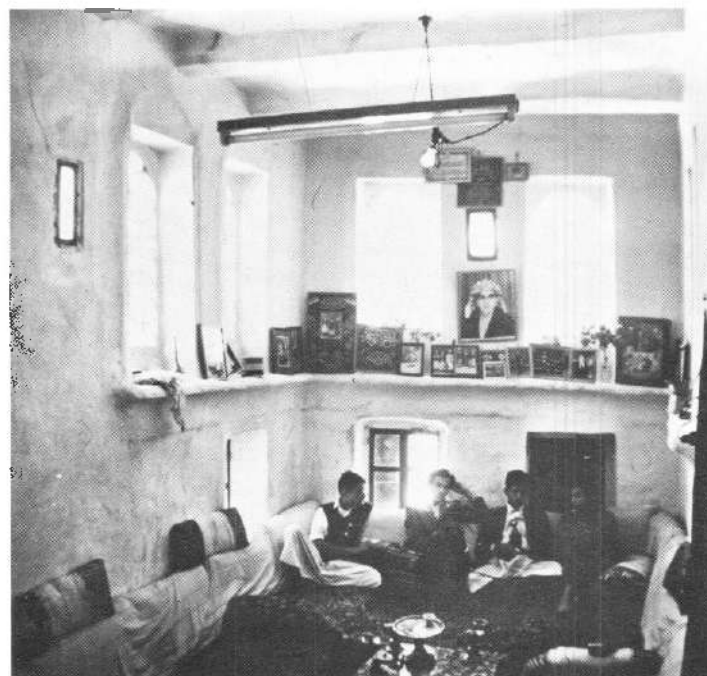
¹⁷ Ignimbrite.

¹⁸ *Riḥlah*, I, 133, II, 14.

¹⁹ *Quṣṣ* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, *jīṣṣ*) gypsum. It means in Ṣan'ā' plaster in general.



22.75 House JY. A bathroom and lavatory.



22.77 A typical *diwān* in a Ṣan'ā' house.



22.78 House AA. The *mafrāj*.



22.76 House JY. The outside of the *mafrāj*.

trades, while a third trade builds the central rubble core (*raṣṣah*) of the wall.

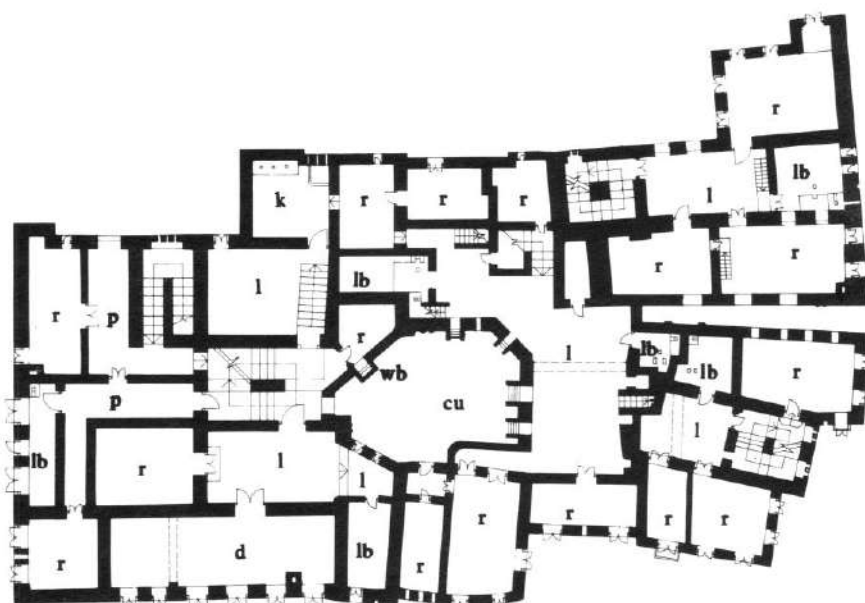
Cross walls are usually built of rough rubble (*shilf*). They may be interrupted by large arches or door openings without their essential strengthening function being impaired.

Rubble stonework is also used in cheaper work, for storehouses or rear walls. It is usually coursed. Broken sandstone, limestone, rhyolite or basalt is used. Slightly better walls of this type employ roughly squared stones which are then brought up to level courses by thin stones inserted before the next row of squared stones is laid. A formalized version has alternate layers of thick and thin rectangular stones.

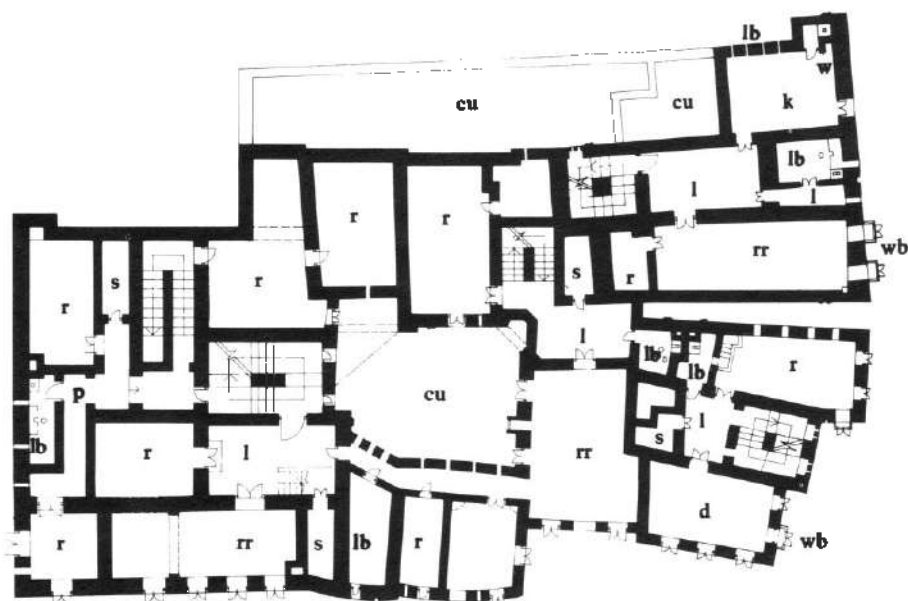
In the old stonework, such as that of the Great Mosque (pls. 18.5 and 6) and some older houses, each stone course leans outwards at a slight angle, so that the top edge of each row of stones projects about 1cm beyond the bottom of the row above it. This is known as *al-binā al-'aslah* (see p. 325b).²⁰ Although the wall

²⁰ One of the other places where we noticed this 'aslah work was in one or two patches of the Hawsh al-Waqf in which the camels that brought the incoming grain and fodder (*wārid al-ḥabb wa-l-'alaf*) used to stop, and the Waqf supplies were then stored in this ancient place. A *zahrat Ḥabash* from the Great Mosque was built into a wall—a stone with four projecting rings. The Hawsh is in Ḥarat Yāsir.

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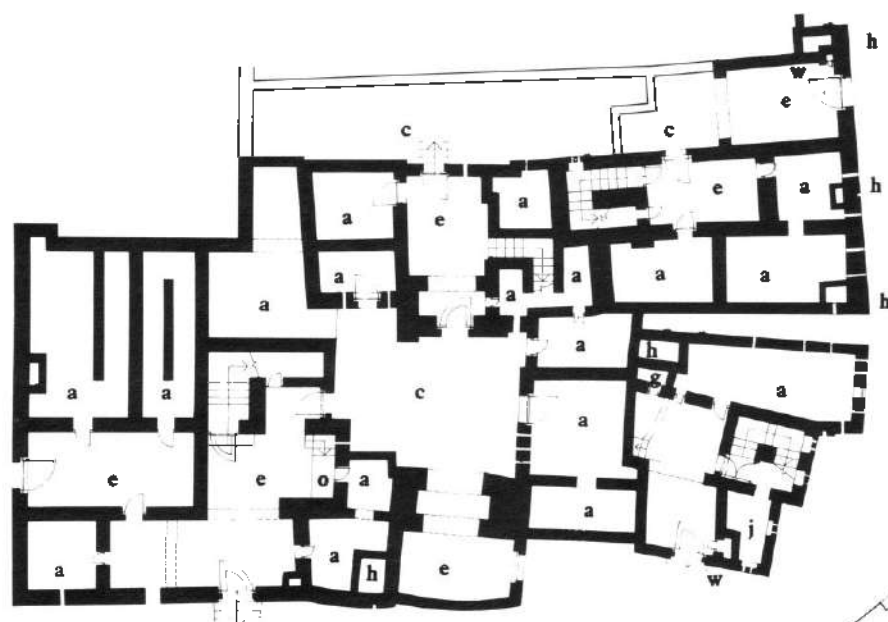
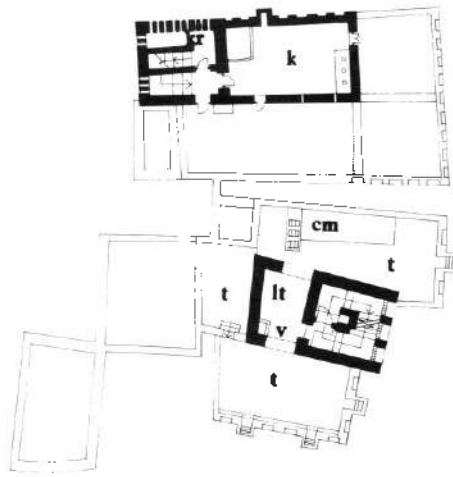
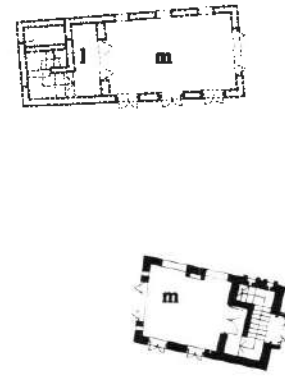


Fig. 22.9 Houses F, A and BT showing the way in which they cluster together, in plan and section. (Not fully measured.)

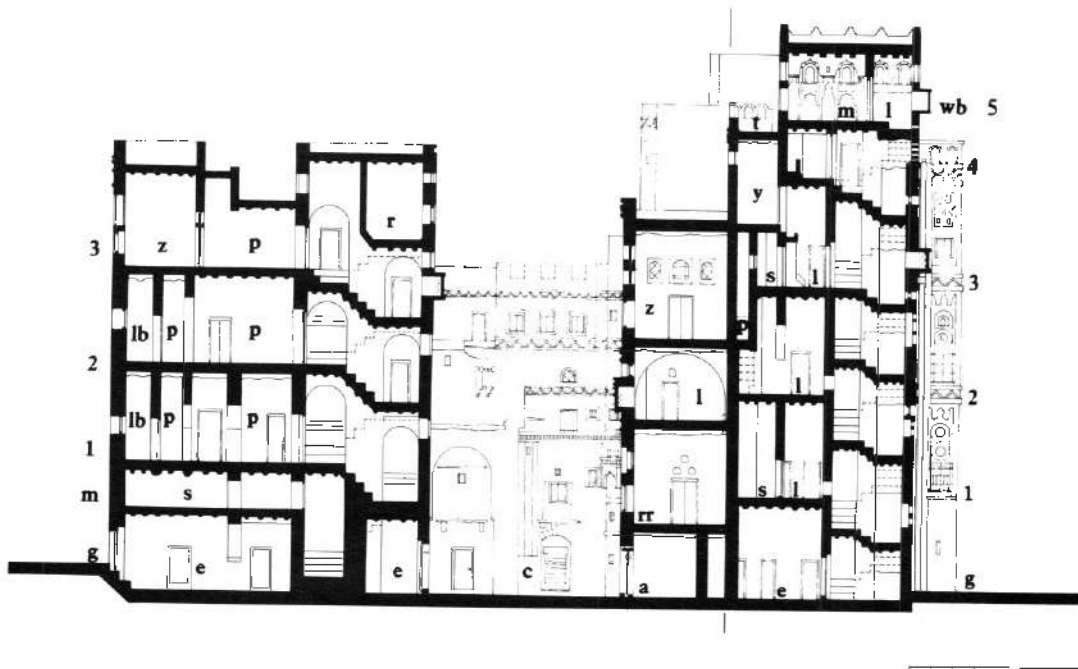
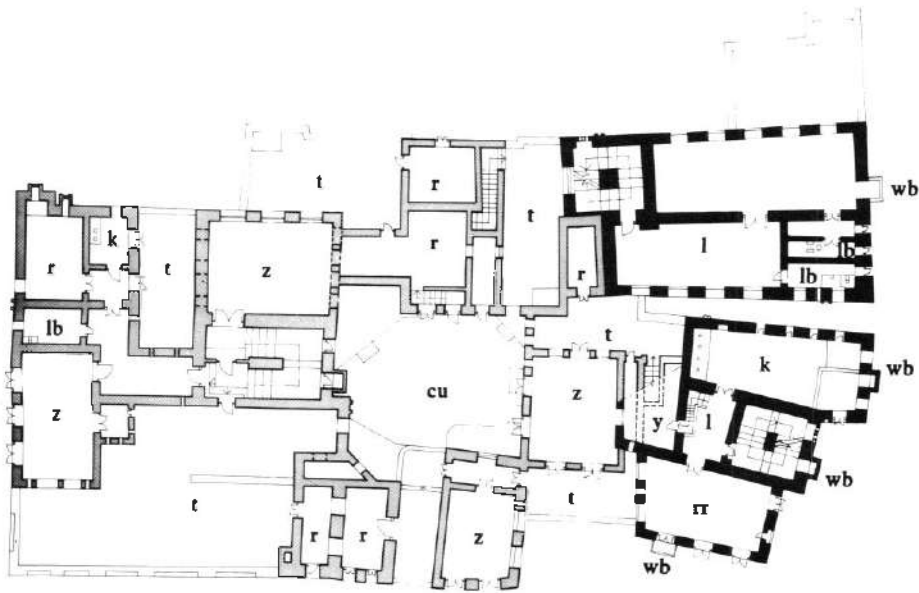
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appears to be stepping inwards throughout its height, because of the fact that each course leans outwards a vertical wall is maintained. The origin of this curious form of construction (*mushawazah*) is not known, but at least three explanations might be given, and it is possible that the three combined to produce this type of walling. These explanations are: the influence of rather similar pre-Islamic structures, of which the best examples we have to date are Axumite or pre-Axumite ones in Ethiopia; a desire to prevent cracking through settlement; the need to increase stability against earthquakes. They are further discussed below.

Axumite and pre-Axumite structures usually had a stepped lower wall, each step varying from 2 to 5cm. The number of steps was seldom more than eight, so that the upper part of the wall did not have them, whereas early Ṣan'ā' Islamic stonework is given them throughout its height. Another difference is that the Axumite walls were actually diminishing in thickness as they stepped, which the Ṣan'ā' walls do not.

Early builders may have felt that a possible defect in the stability of the Ṣan'ā' stonework lay in the tapered shape of each stone. In order to counteract any settling effect, the thickness of gypsum mortar under the back of the stone might have been slightly increased, so that if the mortar contracted on drying, or the wall bulged slightly (there are seldom stones running right through from the front face to the back face of the wall) the stones would be able to settle into a more upright position and the wall remain strong. For the same reason earthquakes²¹ might be thought to have been guarded against to some extent by this kind of stonework.

Stonemasons today do not practise this stepped stone technique; some of them believe that it went out of fashion more than a century ago, and hold it in contempt as a weak method of building walls. Perhaps they are repeating the opinion of Turkish military engineers? The stonemasons no longer retain any memory of the reasons why this strange technique was once used.

The first action in building a wall is that they spread (*farashū*) *ḥishāsh aswad*, also called *karri*—a *raṣṣah* (spreading) *min al-karri al-sighār*. *Karri* is also spread in muddy streets or in a court (*ḥawṣiyah*) rather as a sort of road-metal. The *ju'm* is put in as a foundation, then a layer of cement (nowadays), *taḥrīz/taḥrīz*, then some three, four or more rows of *ḥajar aswad*.

Foundations project slightly on either side of the wall above, the additional thickness averaging about 20cm. They are made of rubble stonework using quarry stone, basalt boulders (*ju'm*) or wadi-bed stones. The lower courses of the wall above, up to a height of six or eight courses above ground level are built of hard black basalt quarry stone (*sawdā*), each course being 20-25cm high. The stepped foundation generally begins slightly below ground (50cm), and extends down for 60 to 80cm. It has an earth mortar, whereas the wall itself has a hard mortar of lime and earth from 50cm below ground to one and a half metres above ground level to stop salts and damp rising in the stonework.

Brickwork begins above the stonework, which, in houses, ceases at between three metres and ten metres above ground level. Brickwork, being lighter than stonework, is more suitable for upper walls; bricks are easier to carry up staircases, and more flexible in permitting large openings.

Baked bricks (*yājūr*, pronounced *yāgūr*) average 16.5cm square and 4cm thick, although there is considerable variation. Older bricks are as much as 8cm thick and up to 20cm square. They are made from local clay on the north east side of the city, a short distance beyond the walls. After being shaped in a box

and dried in rows in the sun (pl. 22.120) they are stacked in one of a number of low brick kilns and burnt for two days using dung or skin and bones as fuel.

Because the bricks are normally square, it is not common for brick patterns to be created by variation in the bond; instead this is done by inserting bricks at an angle, by projecting or recessing bricks, or most commonly, by cutting a pattern into bricks laid in a normal bond (pls. 77 and 22.124). Arches over openings are usually double arches, the inner arch separated from the outer one by square bricks on edge, and the inner arch built up from half bricks, whereas the outer arch is a standard brick dimension in thickness. Voussoirs near the centre are sometimes slightly shaped into wedges to make the horizontal section of the arch stronger. This is done by rubbing the brick on the black pumice-like stone referred to above. Mortar for brickwork is normally clay mortar, with a little gypsum added, but this is changed to a pure gypsum mortar every five or six courses, over large openings and in areas of stress, such as the corners. On the outside face, where it is exposed to the weather, lime mortar is sometimes used for the outer joints.

Upper walls are generally two bricks thick, i.e. 36cm or more, on lower levels two and a half or three bricks in thickness. The topmost storey and parapets are sometimes only one brick in thickness, with extra reinforcements provided by piers.

Mortars have the same mixes and methods of manufacture as plasters, which are discussed below.

Unbaked brick (libin) is sun dried, and contains straw and chaff for greater strength. It varies in size from the common size of baked bricks up to the massive size used in farmhouses of approximately 44cm by 22cm by 11cm; even larger sizes are sometimes seen. Mouldings are usually executed in lightly-baked, small, common-sized bricks, or in fully-baked bricks.

At least two methods of building in unfired brick (*binā al-libin*) are distinguished, *binā al-sayr* when the bricks are laid with their ends to the outside, favoured for the largest brick sizes, and, secondly, *binā al-khasf* when the bricks are laid end to end with their long sides exposed.

Openings are bridged using arches of the same materials, or flat arches of small bricks resting on a row of thin timber beams. The mortar used is a clay, sand and straw mixture (*milājah*),²² sometimes with animal dung added; it is left to 'mature' for several days, fermentation produces chemicals which give it strength.

Unbaked brick walls are frequently used on cheaper work above stone plinths or lower walls.²³ Occasionally the highest, thinnest sections of a house built mainly in unbaked brick will be executed in baked brick.

Coursed clay (zābūr) is used for lower walls in cheaper work in Ṣan'ā' and is standard construction in many country towns and farms. It is laid in courses 50 to 70cm high, the bottom of each course slightly overhanging the one below and then tapering gently to be thinner at the top, creating a visual separation between the courses which is frequently accentuated by weathering. A foundation of coursed rubble usually extends above ground to a height of between 30 to 90cm. Often a layer of gravel or a course of bricks is introduced on top of the stones, before the first clay layer. The clay is taken from a borrow pit near the site.²⁴ It is mixed with sand, straw and chaff, water is added, and then it is beaten or trodden underfoot. It is left to mature for two days, during which time chemicals from the straw and chaff mix with the clay to produce a stronger and more water-resistant mortar.

The clay mixture is passed from the ground to the workmen on the walls by shaping it into balls which can easily be thrown.

21 Earthquakes did some damage in Ṣan'ā' in, e.g., Jumādā I, 1077/1666 (*Tabaq al-ḥalwā*, fol. 60b.) and in 1314/1896-7 an earthquake accompanied by a red wind caused people to flee to al-Jāmi' al-Kabir (Zabārah, *A'mmah*, (2), 11, 196).

22 Qādī Ismā'il, op. cit., 33, no. 92, defines *milājah* as *milāt*, 'a coating of clay, straw and dung called *al-siyā'* with which walls and roofs of houses built of adobe are covered to protect them from being eroded by the action of the

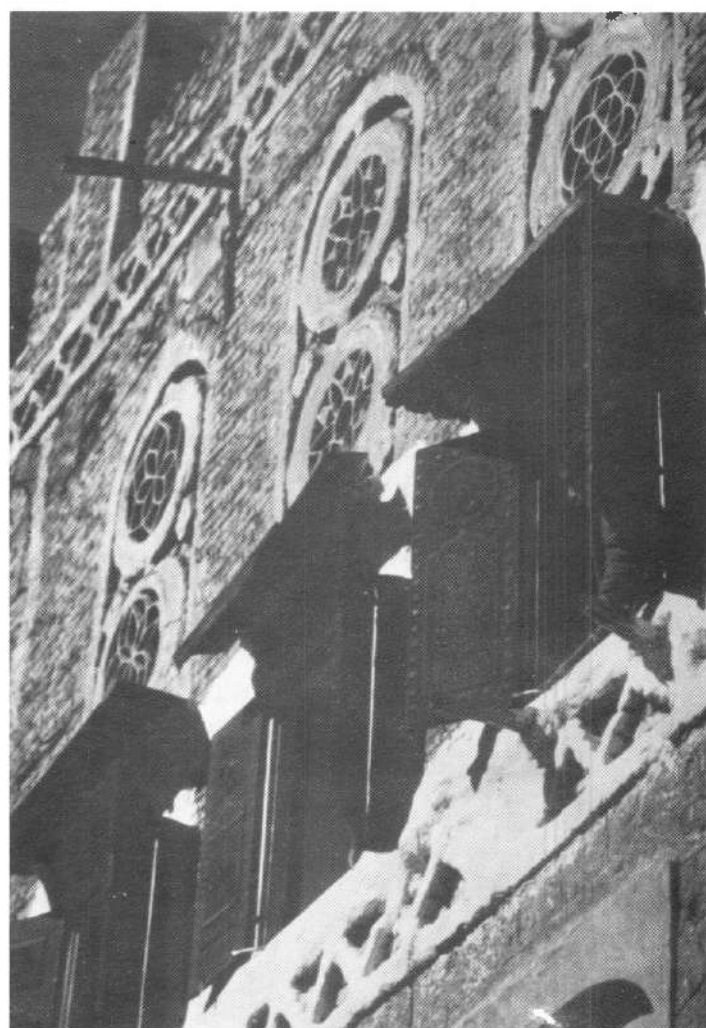
rains.' The saying is, *Ajbi Shibām kulla-hā milājah*, All the roofs of Shibām (Kawkabān) are *milājah*.

23 According to a United Nations survey undertaken in 1970, unbaked bricks of the large size cost 30 *riyāls* per cubic metre including labour, baked bricks 100 *riyāls* for the same volume with labour, and cut stonework 140 *riyāls*.

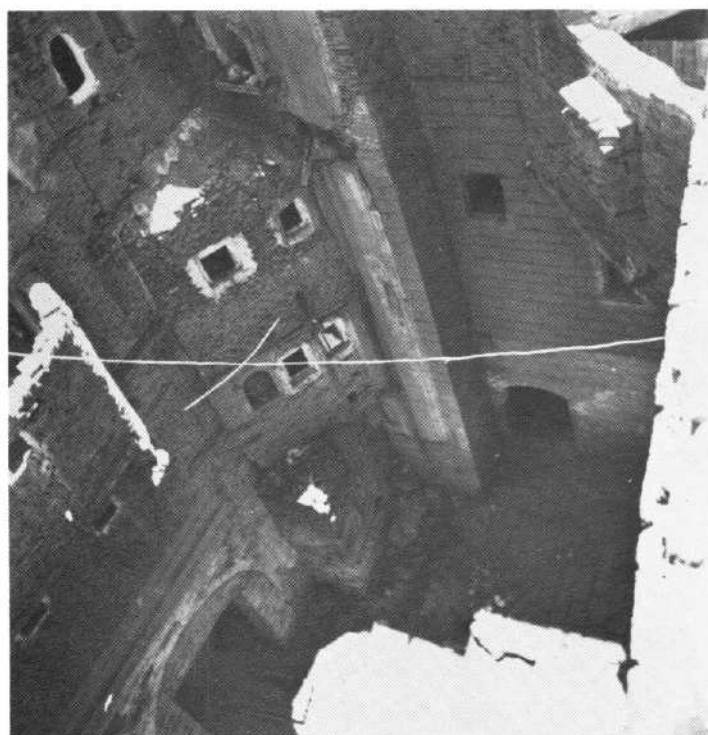
24 Clay pits are studded throughout the city, both inside and outside the walls. The material for the city walls likewise came from some of these pits.



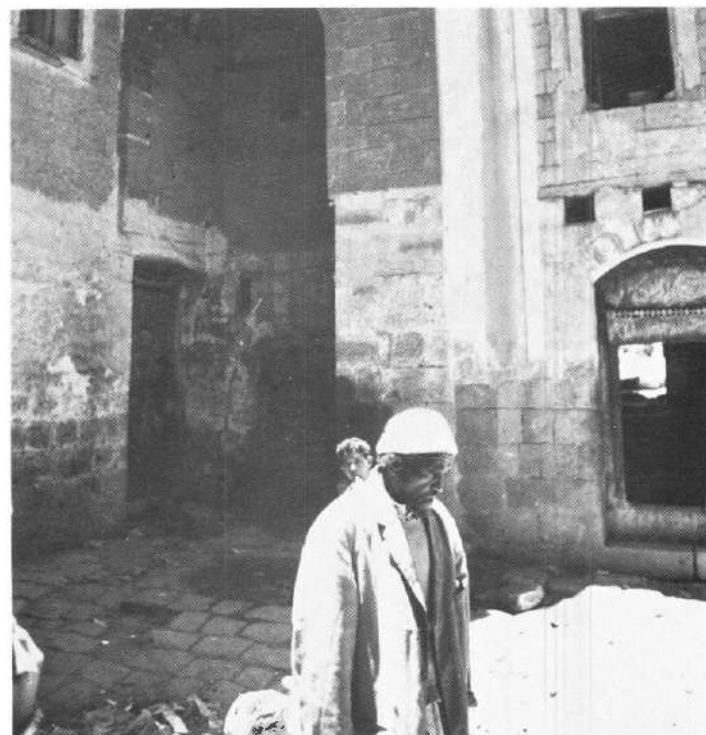
22.79 House F. The exterior.



22.81 House F. Detail of the external facade showing the windows and their shutters.



22.80 House F. Looking down into the courtyard at one side.



22.82 House F. The courtyard.



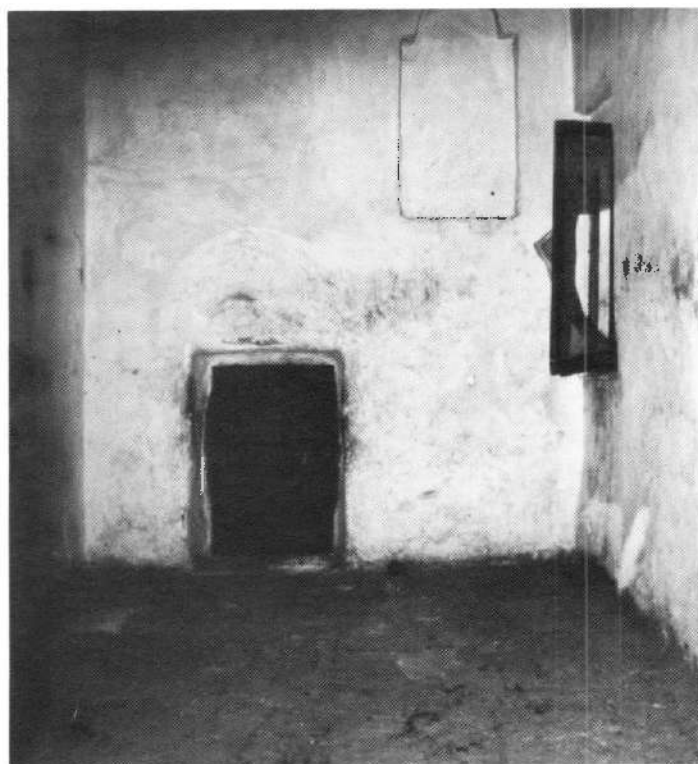
22.83 House F. The entrance hall.



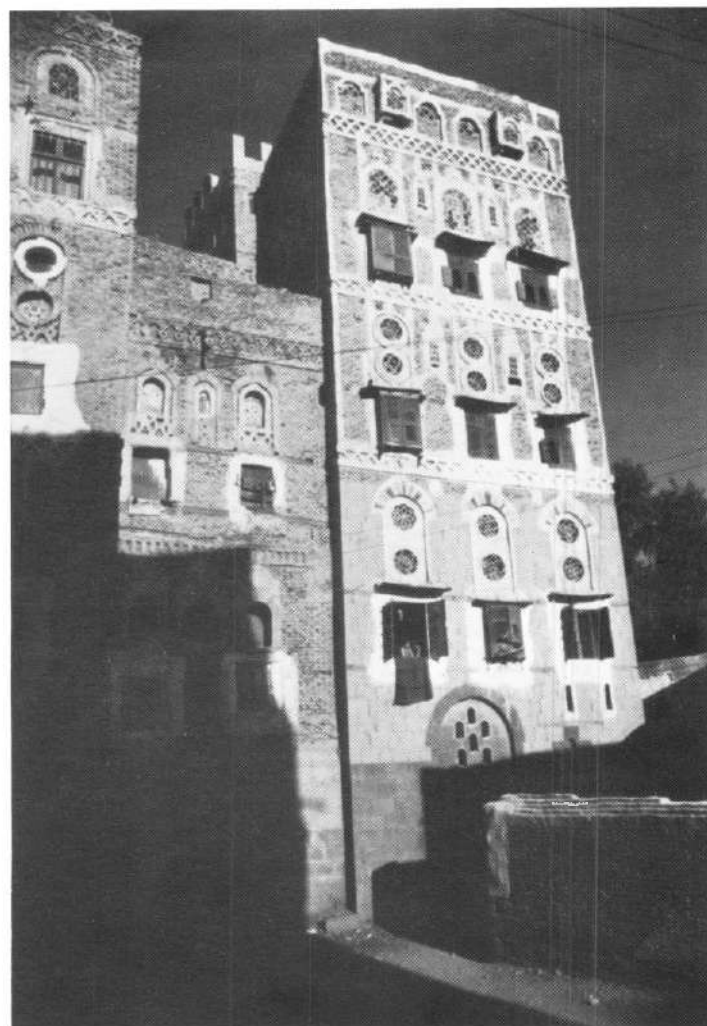
22.85 House F. The staircase, showing the alabaster panelling.



22.84 House F. The entrance hall, seen from the entrance doors, the staircase door straight ahead, and, to the right, the door into the courtyard.



22.86 House F. Alabaster windows on the landing of a staircase in an old house in San'ā'.

22.87 House F. A typical *manṣar*.

22.88 House A. The entrance facade.

The builder catches them and lets them drop into position on the wall, then pummels them into shape so that they make a homogeneous mass 40 to 50cm wide. There is no shuttering.

Each course is completed and left to dry for from two days to a fortnight before the next course is begun. Openings are bridged with stone slabs, or with rough timber reinforcing built into the thickness of the clay courses.

Wooden bands (*furshah*, pl., *furushāt*) run around many of the houses, especially those with lower storeys built in stone or brick. They appear to be carefully joined so that they form a continuous girdle holding the walls from bulging outwards; they would naturally also take up stresses due to unequal settlement or earthquake shocks; a further advantage in their use is that they allow sections of the stone wall below them to be renewed with less danger of the wall above them cracking. There are usually two of these bands above and below the lowest large windows, acting as sill and head, and sometimes another running through the stonework below. They are often whitewashed for weather protection and therefore not immediately recognisable as wood. Although other woods are used, a favourite for this purpose is apricot wood, which becomes stronger when it is damp and resists decay.

Plaster (*quṣṣ*, *jaṣṣ*, pron. *guṣṣ*, *gaṣṣ*) and plastering (*taqṣīṣ*). The bulk of all plasters used in Ṣan'ā' are derived from gypsum, the

essential burnt gypsum ingredient also being popularly known as *quṣṣ*;²⁵ lime plaster is relatively little used, as lime (*nūrah*) is expensive, and is reserved for conditions requiring a good deal of waterproofing or protection from the weather.

Al-Ḥājj Muḥammad 'Alī Nāṣir al-Maqwalī, a shaykh or *usṭā* of the Ṣan'ā' plasterers living in Ḥārat al-Ṭawāshī was brought to us by 'Alī Ḥizām al-Ṣabāḥī who helped interpret the difficult terms he used.

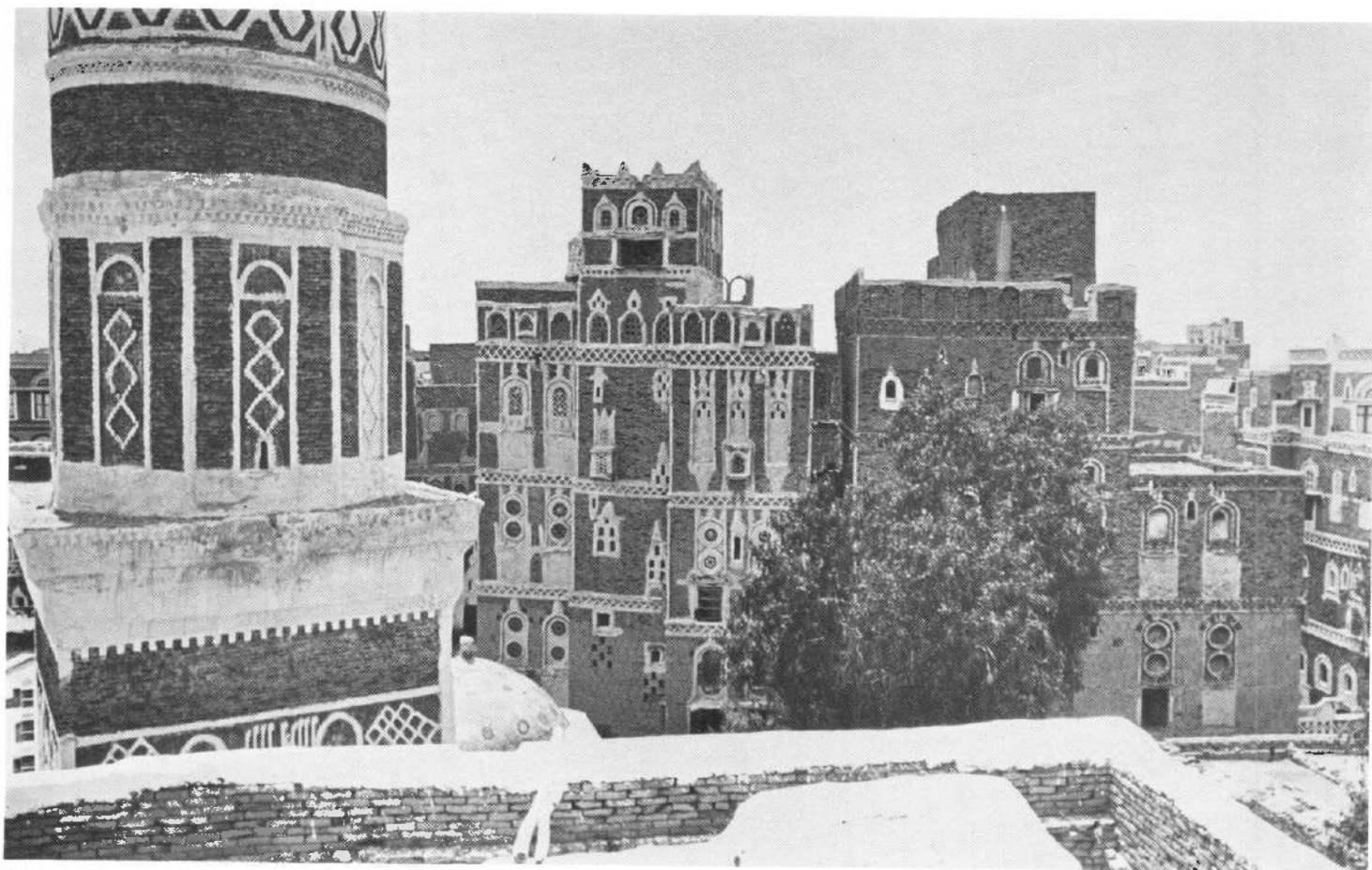
The best *quṣṣ*, he said, comes from al-Maqṭa' al-Dākhilī, i.e. Minṭaqat Banī Jarmūz, from Bayt Ḍahrah. The Dākhilī and Khārijī of the Banī Jarmūz are two villages separated by a big mountain, but the Bayt Ḍahrah are one family (*usrah*). How ancient this is may be judged from al-Hamdānī's remark on Shibām al-Ghirās below Dhū Marmar (Alabaster) Mountain, 'From Shibām *quṣṣah* is conveyed to Ṣan'ā', there being less than half a day between them'.²⁶ Jabal Ḍabāb/Ḍabāb which figures on von Wissmann's map, provides the stone from which the *quṣṣ* is made by burning for three days (*muṣāfat thalāthah ayyām*),²⁷ all of it gives ore (as it were) of *quṣṣ* (*kull-ih yiddī ma'dan quṣṣ*). ('When you have extracted *quṣṣ* stone,' said al-Ḥājj, 'the *quṣṣ* grows in its place again, or it can grow itself without earth on it [in the mountain]'). The *quṣṣ haqq al-Dākhilī* is pure (*ṣāfi*), and clear white (*abyaḍ fatīḥ*).

the Banī 'l-Harith villages, some hours north of Ṣan'ā'.

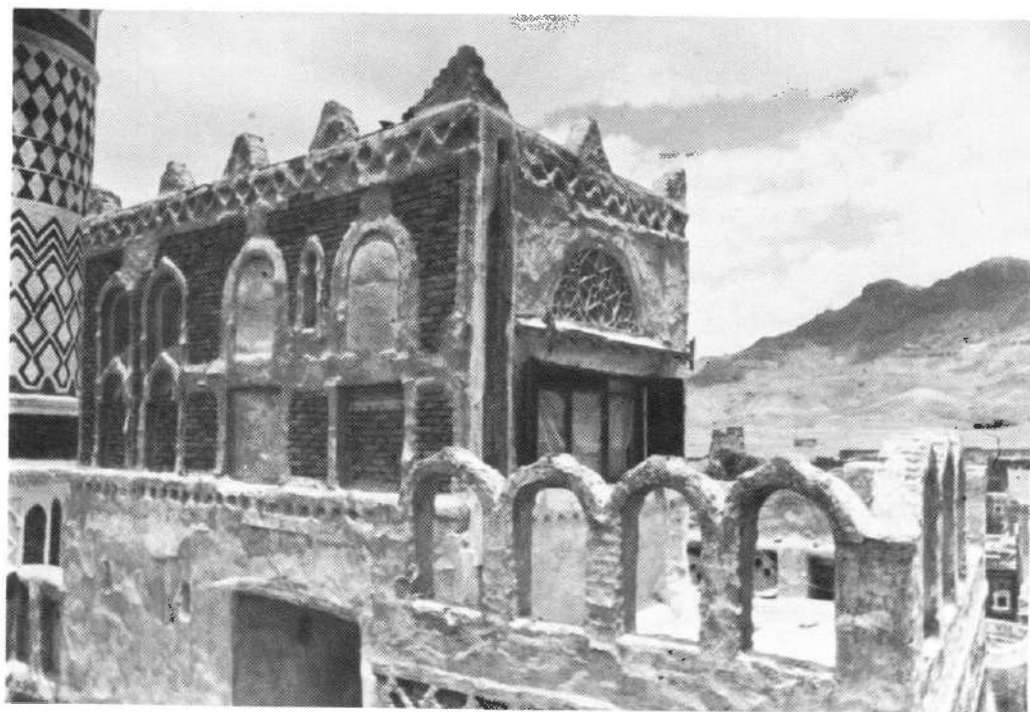
25 The source gypsum stone (basically the same material as alabaster) is quarried at Harrah. It is burned in the same way as limestone, but the temperatures needed to convert the lumps of stone to hemihydrate ('Plaster of Paris') are much lower; as this necessitates less fuel, gypsum plaster is likely to have been much more commonly used than lime plaster in antiquity. 'The best stone for *quṣṣ* is red (*ahmar*) gypsum, whereas *qamari* is white (*abyaḍ*) gypsum; the former comes from al-Ghirās.' (Uṣṭā Sirḥān al-Rawḍī.)

26 *Ikhlāl VIII*, 104. *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 900, says Banī Jarmūz is the most remote of

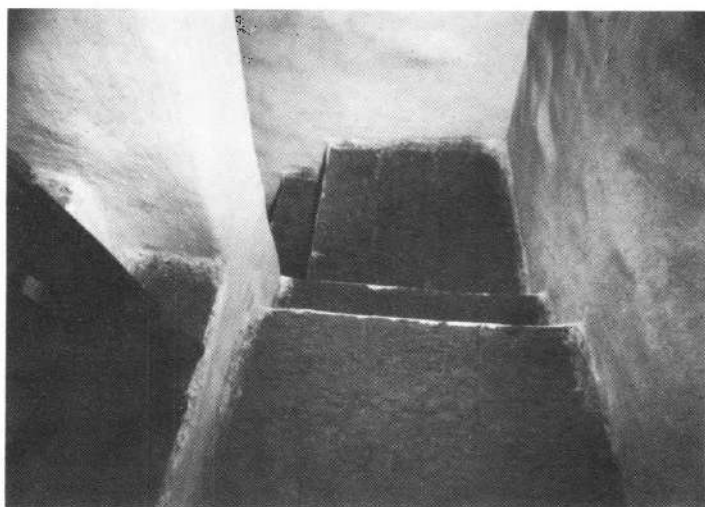
27 'The more slowly it is burned the better the *quṣṣ*; if wood is used instead of oil for burning, the *quṣṣ* is better because it takes more time.' Uṣṭā Sirḥān al-Rawḍī—see n.30 below. A poem of Tha'labah b. Su'ayr, said to belong to 'Udhrah of reputedly Yemen stock, a pagan but said to have become a Muslim has a reference in a verse to *Fadanu 'bni Ḥayyata shāda-hu bi-'l-ājuri*, the castle of Ibn Ḥayyāh which he built with burned brick and *shid*, which means *jiss*/gypsum. (C. J. Lyall, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, Oxford, 1921, 256-7, trans., Oxford, 1918, 87).



22.89 House A. The side elevation (with House B alongside).



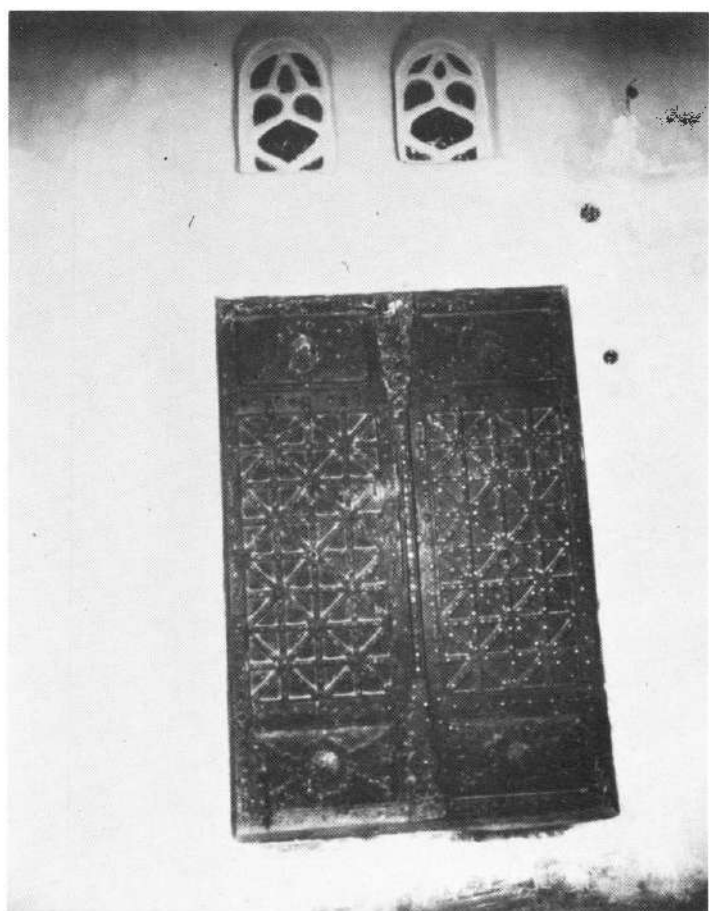
22.90 House A. The top of the house showing the outside of the *mafrāj*.



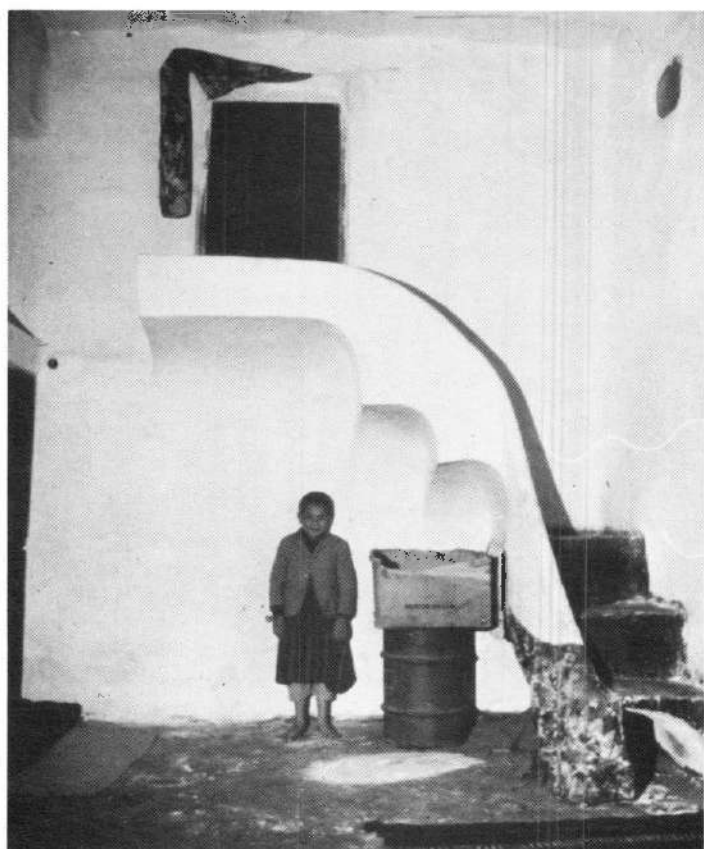
22.91 House A. The staircase.



22.93 House A. The wall of the *diwān*.



22.92 House A. The doors to the *diwān*.

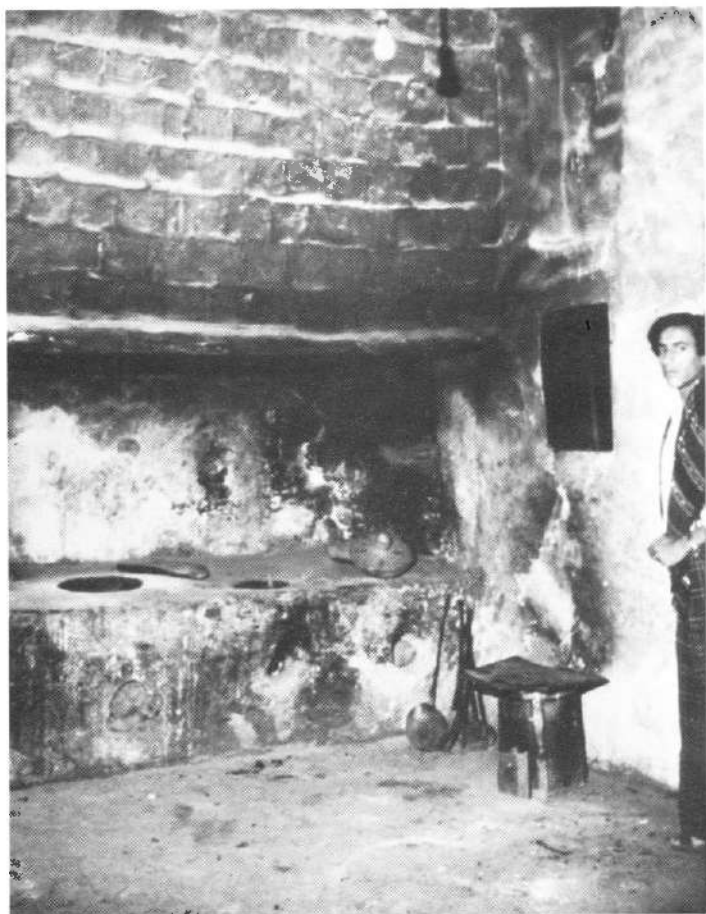


22.94 House A. One of the side rooms, showing the small flight of stairs in gypsum, which leads up to a dressing room above a bathroom.

The Khārijī *quṣṣ* of Banī Jarmūz is a new kind, coarse, composed of *quṣṣ* with half grit (*nays*)—it is in fact like *nays* and red (*muḥam-mir*) in colour. It was stated to be used for the first coating applied to walls, mixed with red grit (*awwal qirshah min al-quṣṣ tulabbas 'alā judrān yukhlat 'ala 'l-nays al-aḥmar*).

The *quṣṣ* is pounded in a mortar, a hollowed out stone (*yiddū-(h) mawḥiz, ḥajar manqūrah/maḥfūrah*) with a piece of wood (*khashabah*) with two arms (*masnadayn = sā'idayn*). This is women's work (*amal al-niswān/ḥarīm/nisā*). The action of working plaster is known as *khayshah*. They work (*yashtaghilū*) the *quṣṣ* mixture before it 'dies' (*qabl mā timūt al-khalṣah*). *Quṣṣ min al-Dākhilī* is allowed to cool for two weeks (*yibrid usbū'ayn*) before being used for the operation known as *ghasīl* or washing down.

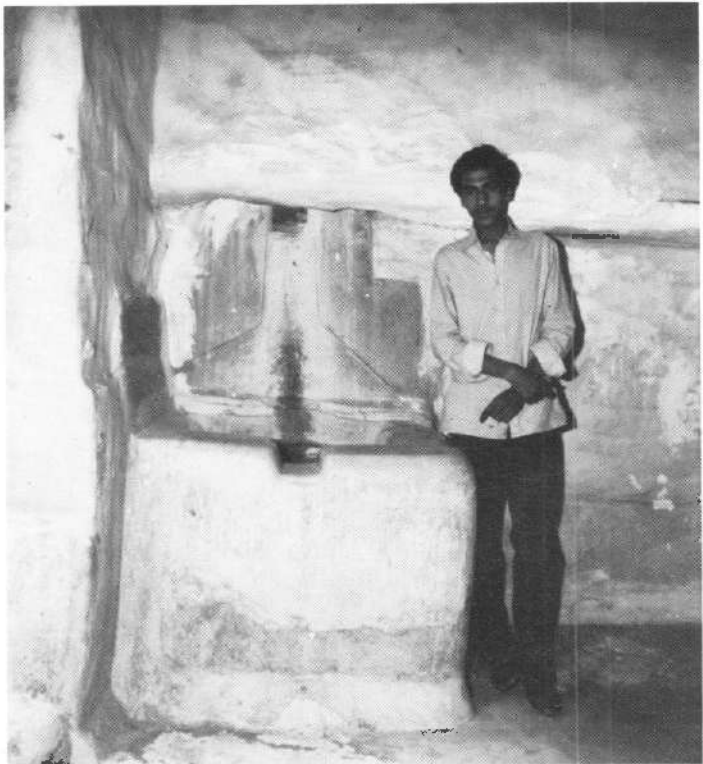
The various grades of plaster work are *mashāh bi-'l-mālij*



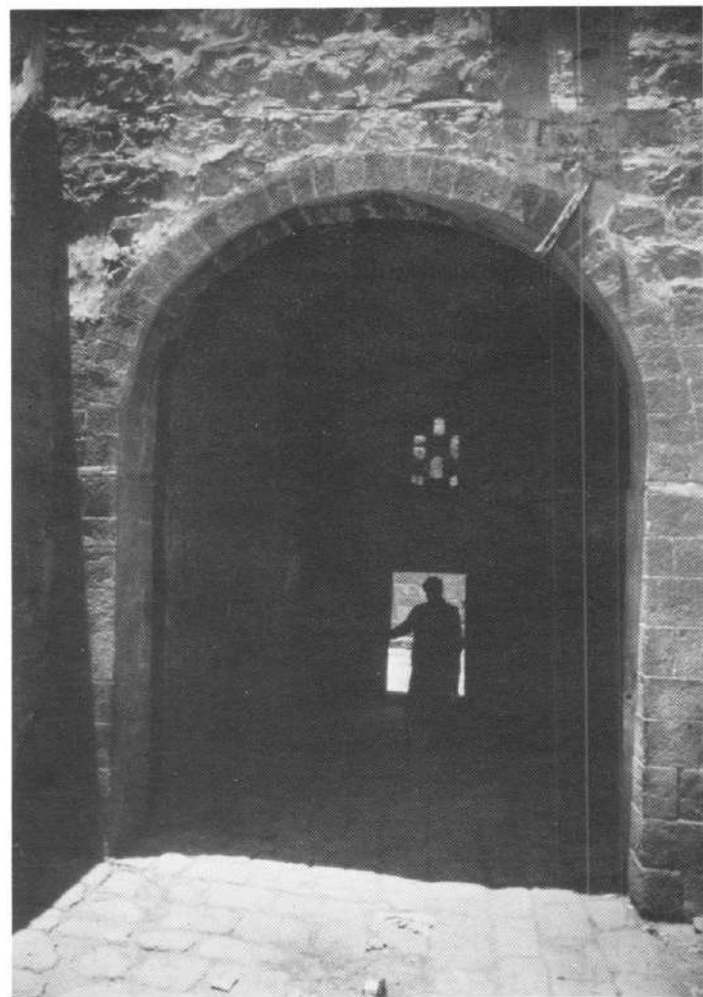
22.95 House A. The kitchen showing the cooking range.



22.96 House A. The kitchen showing the other end, with a washing-up sink and a cupboard for fuel.



22.97 House A. The open air laundry on the roof.



22.98 House BT. The entrance.

application with a *mālīj* which is an iron (*ḥadīdah 'alā wuṣlah*), i.e. with a plumbline (*mizān khayṭ li-tumliṭ*) so that you can apply the plaster.²⁸ *Mashah khām* is second class work, it is application with the iron (*mash bi-l-mālīj*) judged only by eye. *Marshah* is operation by hand (*'amaliyyah bi-l-yad*) which is considered poor work (*'amal qa'if*) and is the lowest in cost. Washing down is executed with *quṣṣ* using a leather or sheep's wool (*al-ghasil bi-l-mikhlabah min jild aw al-sha'r ḥaqq al-ghanam*).

The two grades of plaster are *quṣṣ* mixed with grit and the decorative grade composed of *quṣṣ* mixed with ground alabaster to produce a marble-like surface. The latter is used for internal decorative plaster-work, for making plaster shelves and small flights of stairs to upper storerooms (see p. 455b) as well as for constructing pierced tracery windows. Shelves (*ṣuṣṣaf*, pl., *ṣaṣif*) may be ordinary without ornament (*'ādī bi-dūn kharshah* = *naqshah*, i.e., plain (*khām*)), or shelves may be ornamented (*makhrūshāt*). They may be simple (*muṣalqāt*), with decorated supports (*arjil makhrūshah*) and their base (*qā'idah*) having the shape of a bird. A top shelf (*jabin* = brow), a top shelf with a row of ornamental arches below it is *kharshāt al-jabin mathniyah li-l-'uqūd*. As a rule there is a shelf above doors and an *'aqd* with a *kharshah kāmīlah* full decoration around it inside the room (*fi dākhil al-ghurfah*) and a line (*maṣṣarah*) on the outside of the room (*min al-khārij li-l-ghurfah*). Various types of ornament are *muḥammaqāt*, ornamented like women's veils, *mutafarnajāt*, Frankish type, with almond shapes (*lawzah*, pl., *lawzāt*), *al-mawzah*, banana, *al-rās*, head, *anṣāf* halves, *khātam mathmūn* eight-sided seal, *zīnīrī* chain, *jarā'id muthallathah* triangular strips (?), *zahrāh mathmūnah* eight petalled flower, *dāyirī*, a row of circles, etc.

When a masonry wall is built of stone which is uneven at the edges (as probably in the case of *rub' waqīs*, p. 468a), the space between the blocks of stone is filled with *quṣṣ*-plaster, this filling being made to project a little to the front beyond the stone for strength and decoration—the process is called *takḥīlah*, the putting of kohl around the eyes as eye-shadow, and one would say *'ankahḥil-hā*, we'll give it a dressing of plaster.'

A kind of wall is composed of a brick face and *juṣṣ* poured between it and *libn* clay to make it stick—called *ṣabb al-juṣṣ*.

When the window with its frame is set in the wall, an application of plaster (*ṣabb quṣṣ li-l-'asīl*) is made to the spaces between the edge of the frame and the wall, *ṣabb* literally meaning 'a pouring'.

Lime (*ṣir/nūrah*) made of burned limestone or chalk²⁹ is mixed with grit and, in the best work, the burnt brick of the exterior of houses is protected with a coating of this lime plaster. Unburned brick may be protected with the same material or with the clay coating (*milājah*).

The *milājah* applied to clay walls differs little in composition from the clay bats used for adobe walls, except that the proportion of clay is reduced in favour of more grit and chaff. Cheaper burned brickwork is often protected externally with this clay coating, and it is also a common finishing material for the outside of houses in smaller towns and on farms. It is not usual to paint the clay coating which retains a good appearance, except possibly around important windows which are whitened with lime to give them a frame. Sometimes the clay coating is entirely repainted with a wash made from animal dung which hardens the surface and gives it a good appearance.

There are two special plasters for permanent, weather-resistant, high quality finishes, *khudr* and *qaḍāḍ*; the former is the cheaper and less durable of the two.³⁰

Khudr is a general waterproof plaster, floor or roof finish, or mortar. It is used for jointing the stones in the floors of bathrooms and lavatories in houses and elsewhere, also for the stone pavings of mosques and public buildings. It is made by crushing together, dry, with a black stone, lime (*nūrah*) and ashes (*ramād*). The lime varies in strength depending on its origin: *Haddah* lime is strongest, and needs only two containers (*tanak*) to five containers of ashes, whereas three containers would be needed of *Habābah* lime for the same quantity of ashes; the latter come from the public baths, i.e. they are ashes from burnt human faeces.

The *khudr* is mixed with water and kept for one or two weeks, during which time it ferments. It is then made into a heap, which is kept turned over every fortnight, while it is being drawn upon for use. The mixture remains good for any period from two weeks to three or four months.

Qaḍāḍ is used for both waterproof dadoes and other surfaces on walls, for lining important water cisterns, drains and for roofs on mosques and other important and expensive buildings. The manufacture of *qaḍāḍ* is an extremely skilled and prolonged operation. Grit is taken from stones called *ḥishāsh*, which can be ground very fine; three measures of it are mixed with two of the lime (*nūrah*); it does not matter whether the lime is slaked or not. If the lime is very good, five measures of the *ḥishāsh* are used. Water is added, and the mixture is crushed together by pounding with a black stone; then it is left to ferment for a week. This is done by a trained worker (*'āmil*) under the direction of the *uṣṭā*.

When the mature mixture is ready, the walls are washed very thoroughly with a brush, then a layer of the mixture is applied, being beaten into place with a black stone throughout the whole of a morning until noon, when it is made smooth. When work starts again in the afternoon it is beaten again until nightfall. It is described as very laborious work.

Patterns are introduced at the end of the first day, using the black stone, and following patterns which were made on a drawing on the preceding day, by the *uṣṭā*. After each beating on the following days the patterns are made again.

On the second day the same procedure is followed again, but for a little less time. On the third day, by which time it is beginning to dry, the same practice is repeated. Usually it is dry after the third day, after which the second layer can be applied and treated in the same way for a day and a half.

After waiting a day until the second layer is dry, a wash of plain lime is applied, and this is polished with a piece of pumice. The next day the application of lime wash with a brush, and its polishing with pumice is repeated. It is then left for a week and the same process is repeated with a more watery mixture of the lime (1:1).

After it is finally dry, a brush with very smooth hairs is used to brush down the surface while throwing on water; this will make the surface go cream in colour. This is very slowly executed, and a good *uṣṭā* will do only 1 metre by 6 metres in one day. After one or two weeks the process is done again.

(Some workmen speed up this stage by putting a thin layer of pure lime on top of the *qaḍāḍ*; the resulting surface is much less resistant to the weather, and salts will attack it).

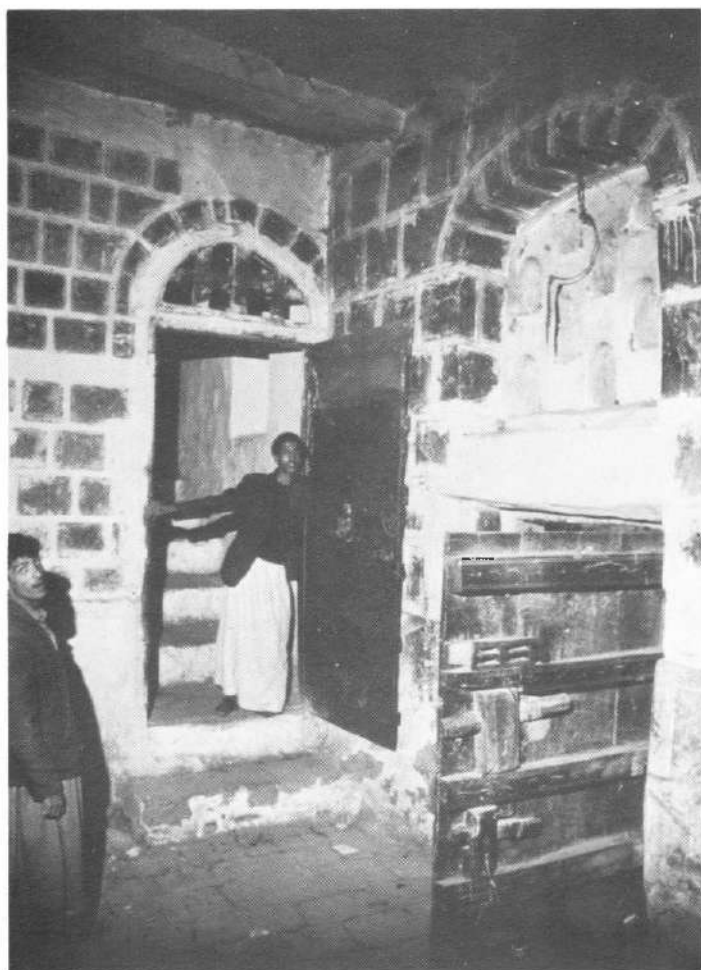
In the last stage, *mukḥkh baqar* is needed. (This is the marrow

28 The 'builder's cord' is defined by *Ikhl VIII*, 8.

29 The source limestone is quarried from huge caverns north east of Ṣan'ā', near the village of al-Ghirās. (cf. Nazih, *Rihlah*, I, 133, II, 14 (± 1928). The village contains some forty kilns, where the stone is broken into fist-sized pieces, which are stacked above the fired kilns for burning.

30 This information came from Uṣṭā Sirḥān al-Rawḍī, who was very proud of having had his training from Uṣṭā Husayn al-Rawḍī. Such craftsmen specialize in three fields: working in *qaḍāḍ*, *khudrah*, and floor paving. Originally, two generations ago, the Uṣṭā was 'Alī al-Rawḍī, who trained

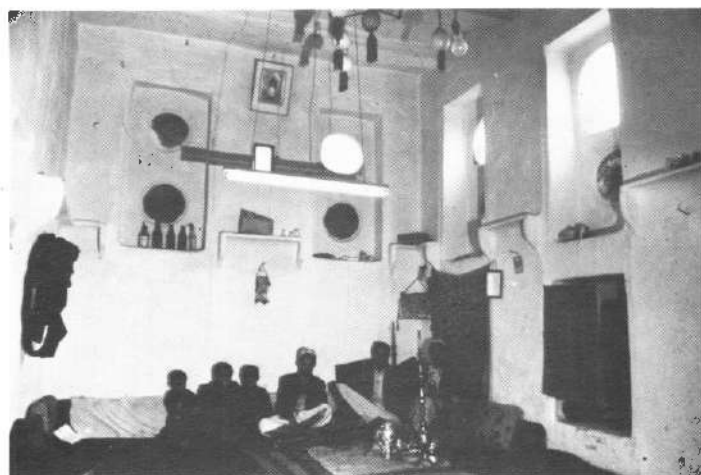
Husayn, who then trained our informant; he himself has 5 or 6 pupils at a time, 3 inexperienced pupils to mix, 2 experienced to help the *uṣṭā* put the mixture on the wall. He starts to train them at any age, from 10 upwards, and they stay with him for any period they wish—it would be possible to train them in one year. The pupil, once he is independent, calls himself a worker (*'āmil*). After he has been doing *qaḍāḍ* for about ten years he has earned the name Uṣṭā. (Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, sections 35 and 48, vi. We are grateful to Père Etienne Renaud, who arranged and recorded this interview.) It should be noted that the tribes consider the builder, *al-bannā'*, to be a *mihnah shari'ah*, and honourable craftsman in work which does not demean.



22.99 House BT. The entrance hall.



22.101 Delivering water up the staircase of a Şan'ā' house which does not have its own well.



22.100 A typical use of a room for living in a Şan'ā' house.



22.102 House BT. The dīwān.

obtained by breaking open the bones of cows and scraping it from inside them.) This is put on the *qaḍāḍ* with a cloth or by hand. The wall absorbs it. (The tools for all this work consist only of very fine black stone and an iron spoon.)

Where the work has to be especially good and durable it is a practice to put a single layer of *qaḍāḍ* on the surface of the stone wall, and then break it away completely to obtain a good ground on the wall for the final *qaḍāḍ*.

In roofs, the *qaḍāḍ* is laid on top of a surface of small stones which have been put on top of the earth layer of the ceiling construction. It dries quickly because of the sun. A second layer

is usually applied, but not a third layer as would be the case in the best walls.

Every year *qaḍāḍ* gets stronger and darker. It has to be repaired with more *qaḍāḍ*, and cement cannot be used, as it would be turned black by the *qaḍāḍ*.

In a poem complaining of the neglect of mosques and the misappropriation of *waqf* revenues that should be devoted to this purpose, Qāḍī al-Jamālī 'Alī b. Şāliḥ says,³¹

Do not leave our *awqāf* to the Inspector (Nāẓir)
To spend on carpeting for the belvederes (*manāẓir*)
Whose house has come, through *qaḍāḍ(i)*

31 *Masājīd*, 3, seq.



22.103 A characteristic *mafraj* in a San'ā', shown in use ca. 1936 (photo: Scott, copyright British Museum, Natural History).

Into fine trim, in spite of any *qāḍī*.³²

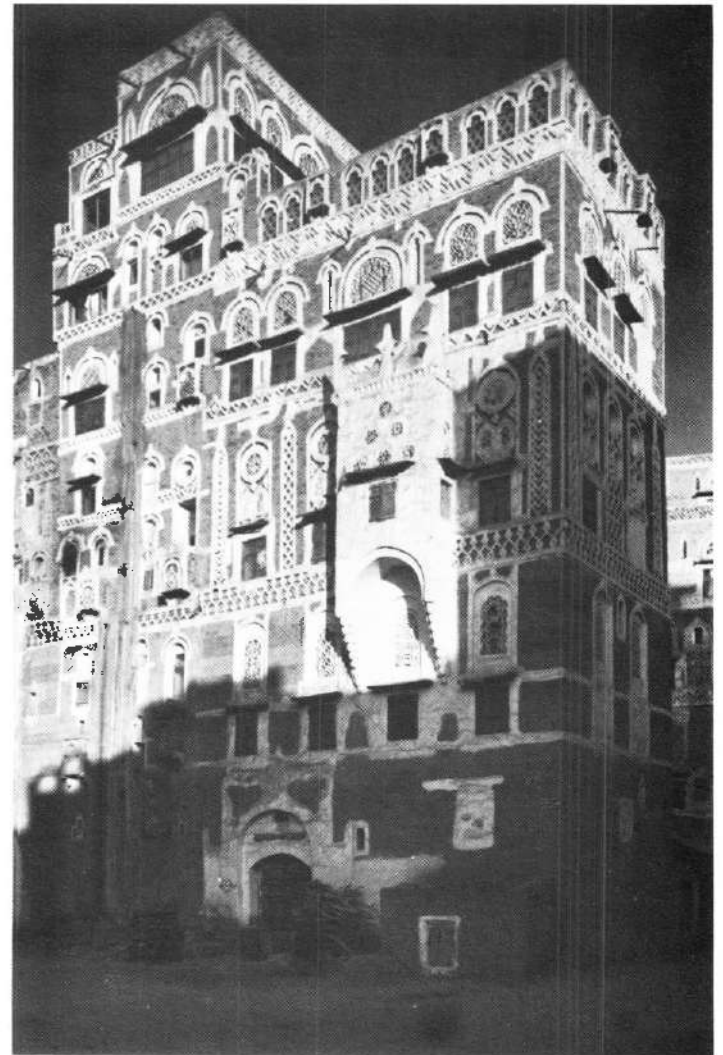
He has cemented (*qaḍḍaq*) the hall-passage (*dihfīz*) and stairs (*dirāj*),

Added much decoration and picked-out plaster ornament (*filāj*).³³

Till it has become a marvel to be seen (*li-'l-nāẓir*)
Resembling the shining stars.

Internally, the wall panel or skirting has lucerne and burnt dung-cake ash (*al-qaḍb wa-'l-kibā al-muḥarraḡ*) also called *al-khuḍr* or *ranj* applied on top of the *quṣṣ* of the wall (not mixed with it)—this is because it keeps the warmth (*yaḥtafiḡ bi-'l-ḥarārah*) being *mu'tadilah* (temperate). They have a mortar (*madaqq*) and take lucerne and charcoal (*sawd*) or nowadays *ḥajar al-bātrī* (old car batteries?) and pound the mixture and apply it to the floor of the rooms (*yifḥaṣaw qā'ah al-amākin*). The *qaḍb*-lucerne of the mixture is used to apply it like a brush.

Upper floors are made by laying heavy tree trunks and branches stripped of their bark as beams across the space between the walls—these beams are spaced about 60cm to one metre apart, the space being known as *al-rabṭ*. Then thick bundles of small sticks (*al-aṣābi' ḥaqq al-bayt*) are placed spanning between these above them (pl. 22.123), finishing with a fine layer of clay and plaster covered with stone slabs for the floor surface. The sticks are of tamarisk



22.104 House M. The exterior from the west, showing the projecting bay which holds the *diwān* throne.

(*athl*) usually brought from al-Shu'ūb, al-Sirr, Ghaymān, 'Amid and other places, but sticks for this purpose are now sometimes brought by truck from the lower regions of the Hodeidah road where the price is cheaper. In 1972 these latter cost one and a quarter *riyāls* an ordinary bundle (*ḥizmah*) and two *riyāls* for a large one. Gypsum (*quṣṣ*) mortar is used for joining the stones of the ordinary floors. The covering of the roof with stone slabs or, sometimes nowadays with tiles, is known as *bulāṭah*. To the ceilings (*fi baṭn al-saqf*) is applied the clay and straw paste called *milājah*. The soffit is then plastered with gypsum plaster and white-washed, this operation being known as *bulāṭat al-saqf*. A decoration of circles is often made in the plaster of the ceiling, called *ma'āshir* (literally 'trays' but explained as *dā'irah*, circle) and in the corners (*fi 'l-zuwaw/zawāwī*, pl., of *zāwiyah*) half circles (*nuṣṣ dā'irah*), in accordance with the extent of the ceiling, are drawn out with compasses (*bīkār/firjāl*).

Roofs (*jubā*, pl., *ajbī/ajbiyah*) have the same construction as floors, but the finish is hard lime plaster for waterproofing purposes, instead of stone. Alternatively it can be a mixture of grit and lime which is rolled over with a heavy stone after each rain. The waterproofing material may be obtained from an old house which is being demolished. In houses built of adobe a specially good type of clay used to keep out water is *turāb Shu'ūbī* which is strong (*matīn*).

³² He means that he flouts the law in malversation of *waqf* income.

³³ *Filāj taḥfīj*, explained as *al-fataḥāt fi 'l-quṣṣ*, the openings in plaster decoration.



22.105 A fine doorway, all that survives of Bayt al-Filayhī, reputedly built in the 10th/16th century.

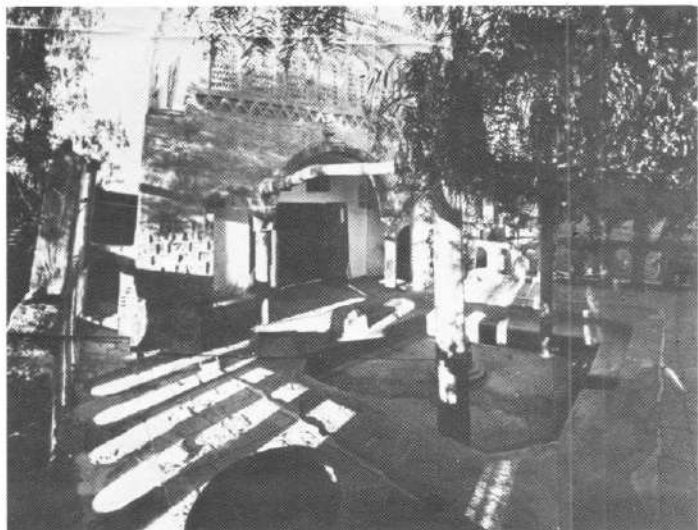


22.106 House G. View from the mafraj into the garden.

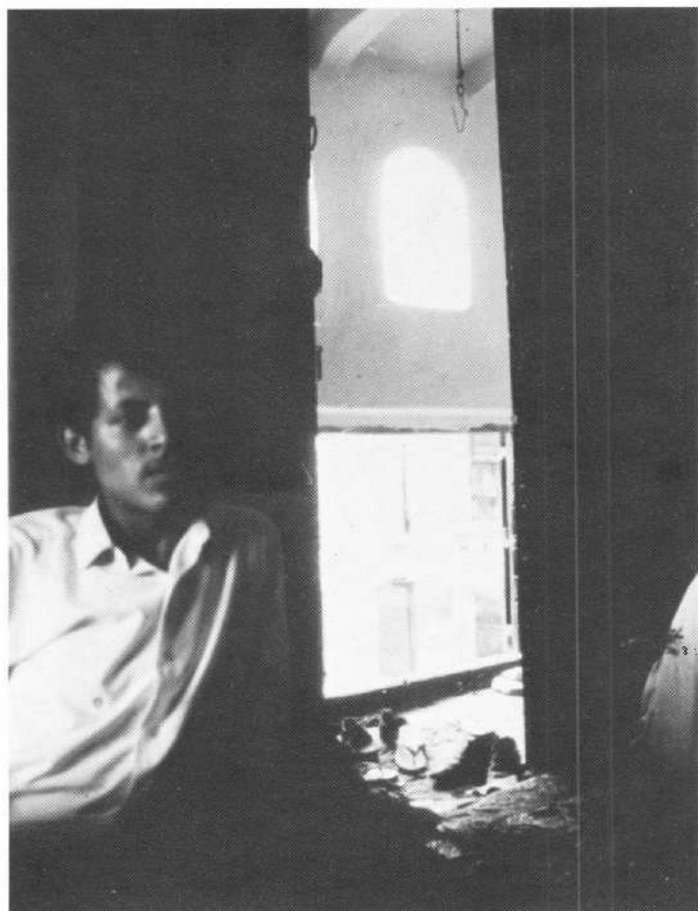
Woodwork: Ceiling beams often come from local 'ilb (jujube) trees.³⁴ Door and window frames are simply made of local *ṭunub* wood, or of imported African wood. They do not have elaborate jointing, but there is frequently a single pegged joint in each

³⁴ The master carpenter al-Uṣṭā al-Hājj al-'Izzī 'Abdullāh provided much of the data given here. He lives in Shāri' al-Ṭabarī in minṭaqat al-Ṭabarī about Bāb al-Sabāḥ, the old Bustān al-Ṭabarī inside the walls, not built upon before the 1962 coup d'état.

Ṭunub, he said, is the only local wood used in carpentry, it is the most enduring and strongest kind (*aḥmal wa-aqwā ḥājah*) and comes from Anīs, Sharis,



22.107 House G. View towards the house from the edge of the pool, with the mafraj behind the arcade.

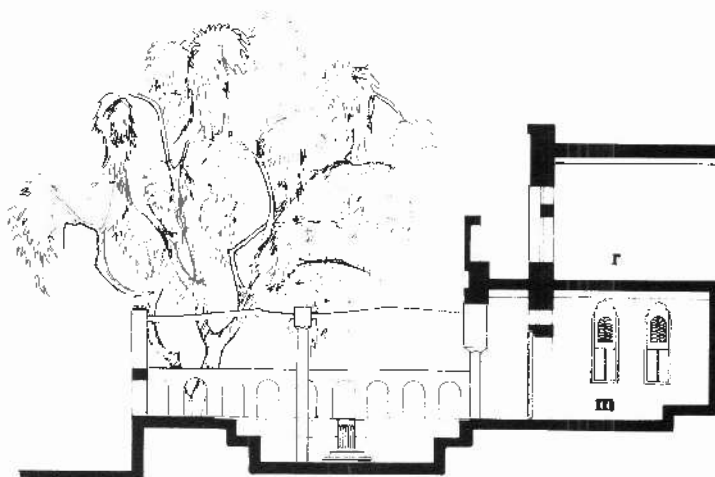
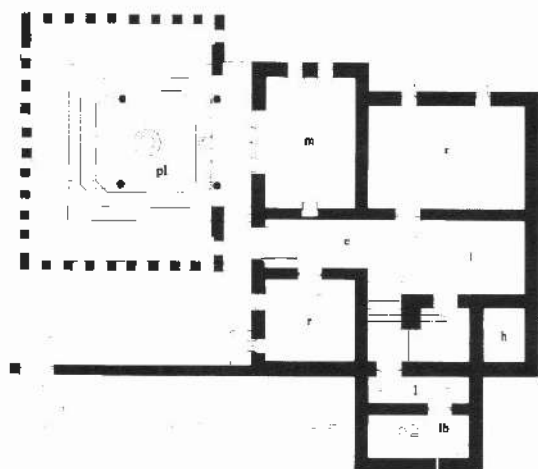


22.108 House at al-Rawḍah. This large house has two mafraj related to its pool.

corner. External doors are made of wide planks fastened to rear rails with decorative-headed nails or studs. There is often a smaller central door which opens within the larger one. Large doors are usually fixed directly to the stone reveal, without a frame. Often the head of the opening is arched, but the door head is rectangular behind it. Sometimes there is an edge beading on the outside with a fretted inner edge or a panel of bas relief patterning (pl. 14.4). Where there is a pair of doors there will be

al-Ḥaymah al-Sharaf, Lā'ah and al-Maḥwit. *'Ilb* wood is used for ceiling beams. Benteak headed his list of imported timber, commonly used for making frames (*al-fayyārāt wa-'l-lawāl/lawālī* = *lānah* of Ḥaḍramawt). Other imported woods are pine (*ṣanaybir*) called *sukkār* in Ṣan'ā', *Ḥabashi*, *Mirandī* (Malindi ?) and now *Kini* (Kenyan). *Sāsam* wood is nowadays said to come from Ḥajjah. For Carpenters see also Landberg, *Ḥaḍramawt*, 338.

Fig. 22.10 House G. One of the villa-type houses with a *mafraj* at ground level looking over a pool with fountains. Plan and section.



a central cover strip. This is decorated with an extended base and capital treatment as though it were a long thin column. Often the shaft has a shallow flute or two. The 'capital' and 'base' are frequently identical.

The traditional type of door is termed of the *mash* type, the vertical planks (*lawḥ janb lawḥ*) held together by a series of horizontal bars, the vertical planks are known as *ṭabliyyāt* and the cross-bars as *'awāriḍ*. Another name for the latter is *'awābir*—in a door onto the street, the *'awāriḍ* are in front of the door (*fī wājiḥat al-bāb*), but *'awābir* are bars behind a door (*min qafā*). The top-most inside cross-bar is called *rādif* (pl., *rawādif*).

Internal doors and shutters are framed with two, four or six panels per pair. The panels often have ornamental, fretted shapes framing them. Patterns in low relief are carved into the surfaces of the panels or fretted into thin veneers which are applied afterwards. Occasionally the panels are thick slabs or wood fielded. Lattice screens to projecting window boxes are either framed with silhouette fretted panels let into them (pl. 22.122) or made up of slats spaced apart crossed by other slats at right angles (*shabābīk mukharramah*) which can be *Turkī* or *'Arabī* and are something like *mashrabiyyah* work.³⁵ Water is placed in them to cool. Two-flap window shutters, the flap being called *sharshuwah*, (pl., *sharāshū*) or a window frame inset with a smaller window shutter, (*ṭāqah ma'a shāqūs*) are alternative designs.

The *shāqūs* (pl. *shawāqīs*, Rossi. Term 353) are tiny windows with or without glass set in plaster or a small wooden door in big window shutters.

Joinery: Joining wood seems to be called *hashū*, which in standard Arabic means that with which something is stuffed or filled. A *farz* is also a bar of wood (a tenon) fitted into a hole (a mortice) cut out of another piece of wood, the whole being known as *dhakar wa-unthā*, male and female. There is a *hashū 'Arabī* and *hashū Turkī*.

In the diagram of a joinery door the frame is *fayyārāt*, the

lawālī are the jambs, the pieces inside the frame are *wāṭī*, and the panel inside it *muṭalla'* or *umṭalla'*—the whole seems to be called *hashū muṭabbaq*.

This type of door has no bars (*'awāriḍ*). Knots in wood, according to their various shapes, are called *rukbah* (pl., *rukab*), *'aqd* and *nukhrāt*. Sometimes, though rarely, interior doors are painted with oil-paint (*duḥān*, in Aden *rang*).

Door bolts and locks: Sliding door bolts are made of wood with decorated ends fitted with rings through which a finger can be passed for extra leverage. As described above (p. 441a-b), a street door has at least two such bolts, possibly more. In addition there will be a lock. This has a wooden sliding bolt controlled by a key. Two types of lock are in use. The older has four, six or eight pins which fall separately into place through the bolt preventing it from moving (pl. 22.126). The pins are lifted up by a long thin wooden key with matching prongs which is passed down the centre of the bolt, or through a hole at right angles to it. The key has to be moved with the bolt. A disadvantage of this type of lock is that it can usually be opened from only one side, i.e. either inside or outside. The second type of wooden lock has an iron key passing through a hole in the door at right angles to the bolt and operating past an identifying profile to turn a wooden bolt which is notched. The key catches one notch at a time and must be turned many revolutions to move the bolt throughout its length. There is, in addition, an external padlock passing through a clasp and ring, which is used for locking shop doors. The padlock (*qufl Ghuthaymī*), of a well-known type, mainly from Ṣa'dah, has two parts which close together and are then held closed by strong springs. The springs can be moved only by a special key which forces them together so that the parts can be separated.

Hinges and catches: Large doors are pivot-hinged. Smaller doors, shutters and modern glass sashes are hinged on the sides using metal hinges. Yemenite construction is remarkable in that a kind of hinge is employed which permits the whole window or

35 Sing., *shubbāk*, not a word native to the Yemen.

door to be assembled and fitted to its frame, complete with hinges, catches, bolts and locks, on a workbench in a carpentry shop (pl. 22.125), and then unhooked from its hinges while the frame is fitted into the masonry of the building in its final position. Re-assembly takes only one or two minutes and the whole opening unit is finished. This is done by using a hinge which is essentially a hook nailed to the opening element, fitting into a ring on the outer frame. Two such hinges are fitted to each shutter and three to each door. As later adjustment is never necessary, screws are not used, the ring having a spike at one end which is nailed into the frame, the hook then being passed through it and its position carefully checked before it is nailed into the sash, shutter or door. A further advantage is that elements may afterwards be freely unhooked and removed for repair. The same type of hook and ring (*khuttāf*) is used as a latch for shutters and windows.

The metal furniture of the door is of iron 'tinned' with lead (*ḥadid mubayyaḍ bi-l-qaṣḍir al-abyaḍ = al-raṣṣās*) and is of local production (*intāḡ maḥallī*). The hinge (*khuttāf*, pl., *khaṭāṭif*) has a hook which catches in a ring (*wa-rizzah*, pl., *rizzāz*). A *qallābah* (pl., *āt*) is a hinge in reverse below an upper hinge inserted into the *rizzah* from beneath. *Qallābah* also seems to mean a catch.³⁶ A shaped latch is called *lā'ib*. The main lock (*maghlaqah*) has above it a *ma'laqah mijarr* attachment for the draw-rope by which the outside door can be opened from upstairs. *Mahāzīr* (sing., *mahzarah*) *muḥallayāt* are ornamental rings linked to a shallow half-cup and tinned, and the door is further garnished with white ornamental nails (*masāmīr muṣabbarah*) on the '*awābir* bars. The top of the door sometimes has a *rijl khashab*, i.e. a wooden piece projecting from the top of the door on the hinge side and set in the frame to act as an upper axis, while on the lower end of the outside door would be an iron projection to act as the lower axis set in a metal shoe (*rijl ḥadid min taḥt ma'a l-kharazah*).

Door knockers (madaqqah): A flat-shaped plate of iron tinned over serves as a door knocker, hanging on a ring and tapping against a large stud in the door (pl. 22.20). The knocker is decorated with hammered circular marks in patterns; it is usually mounted on a thick wooden backing, which is shaped in silhouette to a decorative profile. The knocker is used by familiars of the household to sound a distinctive knock peculiar to that house, after which the bolt can be pulled back on its cord from upstairs, without anyone needing to descend.

A sort of metal boss on doors is called *ṣubrah*, and an embossed door is said to be *muṣabbarah*. Sometimes a boss has a ring set in it. Ornamental metal crescents on doors can be confidently stated to go back to worship of the Moon God in the pre-Islamic era.

Windows: The '*aqd* or circular or half-moon shaped window for light above the lower, shuttered window opening used to be made of alabaster ('*aqd ḥajar/qamarī*, sing., *qamarīyyah*) from al-Ḥarrah of Banī Jarmūz, shown on von Wissmann's map as north of the airfield of al-Raḥabah. This is expensive and not much used nowadays as they say, 'you have to search in the mines for a long time in order to find a suitable place.'

Imported glass is said to have killed the *qamarī* (*al-zujāj al-mustawrad a'dam al-qamarī*), but coloured glass has been employed for some time (see p. 492a) in the '*aqd zujāj*'; it is said to have been originally imported from Syria or Iraq. Sometimes nowadays white glass with moulded relief patterns (*al-zujāj al-barādī/al-thalī*) or coloured *shajarī* panes with moulded patterns are used, and even more recently coloured plastic panes which are less attractive.

Window tracery is made by a special craftsman in a workshop away from the building site. A slab of gypsum plaster is laid 4 or 5cm thick on a flat board which is slightly larger than the size of the window. Before this has set a pattern is sketched on it, mostly by eye, a slab of plaster slightly smaller than the space between

the lines. When the slabs have been removed on either side of all the lines the pattern is left behind in plaster ribs about 1cm wide on face, 4 or 5cm deep and 2cm wide at base, resting on the setting-out board (pl. 22.127). After a final trimming this gypsum plaster tracery is left on the board for two or three days until it is quite dry and strong. If the tracery is to be fitted with coloured glass, another board is placed on top, the whole is turned upside down, and the back board is removed. Pieces of coloured glass are then cut roughly to the shape of each space in the tracery and laid in position. Finally, another 4 or 5cm of gypsum plaster is laid over the whole window, and cut into the same pattern before it is dry. The skill of these window makers enables them to remember the position in which they should place the knife to make the cut correctly for each part of the pattern. Apprentices make the cut slightly into the spaces, which gives them latitude for error, but this is slower as each bar of the tracery then has to be pared down until it is the correct thickness. When the window is completely dry two or three days later, it is strong and solid and can be carried to the building site for fitting into place. Even the single openwork tracery, unglazed, is amazingly strong and resistant to shocks; it can be carried and is used for the outer tracery screens of the windows, in which position it is apparently capable of surviving for several centuries.

The cost of a large traceried window in coloured glass was always very high, the figure quoted in 1974 being 5,000 *riyāl*s (= £500). Much of the finest work in *quṣṣ* plaster windows was done by Jewish craftsmen before the mass emigration of 1949-50.³⁷

Occasionally a projecting water-cooling box was made in *quṣṣ* tracery—there is, for example, one on a house near Bāb al-Shu'ūb.

Stability: The thickness of the walls of the Ṣan'ā' houses decreases gradually as the building rises in height. Nevertheless, the walls at their base seldom exceed 70cm thick, and the daring of the architects in building houses which are often more than twenty-five metres high remains surprising. Although collapses have been known, they are rare and usually limited to the outer wall nearest the street. This seems to support the theory that the real strength of the house lies in the staircase, the massive central pier joined to its outer wall by beams and stone steps constituting a braced structure usually more than four metres by five metres which serves to stabilize the remainder of the house. This is supplemented by the system of division of the building into sections, each approximately three metres wide, by crosswalls, described on p. 468b.

The wooden bands running around the houses at lower levels must also contribute considerably to their stability.

Proportioning: Ṣan'ā' builders prefer proportions derived from the perfect square, either singly or in multiples. Square windows and shutters are common. Usually, square doors are too wide, and then 3:2 is the favoured proportion. Important rooms are normally square in cross-section, and either two or three squares in plan.

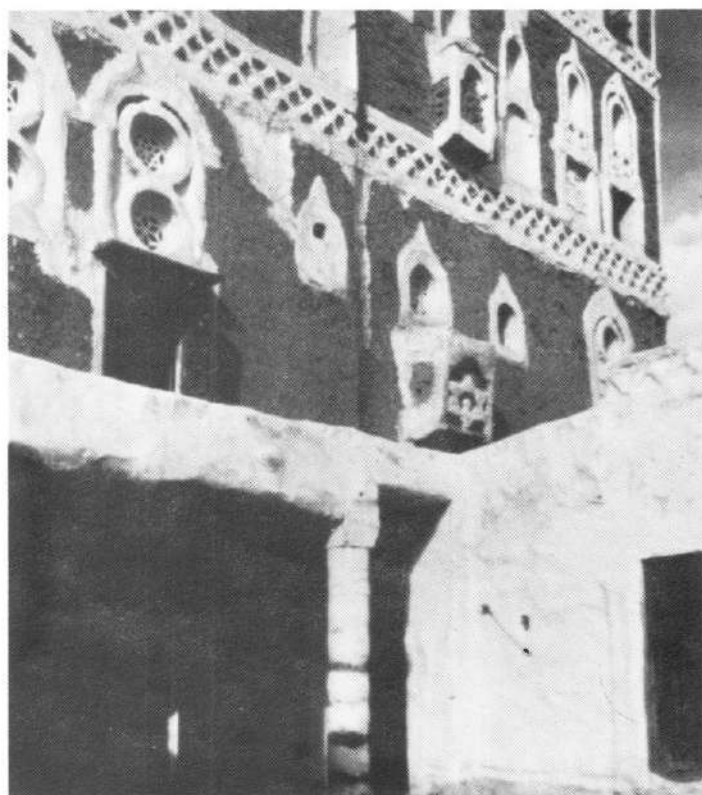
Decoration

External decoration consists in the ornament on the door itself, already discussed, the ornament around the door, the friezes and decorative patterning of the upper wall surfaces, and symbols attached to parts of the exterior.

Ornament around the door has clearly changed with time. The oldest house doorway known, a blocked doorway on house M in the Talḥah Quarter (fig. 22.12), has a single stone lintel capping the door opening, which is flanked by curious blank trefoil arches in two colours of stone, red and yellow. A wooden beam spans

³⁶ Fixing the windows and doors is clearly felt by the carpenters to be a ticklish business, for one of Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished proverbs runs, '*Ind al-tarākīb yikhru 'l-najjārīn*, when it comes to fixings, the carpenters shit.' This

is because it gives them far more trouble than the actual carpentry itself.
³⁷ Both points on the authority of the Deputy Minister of Public Works, Qāḍī 'Alī Abu'l-Rijāl.



22.109 House at Rawdah. The house seen across the pool. Note the first *mafrāj* at its base.



22.110 House at al-Rawdah. The second, separate, *mafrāj*.



22.111 Another low *mafrāj* in a house outside the walled city of Ṣan'ā'.



22.112 A *nōbah*. Exterior view.



22.113 A *nōbah*, seen from below looking up.

across the top of the stone lintel, and this is decorated with patterns of studs and nails. On it rests a frieze of flush triangular stones, alternately yellow and red, below a wooden strip which runs right around the house. Above this is a plain band of stonework and then a band of intricately fretted stones in alternating colours, the same width as the lintel. Two courses up, beyond this frieze on either side, are two projecting bosses carrying what appear to be bulls' heads, like those above the north west doorway of the Great Mosque (p. 346b).³⁸ Finally, a course above them, there are three slit windows, the central one with a fretted head in scalloping, and the outer two with pointed heads.

Older houses have very little ornament around the doorway, simply a number of vertical slits ending in curved or pointed arches in an area of the wall above the door. These, of course, light in the entrance hall (pl. 48).

House S, also reputedly a very old house, has a curious parabolic relieving arch above the flattened arch over the entrance door. This frames a stone panel containing three vertical slit

38 They resembled the bulls' heads projecting from pre-Islamic buildings in South Arabia as water-spouts.

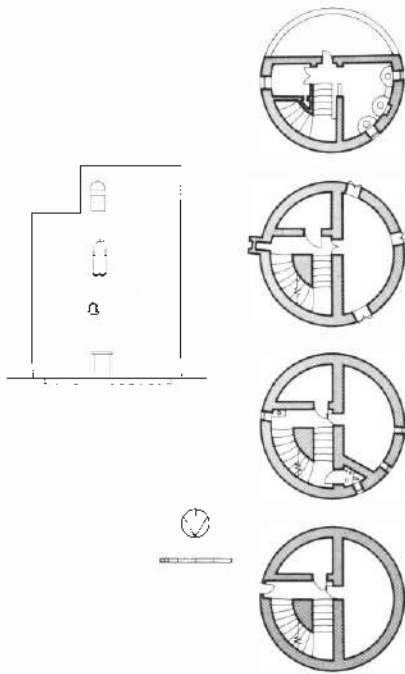


Fig. 22.11 A *nōbah*. Plans and elevation.

windows. As in the case of the slits described above, these have the shape of their heads emphasized by a double frame made of grooves carved in the stonework. It seems possible that the upper arch was part of a pointed arch decoration which was executed in plaster and has since been stripped off.

The typical door treatment of a large fine house (pls. 22.69 and 130) has an outer ashlar frame surrounding the ashlar frame of the street door. This outer frame steps in just above door height, the steps being carried by a moulding of two circular bosses carved in the stone; the frame then continues up to become a high circular arch containing a thin stone wall or slab pierced with a large number (eight or ten) of vertical slits with semicircular or pointed heads. The curious moulding of two circular bosses may derive from a conventionalized Ionic capital of the type shown in pl. 15.36, or, more likely, it is an expression of an old practice or reinforcing the wall at this point with several headers made of wood logs built into the stonework, which may still be seen in a few houses.

The outer edge of the ashlar frame of the upper arch is narrower than the frame at door level, because of the stepping-in mentioned above. The lower vertical lines are usually carried up across the stone surface of the house wall with two strips of plaster ornament representing mirror halves of a conventionalized *dhurah* shoot or *fleur-de-lys* type decoration. A smaller version of the same motif, complete, is made in plaster bas relief on top of the upper arch to cap the whole composition. Sometimes this is contained within a flower-bud shape. An old doorway (9th/15th century?) preserved from the destroyed Filayhī house, rebuilt nearby, has a scalloped upper arch, containing a pointed arch window above a wooden lintel (pl. 22.105). There is a similar scalloped arch above the door of house F, said to be almost as old.

Other houses have occasional abstract or emblematic patterns let into the stonework of the lower storeys in a differently coloured stone. Similar uses of two colours of stone may produce horizontal stripes and alternating coloured voussoirs in the arches above the windows (pls. 42 and 22.130).

A band of decorative brickwork separates the stone lower wall surface from the brick surfaces above. As in bands higher up between storeys, or the crowning cornice band, this decoration

usually consists of variations on a zigzag motif. Double and triple lines of zigzag are common, held between horizontal lines, each a half-brick in thickness. By breaking the continuous zigzag lines and joining parallel lines together to make V and W shapes an almost infinite number of varied patterns are made (pls. 82 and 84). Loops are sometimes introduced at the points of the zigzag lines, well executed in cut brick, and in older houses these harmonize with the circular windows which used to be fashionable above shutters (pls. 77 and 83). If the loops appear above a single zigzag, foreign observers have remarked that the pattern resembles a row of ibex heads, but such symbolism is probably unintentional. Another variation introduces diamond shapes in the interstices between the zigzags (pl. 18). Older patterns which are less frequently seen include a series of \geq shapes, \leq shapes, or the two used together in varied combinations. There are also lozenge \diamond shapes, sometimes with an infilling of a smaller \circ .

Older houses have upper windows for light, above their shuttered openings, which are made of one, two or more large circles (originally filled with alabaster, see above, but in some cases afterwards renewed with coloured glass). The circles are often contained in a decorative frame which resembles an arched window; the solid areas between the circles are then ornamented with motifs which are taken from those used in the horizontal bands (pls. 82 and 22.130). Often these upper fanlights occur over a space between two shuttered windows, as in the case of five fanlights over only three openings. Then the frame of the fanlight is extended down over the blank wall below and the empty space filled with a sizeable area of decoration. Although these areas are genetically the same as the horizontal patterns, they are the richest and most imaginatively decorated in the whole wall surface. Occasionally a lattice effect is produced, not unlike a pierced screen, while other surfaces resemble hanging necklaces or festoons, although they follow straight and not curved lines (pls. 22.129 and 130).

The decoration in fired brick (*naqshat yājūr*) which forms the cornice of a Ṣan'ā' house is named from the fact that it is normally two bands, *al-ḥizāmāyn*. These bands are said to project to deflect the rain (*hī maradd miyāh al-maṭar*). In country districts these may be in stone, if the walls up to the roof are stone, in which case the string courses between the storeys will also be in stone, usually *ḥabash* (*yufṣil mā bayn al-dawr al-awwal wa-'l-dawr al-thānī*).

Stars are often introduced; eight pointed stars are common, and five pointed stars are known. But the most interesting of the star patterns frequently found is the shield of David; this six-pointed star, formed of two crossed triangles, adopted as a common Jewish symbol in the Middle Ages, and universally recognised as such in modern times,³⁹ occurs not only on houses known to have been Jewish in the al-Qā' quarter, but is sometimes found emblazoned centrally above the doorway of houses in the old city. One of these houses is accepted by local scholars and by the present owners as a house built more than 350 years ago by Jews, before their expulsion from the old city (Bayt al-Ghurbānī, Hārat al-'Alamī, pls. 22.136 and 137). Several other houses in the same area which have the shield of David prominently displayed retain architectural peculiarities (see below) which make it probable that they are remodellings of Jewish houses originally built before 1660. But the fact remains that this decorative feature is incorporated in houses, and even in a few mosques, where it was clearly disassociated from any Jewish significance. This so-called Shield of David is known as Khātām Sulaymān, Solomon's Seal, in Ṣan'ā'. It was said that the Arabs only learned of its significance as a symbol for the Jews after they had left the Yemen, and they considered its employment as a decorative motive in their houses

39 Scholem, G. G. 'The Curious History of the Six Pointed Star', *Commentary*, New York, 1949, VIII, 243-51.

to be a Jewish trick. It may well, however, be a pattern of some antiquity, not specifically Jewish.

Not part of a pattern, but sometimes found on the corners of houses about seven metres above street level, are symbolic snakes. In country areas these are sometimes executed in iron, and project from the corners. But on the old buildings in Ṣan'ā' which retain them they are carved in relief on stone. House B has three superimposed coiled snakes on the south corner (pl. 22.56) and three on the north. There are two sorts of snake, it is said, the *ḥanash* made in black stone which is malevolent (*sharr*) to keep off an enemy, and the *ḥanash* in white stone that is benevolent (*khayr*).⁴⁰

Another feature occasionally found in Ṣan'ā' houses is a pair of ibex horns projecting from one or more corners high up on the building.

The arched panels of the upper windows are usually framed by double arches, one inside the other. The origin of this characteristic feature may lie in the frequent practice of reducing the size of the fanlight over the shuttered opening to correspondingly diminish the size of the sheet of alabaster or the panel of coloured glass necessary in the opening. An alternative explanation is that the span of the arched opening is reduced in this way for structural reasons. Certainly the two arches are stronger than one, but then the inner arch stands on the head of the shuttered opening below. Unless one can accept that there is a corbelling principle operating here, which seems unlikely in view of the way the bricks are laid, or that the wooden beam which usually acts as a lintel to the shuttered opening is strong enough to transfer the loads of the inner arch, which is not always the case, this double arch principle may be said to weaken the structure rather than strengthen it. There remains the possibility that the double arch is largely decorative in function, resembling quite closely a similar device in houses of the Middle Ages in the Byzantine empire. The double arches are usually linked at the top, often with a pointed fillet. There is frequently another pointed fillet above the outside arch, and occasionally flanking half *dhurah* shoot or *fleur-de-lys* decorations as well (pls. 71, and 22.54).

Besides simple arches, trefoil arches and those with an arch rising out of a flat head (pl. 77) are found, particularly as heads to blank brickwork panels and frames around clusters of kitchen ventilating holes. Blank brick panels also commonly have corbelled heads. Pointed arches are seldom seen, and then only in a few very old buildings.

Parapets are of two kinds. If low, they are expressed on the facade as wide bands of decorative ornament, resembling those which separate the storeys below. If the parapet is high it is often pierced to allow people behind it to see out. Or at any rate it will include a pierced masonry water cooling box which projects from the facade. The external expression of a high parapet is usually to treat it as a series of blank panels with arched heads, and with the frames outlined in limewash. Occasionally the panelling is decorated with patterns, and more rarely, ornamental circular openings are introduced. Finally the house may be crowned with decorative masonry finials, or with open or screened plaster-on-brick arcading against the sky (pl. 22.69).

Internal decoration is of two types, the alabaster-plaster dado used to embellish entrance halls, staircases and lobbies in the older and finer houses, and the plaster bas-relief decorations of

the main reception rooms.

Two types of pattern were most commonly used in the former, the *dhurah* shoot pattern, resembling the *fleur-de-lys*, and a key pattern, a simplified form of the Hellenistic pattern found on ancient decorated stones in South Arabia.⁴¹ The latter, bas-relief decoration, has a variety of detail but a general character which again seems related to the ancient vine ornamentation commonly found on pre-Islamic decorations in the area (pls. 18.21, 27).

The Age of the Houses

The Age of the Surviving Houses

The upper storeys of Ṣan'ā' houses are generally more recent than the lower parts. There are various reasons for this; the thickness of the walls diminishes as the buildings rise in height, and at the same time the window areas are larger, leaving smaller pieces of brickwork to undergo weathering, wind stresses and cracking; Ṣan'ā' builders are fond of pointing out that a small crack at the bottom is magnified many times when it reaches the top; also the rooms which are likely to need remodelling with changes in fashion are the reception rooms of the upper storeys; finally, the houses of the wealthy Ṣan'ānīs have on a number of occasions been sacked by tribesmen, when the *mafraj* was sometimes destroyed by fire, but usually little damage was done to the lower parts of the structure.

It therefore seems wise to begin with a consideration of the age of the upper parts. Craftsmen are still at work today re-decorating and rebuilding entertaining rooms such as the *mafraj* and the *manẓar* in old houses, using traditional techniques with a quality of execution that is hard to distinguish from work of the last century. So stylistic criteria are not very reliable guides to age. Some reception rooms are dated (e.g. house B, which has a *mafraj* dated 1322/1904-5. These permit the conclusion that many top storeys date from before the beginning of the century. But in most cases, we have to resort to the oral tradition and to documentation. The latter is weak because it does not as a rule specify which part of the house was built at which time, although in any case few documents have been seen by the present authors, as is discussed further below. Oral tradition asserts that a number of the older houses have upper reception rooms more than one hundred years old.

The age of the lower storeys, that is the entrance levels, the storerooms, the first living floor and sometimes the *ḍiwān* floor is often considerable. Techniques for establishing the age include documentation, stylistic change, and family tradition.

Documentation exists in the form of house deeds (*baṣīrah*, pl. *baṣā'ir*). That is, deeds of grant or sale of the property; and there are also wills, which often describe the property and the building.⁴² Although owners of houses frequently divulge the dates on these documents, they are generally loath to produce them for the perusal of strangers, so that their word has to be accepted on dating. Occasionally it was possible to obtain the corroboration of reliable *qāḍīs* who had read the documents. Using this somewhat unsatisfactory evidence, the oldest house found was in Ḥārāt al-'Alamī near al-Filayḥī Mosque, which was attested by two independent sources⁴³ to the 6th/12th century. (One source

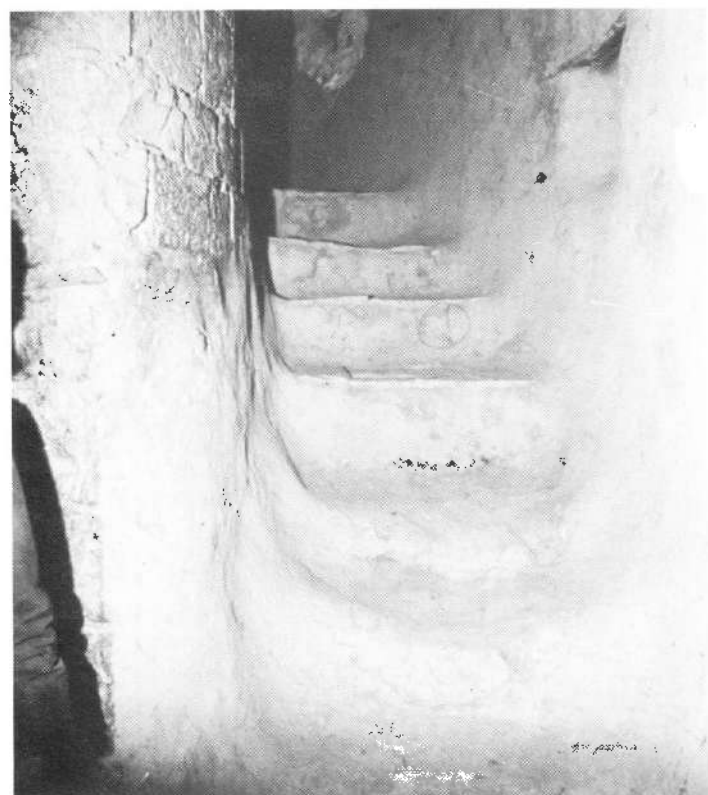
40 Qāḍī Ismā'īl al-Akwa' reports that snakes are represented on buildings as talismans against live snakes. Other such talismans existed in the 4th/10th century, for al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh*, 203, says, 'Ṣan'ā' is surrounded with talismans against vipers and snakes (*al-afā' wa-l-ahnāsh*), so that vipers and snakes can hardly harm anyone, and a person stung who has died from that has never been heard of. . . . One of these talismans is of iron and the other of brass (*sufr*) and they were on the Gate of Ṣan'ā' town, the first, in the place known as al-Qaṣabah, was a thing made in the Jāhiliyyah (the pre-Islamic age), and one of them, it being of iron, is on Bāb al-Miṣra' where the blacksmiths (*al-ḥaddādūn*) work today. The other is at Bāb al-Kishwārī/Kashwārī, it having been known as Darb al-Kashāwīr but today it is known as Darb Ibn 'Abbās on the edge of the Market of Ibn Mā'iz from the direction of al-

Madāwir of Ṣan'ā'. 'Darb probably means a Quarter in this context, but we do not at present know what is described under the term al-Madāwir.

41 Cf. Rathiens, *Sabaica* I, fig. 64.

42 When a house is sold the *qāḍī* cancels the old one, this being called *ta'jīl al-baṣīrah* and writes a new one. To measure a house is *labana 'l-bayt* (*albin*, I measure), doubtless from the land measure known as *libnah*, and a surveyor is *labbān*, *massāh*, but *bannā'ī* was mentioned as a measurer of land. When a house is sold the agent (*dallāl*) gets 2½% of the sale-price. The fees of the *labbān* are said to be high, there is however no taxation on the sale of houses or land.

43 Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī, Secretary of the Ministry of Justice, and Qāḍī 'Alī Abu'l-Rijāl, Deputy Minister of Public Works.



22.114 The staircase inside a *nōbah*.



22.116 The staircase of a *nōbah*, looking down.



22.115 A semi-circular *ḍiwān* inside a *nōbah*.



22.117 *Nōbah* in a village near Ṣan'ā'. A square *mafraj* has been added subsequently at the top.

believed that it could be as much as two centuries earlier than this.)⁴⁴ Strangely enough, the lower levels of this house are built of coursed clay and unbaked brick plastered on a rubble foundation (pl. 22.131); it has small circular windows; the surviving upper-most storey is clearly a recent replacement.

Bayt Ṣarḥat al-Wardī, near Bāb Shu'ūb, is by the same evidence dated to the 9th/15th century. Bayt Dhulal in Bīr al-'Azab, although the topmost storeys were destroyed in the sack of 1948, is mostly from the 10th/16th century. Then there is a number of houses for which documents are said to exist dating them to the 11th/17th and later centuries. House B (fig. 22.6; pls. 22.53-62) near Sūq al-Milḥ, belongs to the early 11th/17th century, although the whole rear block was added later, and the present *mafraj* is dated 1322/1904-5. House H (fig. 22.6; pls. 22.53-62) in the Sakhrāh district, belongs to the third quarter of the 11/17th century.

For the remainder of the houses it is necessary to revert to oral tradition. But since most of them have remained in the same family for centuries, and are part of quarters for which a good deal of traditional history is known by the local inhabitants, this evidence cannot be entirely valueless, providing several independent witnesses are carefully selected and questioned. Following this technique, the oldest houses are said to survive in the Ghurqat al-Qalīs quarter near the citadel, one of which, a small house, is pointed out as dating from the 5th/11th century, while other old houses are found in the adjoining Ḥarat Zabārah. In the latter quarter, the ruined lower storeys of house S (fig. 22.5; pls. 22.43-52) are said to date from the late 8th/14th century, house BT (fig. 22.9; pls. 22.98-100, 102) from 896/1509,⁴⁵ house A (fig. 22.9, pls. 22.88-97) from the 12th/18th century. In other parts of Ṣan'ā', house M (pl. 22.104) at Filayḥī is two hundred years old, the top three

⁴⁴ The former.

⁴⁵ Three independent sources gave this precise date.

floors added fifty years ago. House JY (fig. 22.8; pls. 22.69-76) in al-Abhar quarter has the same history. House N (fig. 22.3; pls. 22.19-24) near Bāb al-Salām, is said to be one of the oldest houses surviving in the area, and to date from the early 11th/17th century. House W (fig. 22.1; pls. 22.2-18), in al-Ḥumaydī quarter, is more than a century old, the topmost room having been subsequently rebuilt. House AA, near the Sā'ilah, is a relatively modern house built about seventy years ago (pl. 22.78).

Several houses appear in early Turkish photographs taken in the nineteenth century (e.g. pl. 22.133) which belong to a type which has disappeared, except for the single example of the oldest datable house, in Ḥārat al-'Alamī, mentioned above, of which the old part is only that preserved on the lower levels. The photographs show high houses of baked brick above ashlar stone lower levels. Their distinctive feature is that the lights above the shuttered windows are single circular openings let into the smooth surface of the wall without any surrounding frame to link them to the windows below. Similar circular lights in mosques seem to be earlier than the 11th/17th century, and probably belong to an ancient type. Their resemblance to the high 'false' lights of the outside walls of the 3rd/9th century mosques of Samarra is striking.

Stylistic dating is not very valuable for dating houses built less than three hundred years ago. Clearly the rate of change of style was extremely slow until recent times. Nevertheless it is possible to point to some features that date a house as relatively old. Stepped stonework went out of use a hundred years ago, according to stonemasons, and is likely to have been rarely used for quite a long period before that. Associated with it in most cases are large beams built into the stonework, whereas more modern buildings either do not have them at all, or have only a few of moderate thickness. Entrance doors in old houses have frequently become sunken (e.g. house F, fig. 22.8; pls. 22.79-87) and one has to descend three or four steps from street level into the ground level of the houses. Older houses, such as the reputed oldest house in Ghurqat al-Qalīs referred to above, have new entrance doors and new ground floor levels, because the street has risen so much that the original door lintel is now only a few centimetres above the road surface. Unusual wooden doors of apparently great age are sometimes seen.

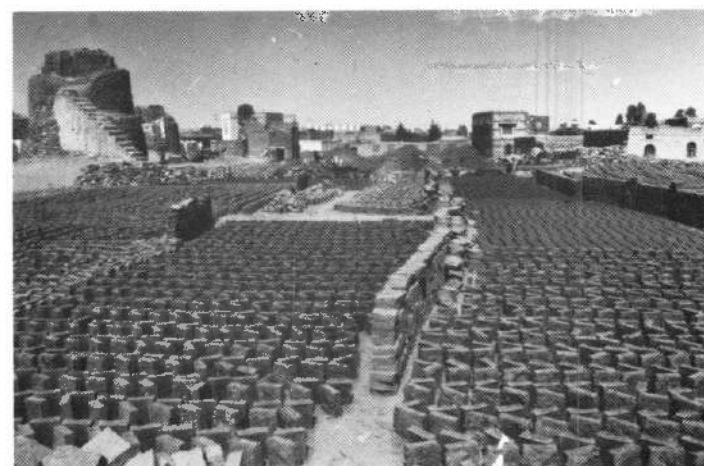
The evolution of windows can be easily read from the buildings themselves, although there is as yet no certain means of dating the earliest. The latter have tracery in brick or stone instead of tracery in gypsum sheets, and naturally much smaller openings in any fanlight (pl. 22.132, top windows). There are not many of these left in Ṣan'ā', but more in towns which reached their apogee in the Middle Ages and have declined since, such as Thulā (important in the 3rd/9th to 9th/15th centuries). The antiquity of alabaster windows is well authenticated (see below).⁴⁶ The oldest seem to have been single circular windows, as has already been observed; but pairs of circular windows, one above the other, held in a single, arched frame were also of great antiquity. In houses more than one hundred years old another type of window can be seen. This is a wide semicircular arch opening into the lobby of the *dīwān* level. Sometimes there are windows set back one and a half to two metres, to provide a small balcony. In other cases there is a projecting masonry box for water jars below, and the window is set back slightly in its wide arch. The window is either made up of three circles in early plate tracery, or of several large sheets of alabaster butted together to provide a single surface (pls. 22.133-135). Houses which are reputedly old have noticeably more



22.118 Construction of a house: A stoneworker expertly shaping a tapered building stone with a square face which will show when built into the wall.



22.119 Construction of a house. Stone courses in an old wall.

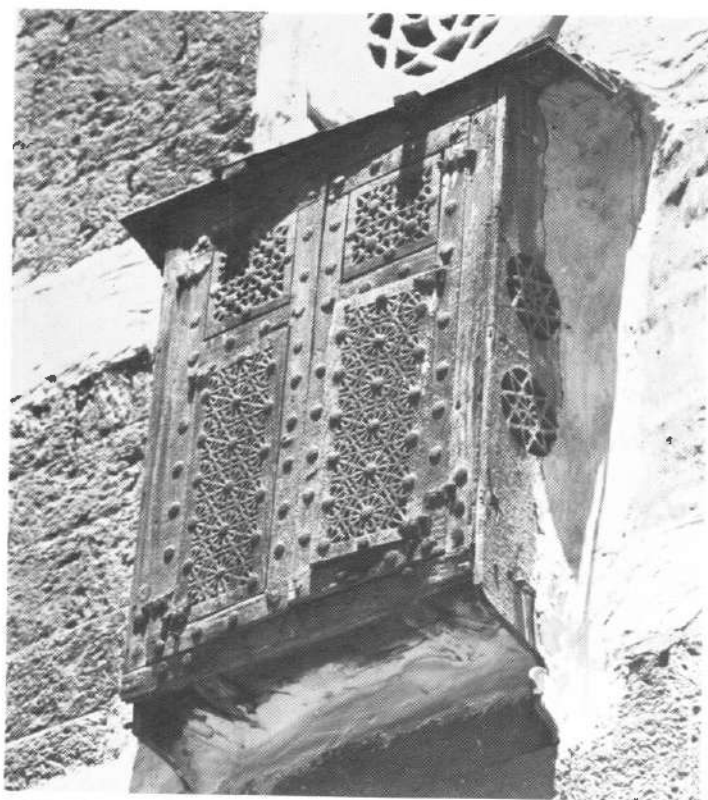


22.120 Construction of a house. A brick field, with the bricks, shaped in a wooden mould, laid to dry in the sun before firing in the kilns in the background.

46 The oldest datable alabaster windows are those of the Shibām mosque, which were apparently installed to protect the fine ceiling from damage in the early tenth century. Ronald Lewcock & G. R. Smith. 'Two Early Mosques in the Yemen', *AARP*, London, 1973, IV.



22.121 Construction of a house. Detail of a house front, showing the decorative technique against the background of stone and brick.



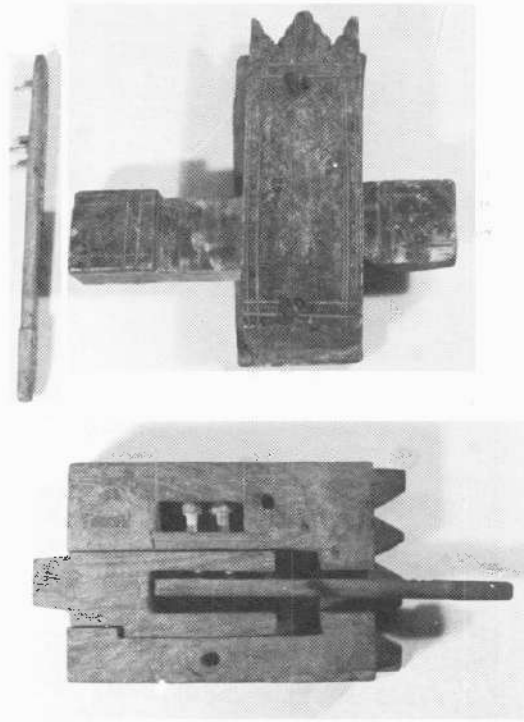
22.122 Construction of a house. A projecting screened wooden window in which water jars are kept to cool.



22.123 Construction of a house. Laying the twigs across the beams of a ceiling. A thick layer of clay on the twigs serves as a sub-floor for the stone paving.



22.124 Part of a house under construction, showing the method of building arches without the use of wooden centering.



22.126 Construction of a house. Wooden tumbler locks seen from front and back. Wooden key shown top left.



22.125 Construction of a house. A carpenter making a window, sashes and frame, to be unhooked before setting in the building.



22.127 Construction of a house. Making a gypsum window by cutting out the pattern from a wet panel.

alabaster windows than recent buildings.⁴⁷ Coloured glass was originally inserted in very small pieces into a slab of gypsum plaster, to judge by the oldest examples (e.g. the house near the citadel, and pl. 86). This technique resembles closely that used in the windows of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem.⁴⁸

47 Nazih, *Rihlah*, 176. 'I passed by some of the places where I saw great alabaster (*marmar*) stones being sawn into fine transparent plates (*alwāḥ*) with special sharp saws. Ṣan'ā' to the exclusion of anywhere else in the world, is distinguished by the craft (*ṣinā'ah*) because alabaster is used for window glass only in Ṣan'ā'.' Cf. *Ibid.*, II, 14.

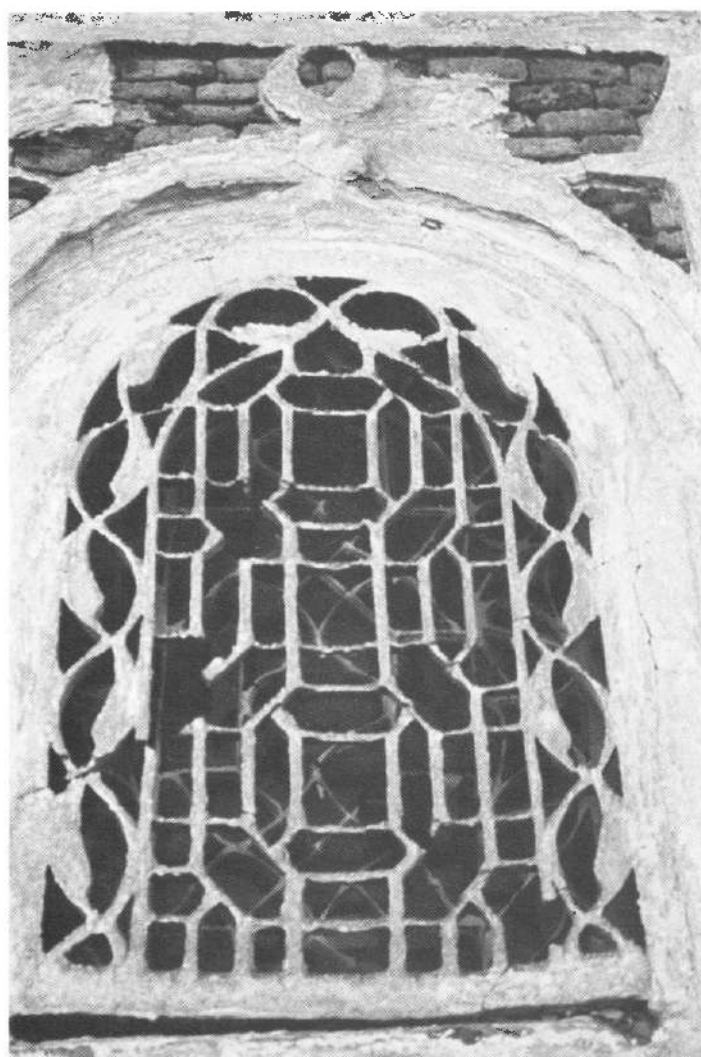
48 Cresswell 5, plate 3. The earliest examples known in the Yemen are those

The antiquity of coloured glass in Islamic architecture is beyond dispute. It was used in Christian Constantinople in the sixth century A.D.,⁴⁹ and presumably it was under Byzantine influence that it passed into Arab buildings.⁵⁰ The earliest coloured glass in Ṣan'ā' is that in the Qubbat Ṭalḥah, which is in

of the Ashrafiyyah mosque in Ta'izz, late 7th or 8th/late 13th or 14th century, where they both survive and are represented in blind windows as part of the stucco decoration. Ronald Lewcock & G. R. Smith, 'Three medieval mosques in the Yemen', *Oriental Art*, London, 1974, XX.

49 Paulus Silentarius's description of Sancta Sophia.

50 Khirbat al-Mafjar, ca. 136/740; Mausoleum of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, Cairo, 7th/13th century.



22.128 External gypsum tracery, in two layers, in front of internal gypsum tracery fanlight.

the style of the original building, i.e. early 11th/17th century (pl. 19.82). Zabārah⁵¹ says that 'Alī Muṣṭafā, of Nahr al-Muṣṭafā in Shu'ūb, originally from Damascus, who came to the Yemen in the days of the Imām al-Mahdī al-'Abbās b. al-Manṣūr al-Ḥusayn, where he died in 1196/1782, was the first to bring glass panes/sheets (*al-zujāj al-ahwāḥ*) to the Yemen, and he was known because of them. He brought the Imām al-Mahdī tiles of porcelain (? *alwāḥ al-ṣini*) and built a *diwān* in Bustān al-Mutawakkil and covered its walls with porcelain (*ṣini*) tiles. He was concerned with trading and profit in the Yemen. Niebuhr however, in 1763, observed that in the Ṣan'ā' houses, 'Il y entre alors un peu de jour par le moyen de petites fenêtres rondes où sont des vitres épaisses de Moscovie, que l'on voit au dessus des volets dans l'appartement. Les principaux Arabes ont dans leurs maisons de campagne au lieu de ces fenêtres avec des vitres de Moscovie quelquefois des vitres peintes, qu'ils tirent de Venise.'⁵² Lower windows, in the houses with early tracery, were closed with grilles made of sizeable pieces of wood or of wrought iron.⁵³

Older houses do not seem to have had a separate structure on the roof containing the *mafraj*; such houses have the *mafraj* incorporated as one of two or three rooms in the top storey of the house

(e.g. houses N, NT, S, H and possibly M). However, there is some slight evidence that separate *mafraj* rooms on the roof were built much earlier, see below.

The Antiquity of the Type of Tower House Found in Ṣan'ā'

High houses existed in the Yemen in pre-Islamic times. A Ḥimyarite inscription in Ta'izz Museum refers to the construction of a house with 'six floors and six ceilings'.⁵⁴ A stone of unknown provenance shows a graffito of a house with nine storeys.⁵⁵ That the great Ṣan'ā' palace of Ghumdān actually existed is attested in inscriptions and in many Islamic histories. It had at least seven high storeys, improbably as many as thirteen, and even twenty, more improbably still, and its total height awed all the historians. Reports of its height vary—one account says it was 200 cubits.⁵⁶ It was a square building with its four walls each executed in a different coloured stone: there was a special room at the top 'with windows' each fitted into a frame ('door') of marble, which in turn was held 'in a jamb made of teak and ebony'. The ceiling of this upper room was variously described as being of 'one large slab of marble',⁵⁷ i.e. of alabaster, so that [the shadow of] birds flying past might be seen.⁵⁸ A high mound opposite the south east door of the Great Mosque, the top of which is actually the highest point of ground of the old city, is thought by both Islamic scholars and archaeologists to be formed of the ruins of this building.⁵⁹ It was possibly erected in the mid-3rd century A.D.,⁶⁰ and destroyed on the orders of 'Uthmān, the third Orthodox Caliph, in the 1st/7th century.

The appearance of the pre-Islamic house in the Yemen almost certainly inspired the Axumite architectural style recorded in the great stelae of Axum, which are variously thought to date from the third and fourth or fifth and sixth centuries A.D. These include a number of features typical in the Ṣan'ā' houses described above. They have the same formal symmetry, with one great entrance door (fig. 22.12). There are no windows on the ground floor, but small windows clearly express a storage mezzanine above it. The first large windows, marking the first living floor, occur above that. The windows are made up in the same way as the Ṣan'ā' windows. That is, there are wooden shuttered openings shown below, and over each a fanlight with a single large sheet of some material serving as glazing. The top floors are indicated as the most important levels, for on the great stela the top two floors (of the thirteen levels shown) have tracery grilles in the fanlights. There are eight stelae surviving at Axum on which these houses are represented, all with more than seven storeys. The door on the lowest level is carved three quarters full size, above that the scale is cleverly reduced while retaining the effect and all the details of actual buildings. The constructional technique represented has bands of wood encircling the houses, of the type that still survive on many Ṣan'ā' houses. One constructional detail shown at Axum is nowhere seen in the Yemen highlands now. This is the use of lateral pieces of timber running through the thickness of the wall and projecting beyond its face, to form square projections at the corners of the door and window frames, and circular bosses along the wooden bands. But the same techniques do survive in the coastal buildings of the Red Sea in the Yemen and Sa'ūdī Arabia, where rubble stone and clay are widely used in high buildings, as they were in Axum, and in Southern Anatolia.

51 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 303.

52 *Op. cit.*, trans. Heron, I, 333-4.

53 The oldest examples known are those of Dhū Jiblah mosque ca. 477/1090 and the Muṣaffar mosque at Ta'izz, mid 7th/14th century. Ronald Lewcock & G. R. Smith, *op. cit.*, 2.

54 W. M. Müller, 'Sabaische Inschriften aus dem Museum in Ta'izz', *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, 1, Wiesbaden, 1972, 87-89, and J. Ryckmans, 'Études d'épigraphie Sud-Arabe en Russe, 9 (année 1972), *Biblio-*

theca Orientalis, 1974.

55 C. Rathjens, *Sabaica: Bericht über die archäologischen Ergebnisse*, Hamburg, 1953-66.

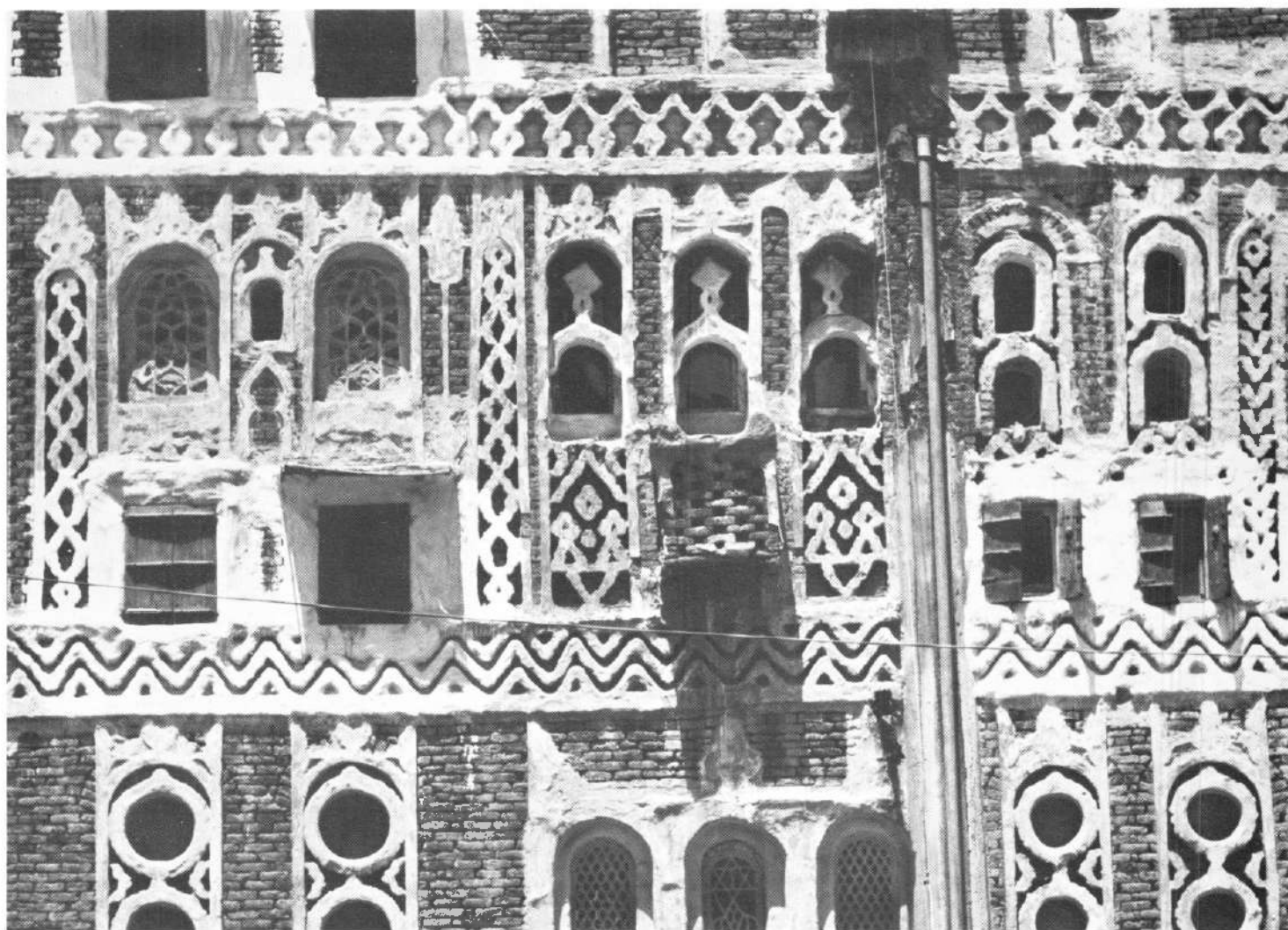
56 Al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh*, 21-2.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ikhlīl*, VIII, 23 seq.

59 See p. 44.

60 See chapter: The History of Ṣan'ā'; and *Ikhlīl* VIII, 19.



22.129 Characteristic decoration on a Ṣan'ā' house.

The first description of Ṣan'ā' houses in Islamic times occurs in Ibn Rustah's *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-naḥṣah*,⁶¹ written ca. 290-300/903-913. He says that there are 'good dwellings (*manāzil*), some above others', presumably meaning that they rise up behind each other to obtain the view and sun. 'Most of them are adorned with gypsum (*jaṣṣ*), baked bricks (*ājurr*), and symmetrical stones. Some have foundations of gypsum and baked bricks, while the rest have beautiful symmetrical stone. Some of the ground floors are constructed with gypsum and baked brick, some with [simply] gypsum. Most of the roofs (*saṭḥ*) are covered with pebbles on account of [Ṣan'ā'] rains.'

Al-Hamdānī, (ob. 330/943) includes several references to Ṣan'ā' houses. One⁶² compares high mud towers (*āṭām*) with the dwellings of Ṣan'ā' 'because of their height'. Another⁶³ refers to excellent sanitation: 'The least dwelling there has a well or two, a garden and long cess-pits separate from each-other, empty of ordure (*adhā*), without smell or evil odours because of the hard concrete (*al-qadād al-ṣulb*), and fine pasture land and clean place(s) to walk. A lavatory (*mustarāḥ*) of these passes by inheritance from one to another over the centuries without being uncovered or swept.' The implication is that lavatories do not need to be drained or cleaned.

Al-Rāzī, (ob. 460/1073) describes the area around the Jabbānah during the 'Abbāsīd rule of Ṣan'ā' (138-248/755-862):⁶⁴ 'the

houses were upon the road right and left [of the single door of the Jabbānah], stretching up to the sky, with dwelling places and high rooms (*ghuraf*) of the most splendid construction and most beautiful workmanship. They were the most imposing of the dwellings (*manāzil*) of Ṣan'ā'—they were the dwelling places of such governors as came from Iraq, and their entourage of those governors who had accompanied them, along with merchants and men of wealth, substance and easy circumstances who dwelt there. The shade of the *muṣallā* and the Jabbānah came from a shadow extending from those houses upon the right and left because of the height of their ceilings and the loftiness of the building . . . They had fashioned rings of brass⁶⁵ like a hollow statue (*timthāl*) in the form of a bull. On each of these doors there was a ring of brass like this statue. When any of them was struck with [the ring] it gave out a sound and a strong echo.'

Of the houses of Ṣan'ā' generally, al-Rāzī says that they were 'tall and imposing and many had high prices'.⁶⁶

Ibn Baṭūṭah, who visited Ṣan'ā', probably in 718/1331, wrote that it was 'a large and well constructed city, built with bricks and plaster'.⁶⁷

The first European visitor to describe the houses was John Jourdain, who in 1609 saw 'many faire houses'.⁶⁸ Sir Henry Middleton in 1611 found the town built 'of stone and lime'.⁶⁹ Niebuhr described the houses in 1763 using the terms we use

61 Ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, VII, Leiden, 1892, 109. One should probably understand that the ground floors are sun-dried brick and gypsum.

62 *Ṣifāḥ*, 239-40. See Ibn Qutaybah, *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'arā'*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1904, 225-6, for a man building an *uṭm* in Ṣan'ā'.

63 *Al-Ikhlāṭ VIII*, ed. al-Kirmilī, 2.

64 *Tārīkh*, 90 seq.

65 Cf. Axum stela.

66 Rāzī, 111-2.

67 *Travels*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge, 1962, II, 371.

68 Cf. p. 108b.

69 Cf. p. 108b.

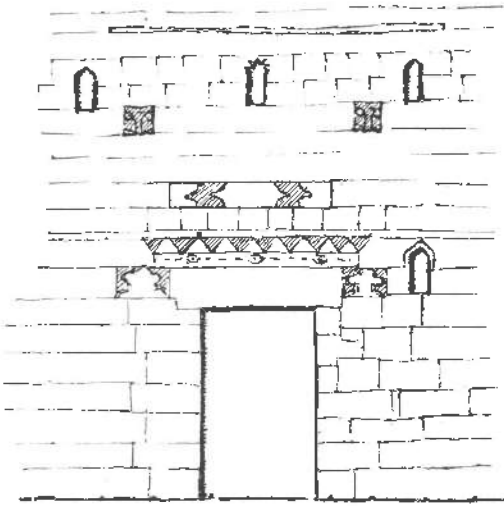
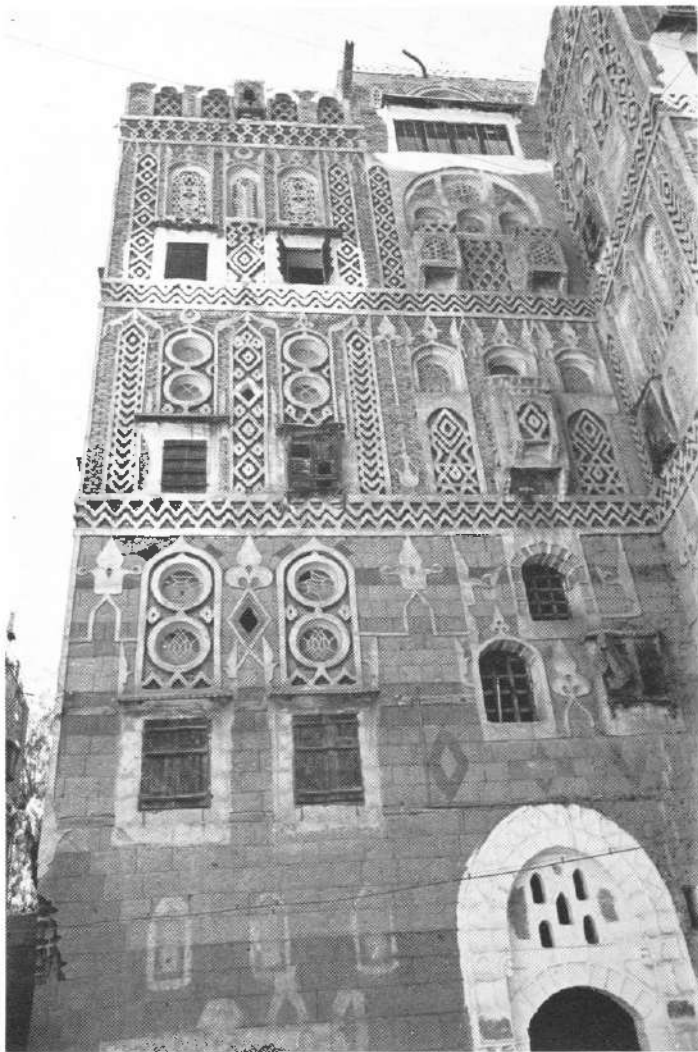


Fig. 22.12 An ancient doorway of a Şan'a house (Bayt Mutahhar at Talḥah).



22.130 A decorated house front.

today, and published the earliest known illustration of them, a drawing of a house in Bir al-'Azab which is in the style still in use, with the natural exception of large glass sashes behind the shutters in the upper windows which were introduced within the last century.⁷⁰ Cruttenden's drawings of 1836⁷¹ are quite recognisable. The oldest photographs of houses (pls. 10.14-16 and pl. 22.133) show that the general style in use in the late nineteenth century has continued unchanged to the present day, although

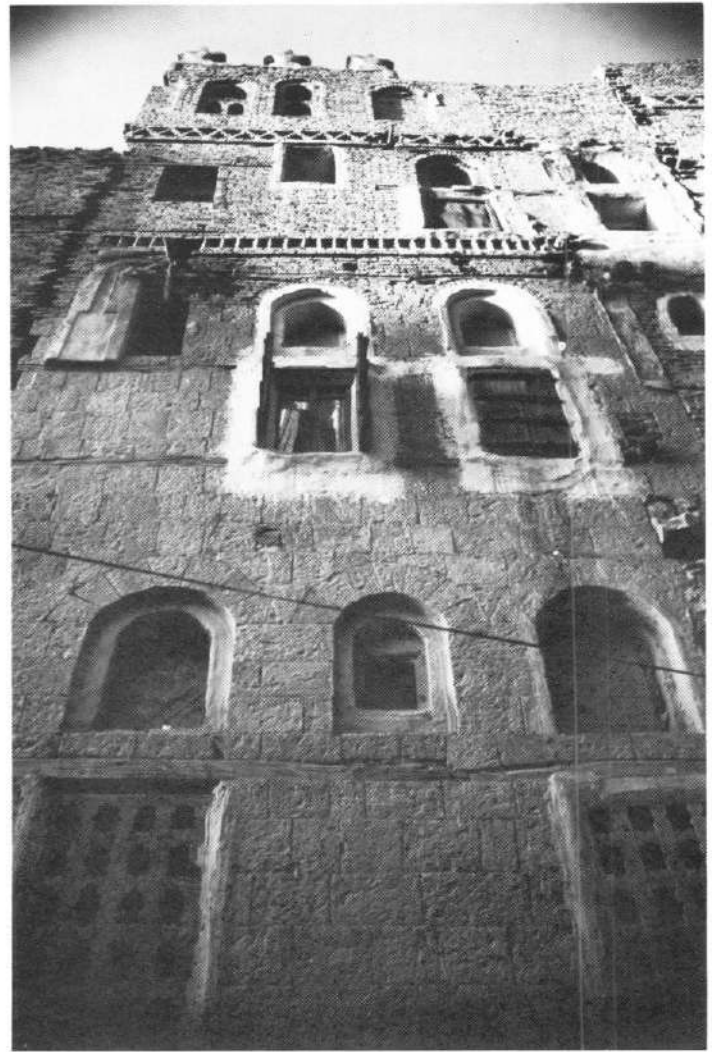
⁷⁰ Cf. p. 442a.

⁷¹ Cf. p. 111b.

⁷² Cf. *Ibid* and pl. 9.5.

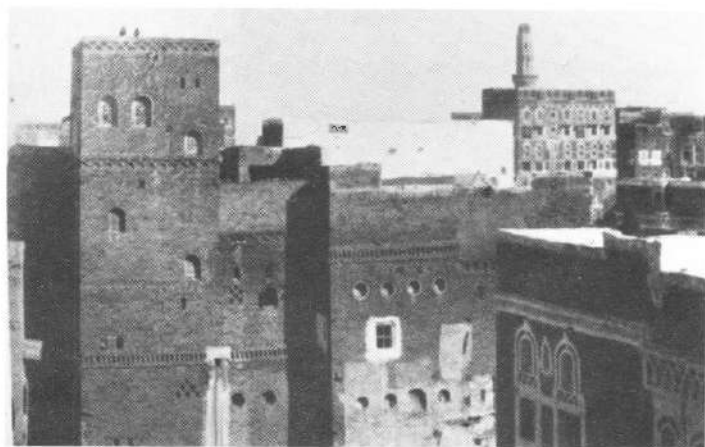


22.131 A house for part of which there is believed to be documentary evidence of an age of six hundred years.



22.132 Windows of an old type in Şan'a.

there were a few ancient houses still surviving then, as is mentioned above.⁷² Since the war and Egyptian occupation from 1962-68 there have been many modern innovations, the use of concrete, steel doors, larger windows, a tendency to prefer low villas to the tower houses of the old city, and the use of bright colours in decoration. Nevertheless the old crafts and the traditional building styles retain their popularity and are everywhere still in use.



22.133 A Turkish photograph from the late nineteenth century showing a Ṣan'ā' house of an early type which no longer survives. The upper window are single circles of alabaster. (University Library, Istanbul).



22.134 Windows of a type once fashionable contained inside a large arch.

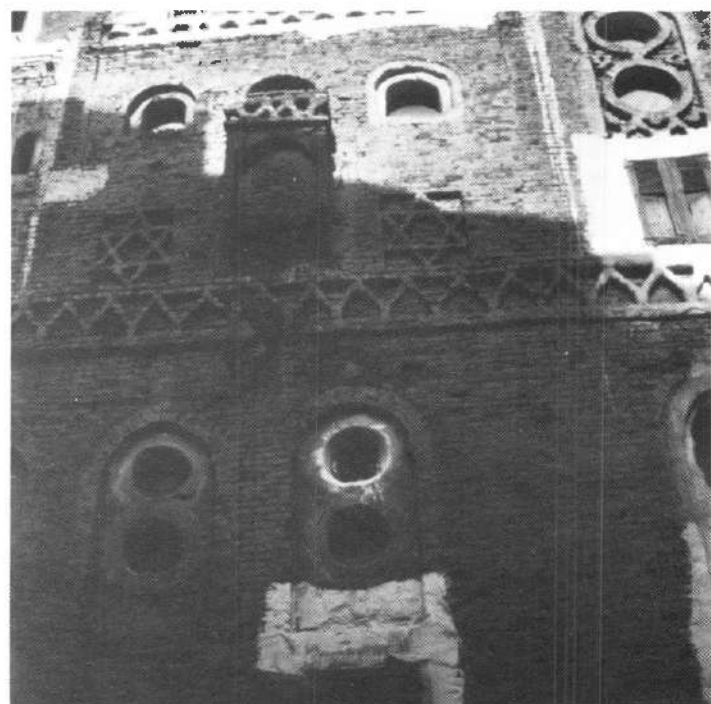
The Origin of the Ṣan'ā' Type of Tower House

The Ṣan'ā' house belongs to a type which does not differ in its essential concepts throughout north and south Yemen,⁷³ with the exception of the Red Sea coast. In the latter area there are two distinct types of house. One is single storeyed with a front courtyard, conforming to ancient Egyptian, East African, Omani and Persian precedents. The other is high, like the Yemeni house of the highlands, but its construction and pattern of distribution of

73 Cf. Brian Doe and R. B. Serjeant. 'A Fortified Tower-house in Wādī Jirdān (Wāhidi Sultanate)', *BSOAS*, London 1975, XXXVII, i.



22.135 Large arch fanlights used to light the central lobby on the upper floors of an old house.



22.136 House GI, in Ṣan'ā', believed to be an early seventeenth century Jewish house in the old city.

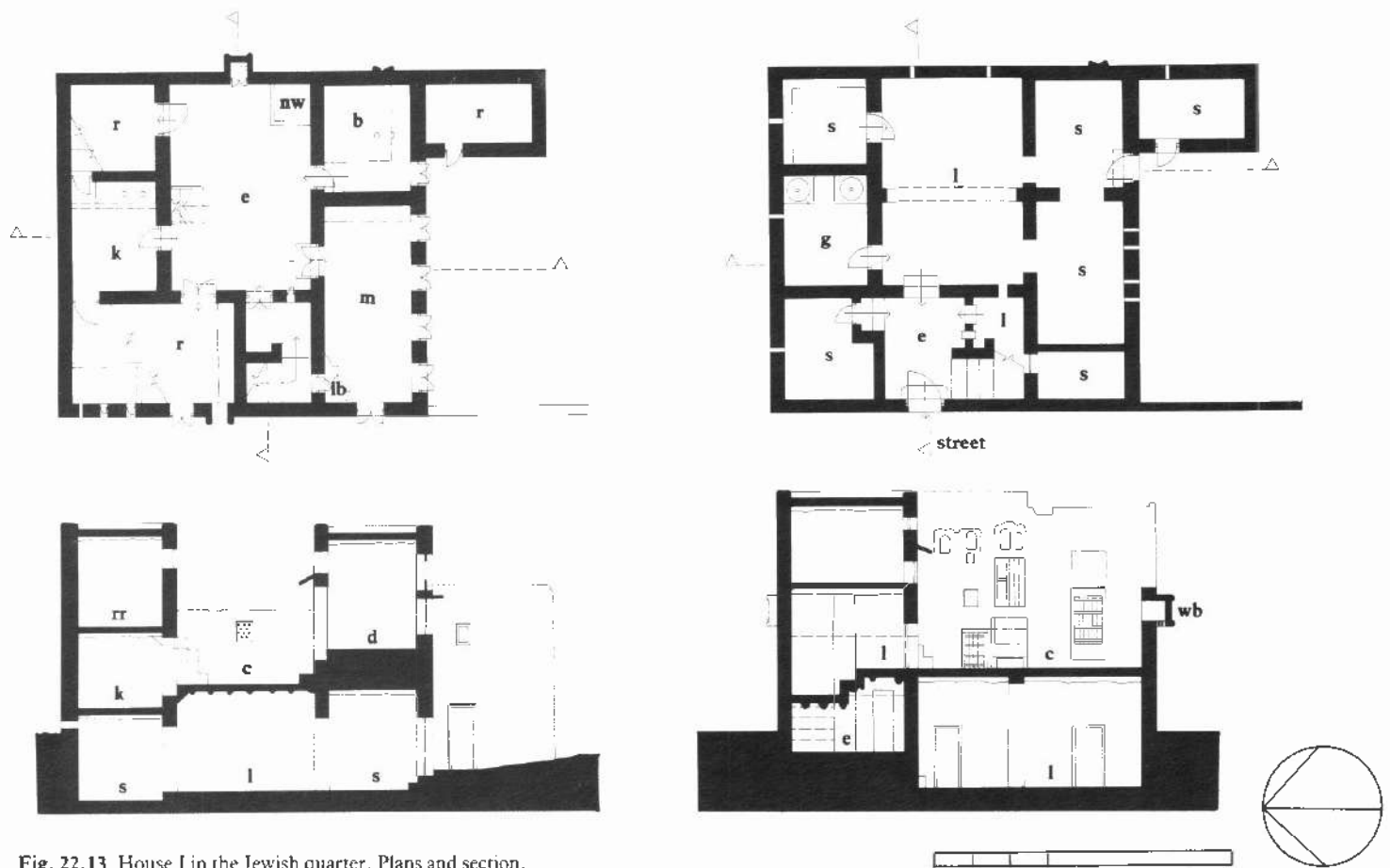


Fig. 22.13 House J in the Jewish quarter. Plans and section.

rooms are sufficiently different to allow us to consider it as a separate type. It belongs to the world of the Red Sea trading cities, ultimately linking up with the houses of Mecca and Medina through Jeddah; this type also occurs on the other side of the Red Sea, in such towns as Suakin/Sawākin.⁷⁴

The houses of the Yemeni highlands extend further north to include the areas that were anciently part of the Yemen, particularly Najrān. Here, although there are minor differences, the concept of the house is essentially identical with that of Ṣan'ā'. In the northern Hijaz the Yemeni pattern of living does not occur, although the houses are still high square blocks without proper courtyards; it is possible that in the remote past the two types of house shared a common ancestor.

It is abundantly clear that the Yemeni highland house has no links at all with courtyard houses of ancient type, which occurred in antiquity in basically the same form from Spain and Morocco to Mesopotamia.

The Yemen highland house therefore appears unique, a product of Arabia and probably of South Arabia itself.

The only qualification which needs be made to this statement is that, since ordinary houses are usually stylistically the descendants of the palaces of a preceding generation, there may prove to have been some mutual interaction between the ancient palaces of the Axumite empire in Ethiopia and those of Southern Arabia, a problem that awaits further archaeological excavation in both countries.

The earliest staircases designed as a series of straight flights around a square central pillar are always assumed by architectural historians to be those of the Nabateans, in their early temples and tombs in Palestine.⁷⁵ The staircases of later buildings in the Mediterranean were evolved from these. Future archaeological excavation may demonstrate whether the Nabatean staircase owed

its origin in turn to Southern Arabia, as seems possible, or whether the influence was in the reverse direction.

Ancient Persian influence in Yemeni house design, dating back to the period of Persian rule in the Yemen immediately before the acceptance of Islam, seems unlikely to have been very profound. However, it was a traditional Zoroastrian practice to treat the entrance hall as a transitional zone, with a double set of doors for protection, one on the outer street side, and the other door at the entrance to the house proper.⁷⁶ The older Ṣan'ā' houses seem to preserve something of such an idea in the strong opening through which one has to pass into the staircase. Often this has its own lockable door (e.g. pl. 22.84).

Traditional aspects of Yemeni houses which distinguish them are, besides their height and the absence of courtyards, their tendency to strict symmetry in plan and elevation, and the high quality of their construction, their finishes, and their maintenance.

The pattern of use of a Yemeni house testifies to the strength of the family and the clan in Yemeni life, for the retention of a large room (the *diwān*) for all important events affecting the family—childbirth, marriage, pilgrimage celebrations, and the laying out of the dead, is extremely rare elsewhere in the Islamic world.

The Jewish House

There were large numbers of Jews living in the Yemen from the pre-Islamic era. At the time of the emigration of 1949 to 1950 they constituted roughly a fifth of the population of Ṣan'ā', dwelling in al-Qā' to the west of Bīr al-'Azab, but largely working during the daytime in the old city as craftsmen, merchants or builders.

⁷⁴ Jean-Pierre Greenlaw, *The coral buildings of Suakin*, London, 1976.

⁷⁵ Temple of Allāt at Rām, mid 2nd c. A.D., temples at Gerasa, theatre and baths at Philippiopolis.

⁷⁶ Sir H.W. Bailey, personal communication.

⁷⁷ Cf. p. 391.



22.137 House GI. The courtyard.



22.138 House J in the Jewish quarter. Exterior.



22.139 House J in the Jewish Quarter. Courtyard, south west corner.

The history of the Jews in Ṣan'ā' has already been studied.⁷⁷ They appear to have lived unsegregated from Muslims throughout the old city until in 1066/1679 they were moved away to near the Red Sea coast. A year or so later they were permitted to return to Ṣan'ā' though no longer to dwell within the old walls, but instead, they were allowed to settle next to the Bawniyah quarter, which seems to have been a village already established for more than a century. The area of al-Qā' built up by them soon had its own narrow sūq and, in 1906, more than thirty synagogues.⁷⁸

Before the Jews emigrated from Ṣan'ā' their houses were visited and studied by a number of scholars, which resulted in the publication in 1957 of *Jewish Domestic Architecture in Ṣan'ā', Yemen* by Carl Rathjens.⁷⁹ Subsequently, the son of the Chief Rabbi of Yemen, Joseph Qāṣiḥ, published in Hebrew, *Jewish Life in Ṣan'ā'*.⁸⁰

As the Jews left, their houses were taken over by Muslims, who usually proceeded to live in them making only the most minor changes. Thus it is possible to study many of the houses today, measuring them, and producing accurate plans and sections for the first time. This work also enables some conclusions to be reached which differ slightly from those of the earlier studies.

House J (fig. 22.13; pls. 22.138-42) is a relatively small house in a street close to the centre of al-Qā'. It does not differ in any substantial way from the largest houses of the quarter, which simply proliferate the number of rooms and apartments, and have a larger courtyard or courtyards to make this possible.

The essential difference between the Jewish house and the Islamic house was that the former had as its focus a courtyard from which all the main rooms opened on the roof. A second peculiarity was the Jewish practice of arranging the rooms around the courtyard so that two were seldom on the same level, the principal entertaining room being highest, the *diwān* next, and so on downwards until the kitchen was below the level of the courtyard and the lavatory lower still. This involved small flights of stairs before each doorway leading up or down.

The explanations given for both these features are religious. The need for a courtyard was explained to Goitein: 'According to strict Jewish law, during the Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated for seven days in September-October, a man should not only take all his meals in a room covered only with branches of a tree or similar light material, but also sleep in it.' The courtyard made possible

⁷⁸ Brauer, *Jemenitische Juden*, 306 seq., gives a list of twenty-four synagogues.

⁷⁹ Jerusalem, 1957.

⁸⁰ Jerusalem, 1966.

⁷⁷ See chap. 20.



22.140 House J in the Jewish Quarter. Courtyard, north west corner.

this temporary construction, but Goitein adds, 'in order that the light material covering the tabernacle should not be blown away by the winds', one had to build a screen wall around the courtyard, called a *kuwwābah*.⁸¹ The screen wall was sometimes pierced with a projecting masonry box for water jars, and even by areas of gypsum tracery contained in arches.

The hierarchy of levels around the courtyard probably has something to do with the first explanation. That is, as the courtyard served to house the tabernacle during a brief period each year, it became a sacred place for that time,⁸² and no room could be exactly on a level with it. In particular the lavatory and bathroom had to be below it, as they were in the synagogue. The extra height given to the entertaining room is due to the necessity of giving it a view.⁸³

The front door openings of Jewish houses are usually simple rectangular constructions in large blocks of stone, like the oldest houses in the old city. Jewish door knockers are frequently like Islamic ones, but there is also the use of a ring as a knocker, recalling the type mentioned by the historians (p. 493).

House J has a single door from the street into a stone-paved lobby which has two short flights of stairs down to right and left into stables; also on the right is the long flight leading upstairs while straight ahead is a short flight leading down to the lowered ground floor under the courtyard and the rooms on either side of it.

Entering the large open central space of the lowered ground floor, there is a room containing stone hand-mills raised on stone sockets on the left, a second storeroom with shelves next to it, while on the right there are two storerooms, through one of which one enters the garden which adjoins the house;⁸⁴ the latter was probably the workshop of the Jewish house. A third room is entered only from the garden, and was once perhaps the room used by the Jews for the distillation of brandy.⁸⁵

Above, the staircase disgorges onto the open courtyard (*hijrah*). On the right (south) a short flight of three steps leads up to *al-makān al-kabir*, the equivalent of the Islamic *ḍiwān* in both design and function. This Jewish room differs from the *ḍiwān* only in occasionally having a raised masonry bench at one end, a *ḥiwān*.⁸⁶ Next to this room on the right in house J is a low bathroom (with-

81 Ibid, 6.

82 The Jews from Yemen continue this practice to this day. This information and the translation of Joseph Qāfiḥ's *Jewish Life in Ṣan'ā'*.

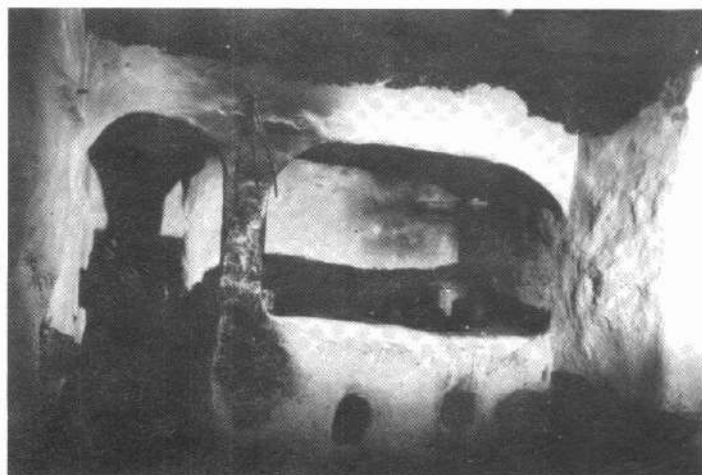
83 The explanation given for this feature by Rathjens (p. 14) does not conform with the houses studied here.

84 There is an unaccounted for space between the ceiling of this storeroom and

the floor of the large room above. Such spaces were kept by the Jews as low storage-places entered through a hole in the ceiling which was afterwards plastered over. Cf. Rathjens, op. cit., and Qāfiḥ, op. cit. Similar hiding places for valuable goods were sometimes built into Islamic houses.

85 Cf. Rathjens and Goitein, op. cit., 24, n. 14.

86 Cf. p. 455a.



22.141 House J in the Jewish Quarter. Kitchen.

out a lavatory) which is down two steps.

On the other side of the courtyard, the left (north), there is the main reception room, raised so that it has to be approached up a flight of five steps. Under it is a kitchen, entered by descending two steps. Further away (east) there is a small room for general use, two steps above the courtyard.

On the same side of the courtyard as the staircase (west) there is a second living room three steps up, with a scullery (*sāḥil*) underneath for washing dishes: the latter is entered from the kitchen. Entered from the other side of the kitchen, and placed under the small courtyard room, is a storeroom without windows, used as a larder.

The floors of the main rooms in a Jewish house were made of a beaten bed of clay and pebbles (*qaḍāḍ*), and not generally of the stone paving used in Islamic houses.

Frequently the doors opening from the courtyard have a small timber ledge above them to shed the rain.

The open courtyard has a drained floor on the south east corner for washing clothes, dishes and, on sunny days, even small children. It is screened from its neighbours and the wind by a high wall penetrated by a masonry cooling box for water jars. Warm water for washing was obtained by the Jews by leaving water in big brass bowls standing in the sun.⁸⁷ There were usually aromatic plants growing in pots along the screen wall.

The lavatory is not, in this house, approached from the courtyard, which it is in many other cases, but from a landing half way up the staircase; this takes it even further than usual below courtyard level.

The Jewish houses of al-Qā' are not built of squared ashlar stonework and baked brick, but of the common rural building materials, rubble stonework, unbaked brick and coursed clay. These materials are usually plastered over with clay plaster reinforced with chaff or an admixture of animal dung. This surface looks very fine indeed as long as it is annually renewed, and has the advantage that it forms an impervious skin over everything underlying it. So these materials, with translucent alabaster panels set into them for windows (pl. 22.138) may not necessarily have been used in al-Qā' because the Jews were uncertain whether they might be moved out again and lose almost everything, as had happened in 1066/1679. Instead, they may have been chosen because they had discovered the technique of building with them to be economical and structurally superior to the stone and baked brick of Ṣan'ā', at least in low buildings. The houses in the old city that seem to have been Jewish houses before 1066/1679 are much closer to the Islamic houses both in height and building materials.

⁸⁷ In Ḥaḡramawt also, for example in Tarīm, water for culinary and other purposes was placed on the roof in aluminium *dusts* to heat and thereby economise in fuel. Water so heated quickly boiled over a light fire of palm leaf (*sa'f*).



22.142 House J in the Jewish Quarter. Grinding mills on the lower level.

The Jewish houses of al-Qā' are much lower than Islamic houses in accordance with the sumptuary regulations of Islamic South Arabia.⁸⁸ True, there is a record that the houses were originally higher in al-Qā' and were reduced by edict of the Imām,⁸⁹ no doubt they were. But they were also larger in plan than they had ever been able to be in the press of the old city, for at least hundreds of years before. The advantage of the increased size of the plan, of course, was that more living rooms were able to be grouped around the courtyard. As this also increased the area available for storerooms and stables underneath, the mezzanine could be eliminated. Thus the height of the house could be reduced from four levels to two, with great increase in amenity. If a rich man could acquire a larger site, or join two houses together, as often seems to have happened, then he could continue to increase the accommodation without going upwards, something that could not easily be done in the Islamic house with its more rigid concept of grouping rooms around a single staircase instead of around large and flexible courtyards.

This seems borne out by the few remaining Jewish houses in the old city. They are higher, built of ashlar stone and baked brick, with the courtyard at the third level. Although they were subsequently altered, it is possible to see that, as the courtyards were smaller, the living rooms were grouped around them on two levels, and this necessitated several separate staircases which climbed more than the height of a storey to reach the rooms they served (pl. 22.137). There are similar Jewish houses, apparently dating from medieval times, preserved at Thulā.

Finally, the origin of the Jewish house in Ṣan'ā' does not seem to link, as Rathjens postulated, with courtyard houses of Mediterranean type, nor with a hypothetical courtyard house in pre-Islamic South Arabia, of which there is as yet no evidence. It seems, instead, to be an adaptation of the indigenous Yemeni house to Jewish needs, or at most a fusion, probably before Islam, of Jewish living concepts from the north with ancient local traditions of construction and dwelling.

To convince ourselves of this it is only necessary to examine what happened to the Mediterranean courtyard house when the shortage of space forced buildings upwards in Cairo during the Middle Ages.

The concept of the Mediterranean urban house is that the rooms look inward to the courtyard (Greek houses at Priene, Pergamon, Delos, etc., and the Roman *domus* at Pompeii, Herculaneum, etc.). The essential difference between the Jewish house in Ṣan'ā' and the Cairo house is that in the latter the courtyard remained the visual focus of the house. In particular, there is an

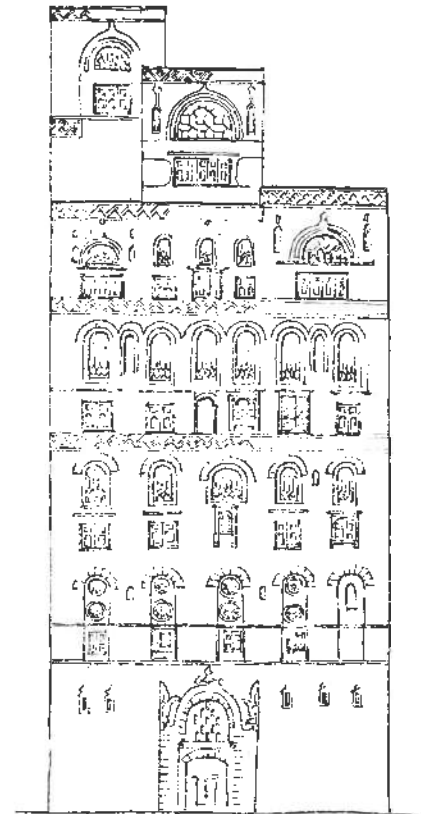
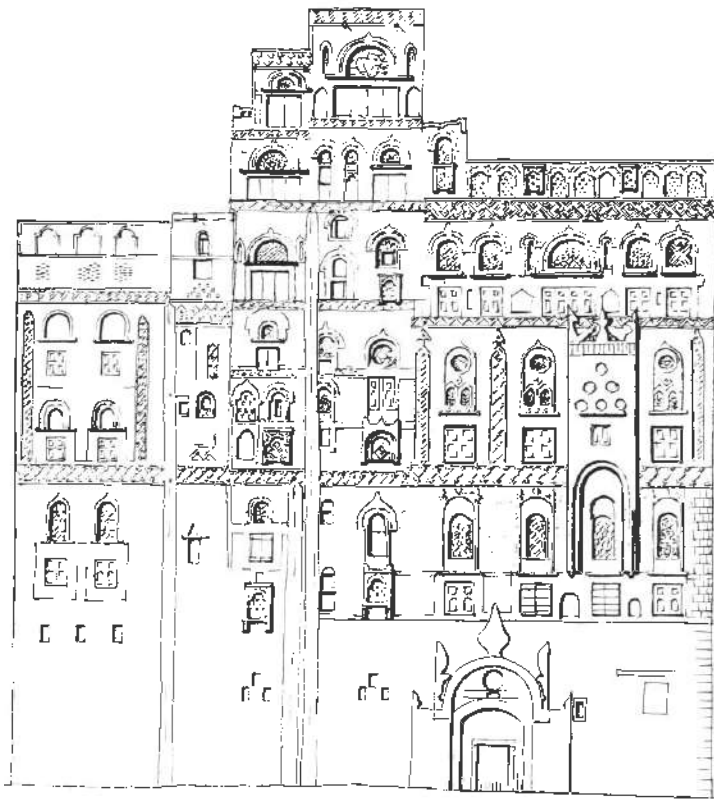
⁸⁸ Brauer, *Jemenitische Juden*, 269. Fourteen prohibitions are listed including 'Construire de maisons plus hautes que les maisons des musulmans.'

⁸⁹ Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1774, 422; *Description*, I, 336, no Jew was allowed to build over 14 *coudées/dhira'* in height.

open loggia, now on a higher level, looking down into the courtyard. But in house J in Şan'ā', in this respect typical of the Jewish houses there, there is no centralized visual focus in the courtyard.

On the contrary the rooms look outwards, the *diwān* looking at other houses across its garden, the *manṣar* at other houses across the rooftops, exactly as happens in the Islamic houses of Şan'ā'.

Fig. 22.14 Houses MM and B. Elevations.



Chapter 23

The Public Bath

(*Ḥammām*, pl., *ḥammāmāt*)¹

The earliest European account of a public bath in South Arabia is, strangely enough, of one at Aden where one would have imagined the climate so hot as to make it hardly necessary.

I must confess, that there are not to be seen of the kind, fairer Stoves and Baths than those of this Town [Aden]; they are all lin'd with Marble, or Jasper, and cover'd with a fair Dome, through which the Light comes, which is adorn'd within side with Galleries, supported by magnificent Columns. All the Building is perfectly well divided into Chambers, Closets, and other vaulted Apartments, which all meet at the principal Hall of the Dome. 'Tis needless to give here a more particular Description, and to speak of what passes in these agreeable Places; 'tis much the same as is to be seen in the great Cities of *Turkey*; of which the Accounts of the *Levant* make frequent mention.

*De la Roque*²

Ritual ablution, simple reasons of cleanliness and comfort apart, is one of the basic requirements of Islam, for one cannot perform a valid prayer unless one is in a state of ritual purity. In the Yemen, more especially in the north, water is not always easy to obtain, and round Ṣan'ā' fuel is expensive. That well-water is drawn by human labour for the household, coupled with fuel problems, naturally does not encourage extensive washing of the person. Though of course in the highlands there is open-air bathing in running streams or pools, the cold months for an appreciable part of the year are not conducive to bathing. 'Cold is the enemy of religion, *al-Bard 'aduwv al-dīn*,' runs a well-known proverb—because it renders one reluctant to perform the prerequisite ablution in cold water, and many is the time one has heard early morning ablutions accompanied by grunts and groans at the bitter cold of the water on one's limbs.

The heated indoor bath in northern Yemen is certainly a desirable luxury, to the extent that the Badawī proverb quoted by Nazīh³ when discussing the public baths of Ṣan'ā', is most apposite—'*Na'im al-dunyā fi 'l-ḥammām*, The (whole) delight of this world lies in the hot bath.'

There is a number of hot springs in the Yemen used as public baths—those at al-Sukhnah in the Tihāmah were favoured by Imām Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn, the warm baths of Ḥammām 'Alī are well known, and, for instance, in the Wādī Madhāb of the Baraṭ region, there is a *ḥammām* or hot spring where as many as twenty cars may sometimes be seen today, with bathers from Ṣa'dah or Khamīr. There are probably many more but one does not know whether they had anything to do with the introduction of the fuel-heated *ḥammām*.

The question as to when the public hot bath, the *ḥammām*, was first introduced into the Yemen is not an easy one. According to Fraenkel, *ḥammām* itself is a loan word in Arabic from Aramaic, which, he maintains, derived it from the classical *Thermae*. In Ḥaḍramawt however the word *ḥammām* is used in the sense of a covered hall,⁵ part of the mosque inside which the prayer is performed when it is cold, but it does not seem to have any direct connection—at least with *ḥammām* the bath. It is, of course, true that in winter water is heated at Ḥaḍramī mosques of the interior. There do not seem to have been *ḥammāms* in our technical sense at pre-Islamic Mecca and Medina—not only has the writer no recollection of any mention of them in early Islamic literature, but several Traditions (*Ḥadīth*) support the view that the Ḥijāzīs were not acquainted with them. Ibn Mājah⁶ reports the following, 'The land of the Persians/foreigners (*al-A'ajim*) will be opened up to (conquered by) you and therein you will find houses called *ḥammāmāt*. Let not men enter them without a waist-wrapper (*izār*), and prohibit women from entering them (at all) unless sick or following parturition (*nufasā'*).' Then again,⁷ Muḥammad forbade the *ḥammāmāt* to men and women, then permitted men to enter them in waist-wrappers (*mayāzīr*) but did not extend permission to women. 'Ā'ishah, says yet another Tradition, was visited by certain women of al-Shām (Syria or simply the north) to whom she said, 'You are those whose women enter the baths.' The tenor of the injunction that follows is against a woman taking off her clothes except in her husband's house.⁸

It does not automatically follow, accepting the proposition that the *ḥammām* was not found in the pre-Islamic Hijaz, that it

1 The public baths are sometimes referred to by foreign visitors as 'steam baths' or 'Turkish baths'. Neither term is correct. The baths do not use steam, either for heating or for bathing inside the hot rooms. Nor were the baths introduced into the Yemen by the Turks—nor indeed were such baths developed by the Turks in Anatolia, having their origins, as they do, in a long evolution during the Byzantine era, from the hot baths of the ancient world. For these reasons the Ṣan'ā' baths are referred to here simply as 'public baths'. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Encycl. Islam*, 2nd ed., art. *ḥammām*, says that already even in the 4th/10th century *ḥammāmāt Rūmiyyah*, Greek baths, are alluded to in Arabic literature.

2 *A voyage to Arabia Foelix*, London, 1732. For a public bath at Zabīd, at the end of the 8th/14th century, see Hikoichi Yajima, *Chronicle of the Rasūlīd dynasty of Yemen*, Tokio, 1974, 57 and 61, called Dār al-Ḥammām.

3 *Riḥlah*, I, 150.

4 Cf. A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Wien, 1917, I, 13, 187. The south Arabian coast has also hot springs as in Wāḥidī territory, and in Ḥaḍramawt at Tabālah and al-Ḥamī.

5 Cf. R. B. Serjeant, 'Mihrāb', *BEOAS*, London, 1959, XXII, 444.

6 *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, Cairo, n.d., II, 1233; a similar Tradition is in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, section on the *ḥammām*.

7 Ibid, 1234.

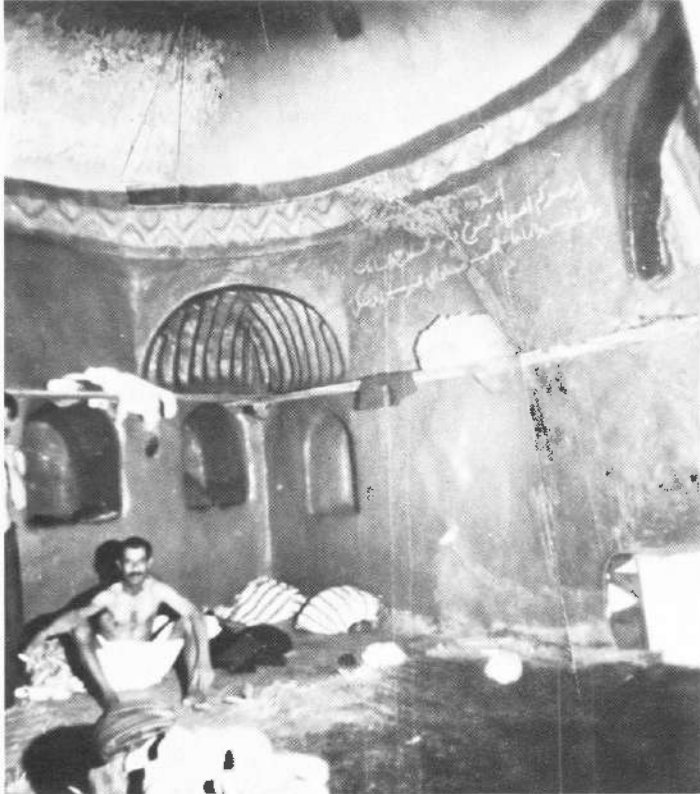
8 Al-Tirmidhī in section *Adab*, 43. Al-Tirmidhī, section *Ṣalāt*, 119, reports also, 'The earth, all of it is a place of prostration (*masjid* = mosque) except the *ḥammām*. There is a Tradition with a counter-Tradition about the lawfulness of the recitation of the Qur'ān in the *ḥammām*, and one against praying in the *ḥammām*, etc.



23.1 Hammām Yāsir. The facade containing the entrance door, approached down the narrow lane.



23.2 Hammām Yāsir. Interior of the changing room. The domed ceiling is supported on double squinch arches.



23.3 Hammām Yāsir. View of the changing room.



23.4 Hammām Yāsir. View of the changing room. Note the palm leaf matting on the floor.

Key to all figures

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a animal stalls | b bathroom | br boiler | c court |
| cu court upper level | ch changing room | d diwān | e entrance hall |
| eu entrance hall upper level | f warm room | fr furnace room | g grinding mills |
| gh ghayl—water level | h excrement room | hr hot room | j grain and fruit store |
| k kitchen | l lobby | lt laundry terrace | lb lavatory/bathroom |
| m mafrāj | mn minaret | n mihrāb | nw washing floor |
| o loading and mounting animals | or restaurant/eating place | p passage | pl pool |
| plr cold pool room | q public ablution area | r room—general use and sleeping | rr reception room and business |
| rl library | s store | sh sheep pens | sp shop |
| t terrace | tm tomb | tr treasury | u shaft |
| v rain water cistern | vm man in charge | w well | wb water cooling box |
| wr well ramp | x minbar | y women’s room and wardrobe | z manẓar |

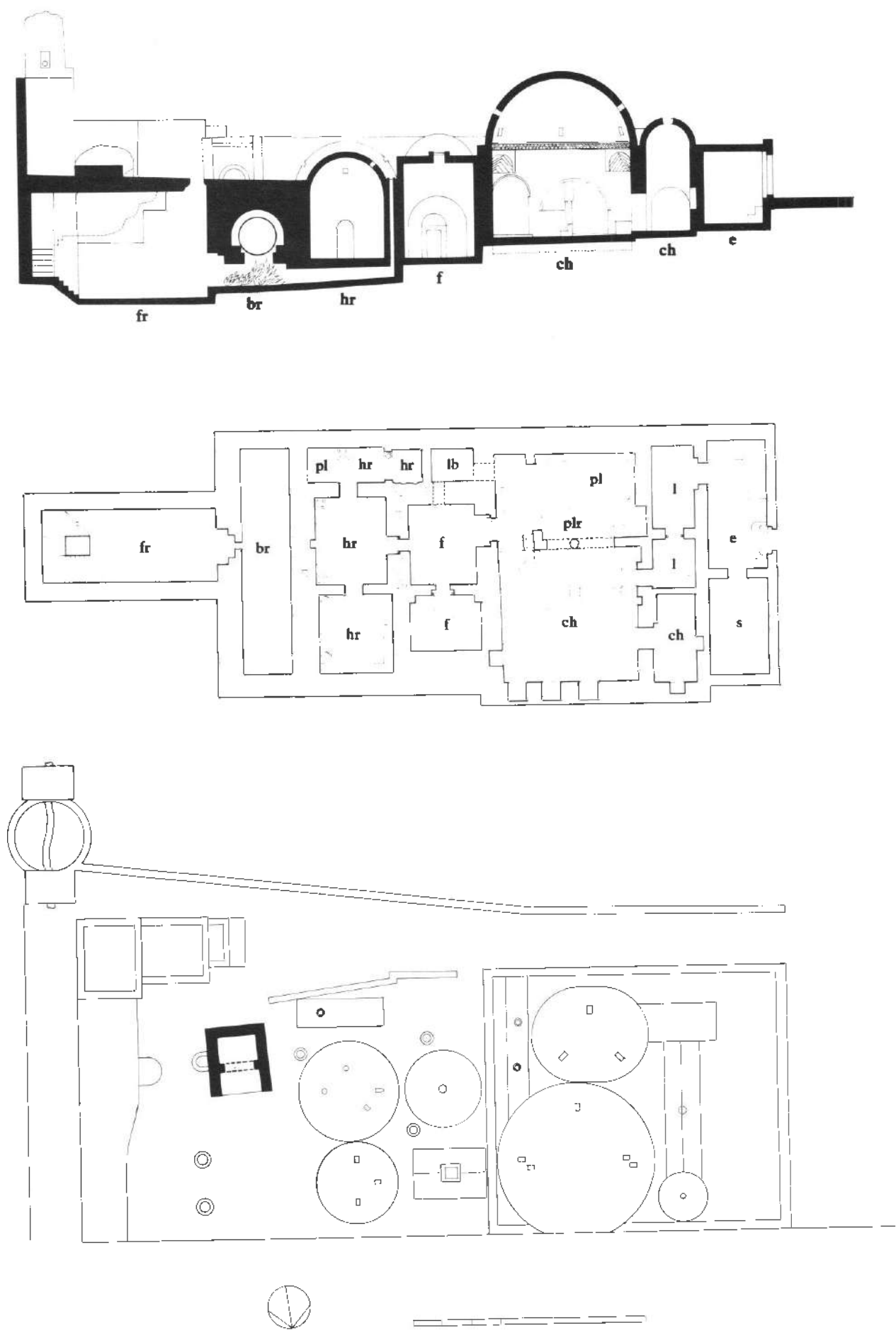


Fig. 23.1 Hammām Yāsir. Ground plan, roof plan, and long section through the building.

was also unknown in the highly civilized Yemen. The Persian Abnā' who, we know, controlled the Qaṭīf district of Ṣan'ā' before Islam, could have introduced it there, but there is no evidence that in any way suggests this in the literary sources at our disposal. For the present it is safest to assume that the *ḥammām* was introduced after Islam, but it can be postulated that this took place possibly even in the Umayyad period. In this connection it is interesting to learn that in Baṣrah in the early days of the Umayyads, the Governor, the redoubtable Ziyād b. Abī-hi 'used to prohibit *ḥammāmāt* except in the places where they would cause detriment to no-one.'⁹ His regulation, one imagines, is taking into account such factors as smell, smoke and drainage, not moral issues. One would expect the introduction of *ḥammāmāt* to Ṣan'ā' when Quṣayr 'Amrah and the Khirbat al-Maṣṣar baths had been constructed, even if the actual style or architecture might be different.

The very fact that the first Zaydī Imām, al-Hādī, is credited with pronouncements about bath-keepers in his *fiqh* implies that public baths were already in existence before 900 A.D. in the Yemen. Al-Rāzī¹⁰ records that in 353/964 there were 13 public baths in Ṣan'ā', and in 381/991, 106 mosques and 12 public baths. That the *ḥammāms* al-Rāzī speaks of were the hot baths and not mere bathing places is evident in that he says, 'A man enters the *ḥammām* and stays there an hour until his sweat commences, then he (goes on) sweating.'

Whatever theoretical objections or prejudices there may have been about *ḥammāms* in the very early days of Islamic expansion the bath very quickly became associated with the mosque, no doubt because of its value as a place of ablution before prayer. This can already be seen in the account of Baghdad by Ibn al-Jawzī¹¹ (late 6th/12th century) and one finds this in the main towns of the Yemen, as for example Radā', where 'Amīr b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb built his beautiful mosque, and at the same time constructed a public bath close beside it.

The manuals of *ḥisbah*, market and town regulations deal also with the public bath, and these remain constant over the centuries so that the regulations of *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* hardly differ in any respect from those of the third century Imām, Uṣrūsh.¹²

The great Islamic theologian al-Ghazālī¹³ (11th-12th century A.D.) epitomizes the 'Manners of the Bath' as 'covering the privy parts and lowering the eyes to avoid looking at the privy turning to look (at others) and withholding greeting, sitting about little, washing after sexual intercourse (*janābah*) before entering, and washing the feet with water before going out for this puts headache away'. There was even a Yemeni book on the bath composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaymī (flor. 1073-1151/1662-1738), *Ḥadā'iq al-nammām fi-mā jā'a fi 'l-ḥammām*,¹⁴ though whether copies are still extant is unknown to us, most likely a book on rules of conduct.

Lest all these precepts convey too serious an impression, it must be said that the bath is centre of social intercourse and relaxation as the eye-witness accounts below will show. The poet al-Khafanjī (mid 12th/18th century)¹⁵ in the dialogue (*muḥāwarah*) between the rival villages of Bīr al-'Azab and al-Rawḍah, has Bīr al-'Azab boast of possessing a *ḥammām* (which today al-Rawḍah also has), and, among others, two celebrated verses were composed by a poet and official of the latter part of the 11th/17th century on being met by a friend who asked him why he had gone to the bath,

I entered not the bath on pleasure bound.

How so—when passion's fire consumes my frame?

Mere flowing tears sufficing not I found,

I entered that each limb might weep the same!

Some wealthy Ṣan'ānī families and at least one inn (Samsarat-al-Muzayyin, see p. 290b) had at one time private *ḥammāms*, but the expense of their maintenance, necessitating, as it did, the residence in the household of a member of a bath-keeper family (*ḥammāmī*), meant that the number of private *ḥammāmāt* was severely limited.

There are seventeen public baths in Ṣan'ā' today, one of them in the 'Urḍī, the 19th century Turkish Barracks.

List of the Baths of Ṣan'ā'

Ḥammām al-Sulṭān

Situated west of Masjid al-Taḳwā¹⁶ on the west side of Bustān al-Sulṭān Quarter. Sultan Ṭuḡhtakin b. Ayyūb constructed Ḥammām al-Sulṭān at the time when he laid out (*ikhṭaṭṭ*) the Quarter called Bustān al-Sulṭān west of al-Sā'ilah which at that date formed the furthest west boundary of Ṣan'ā' town. This Quarter he laid out as a place of residence for himself, his family, ministers and men of state, building many palaces (*quṣūr*), mosques and baths in it, and extending Ghayl Alāf to it. These palaces flourished until the Amīr Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah, brother of the Imām 'Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah entered Ṣan'ā' and destroyed the Sultan's palaces, removing their doors, windows and timbers to Ḍafār al-Zāhir (Ḍafār of Dhī Bin). The last known restoration of this bath was in the period of the Imām al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad (ob. 1251/1835-6) who ordered it to be restored, but it continued to preserve its older name.

Ḥammām al-Ṭawāshī

Situated east of the road leading from Sūq 'Aqīl to Bāb Shu'ūb. Al-Ṭawāshī, the envoy whom the Sultan of India sent with a large present to the Pasha Muḥammad, a Turkish governor of the Yemen, stayed some time in Ṣan'ā' and constructed Ḥammām al-Ṭawāshī in the 10th/16th century, assigning the revenue it produced as a *waqf* or pious foundation to the Ṭawāshī Mosque

9 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, ed. M. Schloessinger and M. J. Kister, Jerusalem, 1971, IVa, 193.

10 *Tarikh*, 114-5, 95.

11 *Manāqib Baghdad*, Baghdad, 1342 A.H., 24, providing also statistics on the number of baths in Baghdad. For this and some other references see M. 'Abdul Jabbār Beg, 'Workers in the Hammāmāt in the Arab Orient in the early Middle Ages', *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, Roma, 1973, XLVII, 77-80. Cf. E. Bosworth, *The medieval Islamic underworld*, Leiden, 1976, 198, 300, passim, Abū Dulaf and Saḥiyy al-Dīn al-Hillī and their descriptions of rogues and vagabonds. In the cold weather the beggars called Sāsānis seek to sleep by the stokeholes of the bath furnaces.

12 *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, section 49, ii. Cf. Serjeant, 'An early Zaidī manual of ḥisbah', 27.

13 *Al-Adab fi 'l-Dīn*, Cairo, n.d. (1935 ?), 9.

14 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 252.

15 *Ibid*, I, 298; cf. *ibid*, II, 47, and I, 113, for another poem on the bath. The 4th/10th century Baghdad anthologist Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Diwān al-ma'āni*, Cairo, 1352 H., II, 240 seq., has a section on *Faḍl al-ḥammām*, and one on *Ḍamm al-ḥammām*. You see that its walls have fountains, and its sky has many moons (*kathīrat al-aqmār*)—these last doubtless the small glazed circles in domes, to admit light; battle scenes with knights decorate the walls. Animal scenes have lions of war over smaller animals (*amḥār*) and over Mahri camels (*mahārī*). There are

Wa-yanābī'-un ka-quḍbāni durr-in

Tataḳāfa min warā'i 'l-jidārī

Fountains like branches of pearls

inclining to each other beyond the wall

Another verse says the bath is

Manzil-un takhla'u dīna-ka fi-hi

Hīna ta-ti-hi khālī'a 'l-izārī

A place in which you take off your religion

When you come to it having taken off the *izār*.

A proverb in the collection of al-Maydānī, ed. Freytag, Bonn, 1838-43, III, 330, runs 'Man lā ya'rifu 'l-banā'a' (sic) *yata'jjabu 'alā qubbati 'l-ḥammām*, He who knows nothing of building marvels at the dome of the Bath.'

An amusing verse is quoted in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamasah* (with comment. of Tibrizī, II, 172) compiled in the first half of the 3rd/9th century, of a Badawī who said to one of his sons when the boy entered the *ḥammām* and the lime (*nūrah*) he had used, burned him.

I forbade the two of you to (use) lime and it burned you both.

Often an evil bath there is, the water of which scalds!

16 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 22. The mosque was constructed in 1176/1762-3, but we have no information as to whether the mosque and bath were in any way associated.



23.5 Hammām Yāsir. Interior of the cold pool room.



23.6 Hammām Yāsir. View of the pool in the cold pool room.

which he also constructed. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn supplies information on this in *Anbā' al-zaman* under the events of 1028/1618-19.¹⁷

Hammām al-Mutawakkil

Situated at Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ, north of the Dome (Qubbah) of Al-Mutawakkil on the course of al-Ghayl al-Aswad. It was built by the Imām al-Mutawakkil al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn (1128-39/1716-27) and restored by al-Mahdī 'Abdullāh b. Aḥmad (1231-51/1816-35).



23.7 Hammām Yāsir. Interior of the central temperate room.



23.8 Hammām Shukr. Interior of the western temperate room.

Hammām al-'Urḍī (The Barracks Bath)

Inside the Barracks, situated to the south of the lower 'Urḍī. Field-marshal 'Abdullāh Pasha of the Ottoman Army constructed it during the second Ottoman occupation.

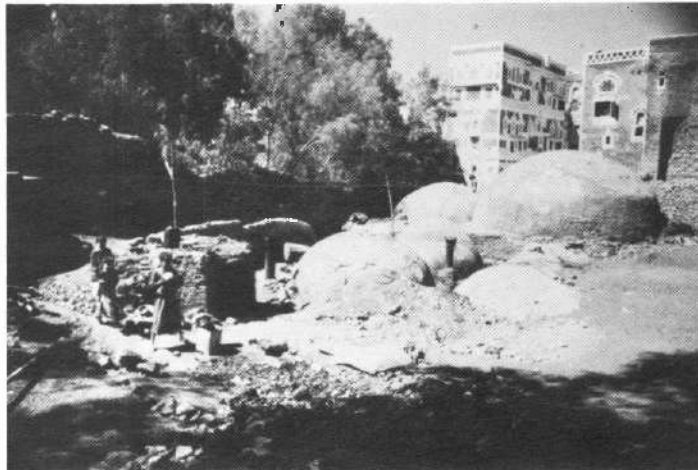
Hammām al-Hamdānī

Situated on the eastern edges of al-Bawniyah district. It was founded by the shaykh 'Alī Yaḥyā al-Hamdānī who had been in the Sudan and was one of the rich merchants of Ṣan'ā', in business in a big way. Built in the vicinity of his own dwelling some forty years ago, it was first private, restricted to him, his family and guests, but after their financial affairs deteriorated his heirs leased it out to become a public bath, and it is now known as al-Na'im.

¹⁷ Cf. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 69; *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 813.



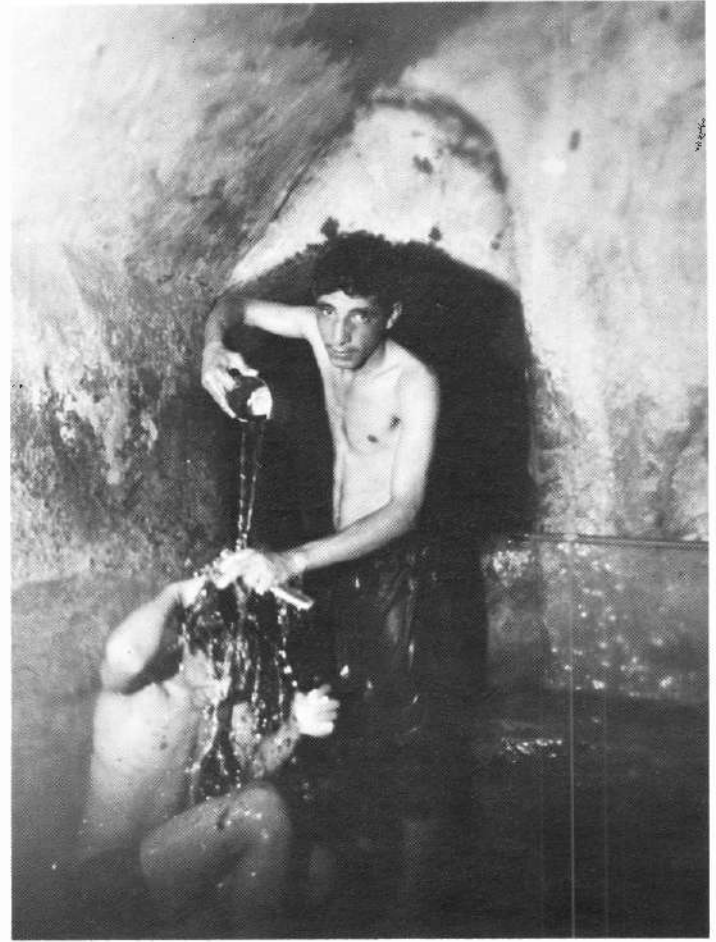
23.9 Hammām Shukr. Interior of the side hot room which is used for exercising.



23.10 Hammām Shukr. A view across the domes of the rooftop.



23.11 Hammām Shukr. Another view of the bath above roof level.



23.12 Hammām Shukr. Interior of the side hot room which is kept dark.

Hammām 'Alī

Situated west of Masjid al-Qāḍī. The Amīr 'Alī son of the Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamid al-Dīn constructed Hammām 'Alī about twenty years ago, it being at the present time the best-known of the baths for cleanliness, fashion, elegance and health.

Hammām al-Abhar

Situated north west of Bāb al-Yaman.

Hammām al-Bawniyah

Situated in al-Bawniyah, one of the Quarters of Bīr al-'Azab, north of the road leading from Bāb al-Şabāḥ eastwards to al-Şulbī¹⁸ (known since 1962 as Maydān al-'Ulufī, called after an officer who attempted to assassinate Imām Aḥmad in the Hodeidah Hospital in 1961). Al-Khafanji¹⁹ (mid 12th/18th century), as seen above, speaks of the wells, *ḥammām*, *samsarah* and *sūq* of al-Bawniyah.

¹⁸ A *şulbī* is a piece of hard open ground.

¹⁹ Cf. *al-Ṭarā'if al-mukhtārah min shi'r al-Khafanji wa-'l-Qārah*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn, Cairo ?, 1970, 75 ff.



23.13 Hammām Shukr. The characteristic appearance of a public bath building externally.

*Ḥammām al-Jilā'*²⁰

Situated in the north west corner of the old city to the east of the Sā'ilah. It is said to be one of the baths constructed before the 10th/16th century, and it was private to the Jews when they used to live in Ṣan'ā' town. When the Imām al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, known as Sayl al-Layl,²¹ ordered them to be removed from this Quarter in 1086/1675-6 to a Quarter restricted to them exclusively within which he permitted them to construct residences for themselves, making gates for the Quarter in the wall surrounding it, Hammām al-Jilā' became restricted to the Muslims. The construction of the present bath is thought to be only two hundred years old.

Ḥammām al-Ḥumaydī

Situated east of the road leading from Bāb al-Yaman to al-Nazārah Street. Al-Ḥajarī²² suggests that the Hammām and the Ḥumaydī mosque were set up by the ancestor of Bayt al-Ḥumaydī, a family still living in Ṣan'ā'. The hammām, the mosque, and two other mosques, al-Madhhab and Janāh, all use the same well which has a *sabīl* at it.

Ḥammām Saba'

Situated to the north west of al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, the Great Mosque in Ḥāfat Ṭalḥah.²³ It is also called Hammām al-Qū'ah.²⁴ Qāḍī Ismā'il suggests that the name may imply that the bath was originally founded before Islam.

Ḥammām al-Sūq/Sūq al-Baqar

Situated in the Cattle Market (Sūq al-Baqar) to the south of Masjid al-Filayḥī and east of Masjid Dāwūd in the area which, in olden time, used to be known as Darb²⁵ al-Sirār, one of the two Quarters in early Islamic Ṣan'ā'.²⁶

Ḥammām Shukr

Situated east of the Sā'ilah on the road from the Dome (Qubbah) of al-Mahdī 'Abbās to Ṣan'ā', passing by Masjid al-Tāwūs. It seems to have already existed in 977/1569. The Bayt Shukr is a Ṣan'anī family, mentioned in the *Miswaddat Sinān*,²⁷ after which Hammām Shukr receives its name.²⁸ There is a local tradition that it was at one time a Jewish bath.

20 Jilā', says Qāḍī Ismā'il, is pronounced with the modification of the vowel of the *jīm*, *i* instead of *a*, as is customary in Ṣan'ā' dialect.

21 His biography is given in *al-Badr al-ṭālī*, I, 43, etc. He was known as Sayl al-Layl because of the sudden overwhelming nature of his attack in the campaigns he waged, like a flood coming down in the night.

22 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 48-9.

23 Ibid, 115, 140, the latter speaking of Ḥāfat Hammām Saba'.

24 Qū'ah (pl., *quwā'*) are large soak-away drains and pits for the water of the baths, open to the sky. Houses have smaller *quwā'*, but they are roofed over (*masqūfah*).

25 *Darb* is an area, quarter, but can also mean a wall, etc.

26 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 95, speaking of Masjid Maḥmūd in Sūq al-Baqar (the *waqf* of which goes back to 744/1343-4), says that when the water of Bir Maḥmūd which served both the mosque and the hammām in its vicinity diminished Imām Yahyā bought the house at the foot of the well-ramp (*sifāl al-mirna'*), adding to the length of the ramp and having the well dug till the water increased.

27 See p. 153a.

28 Ibid, 92.

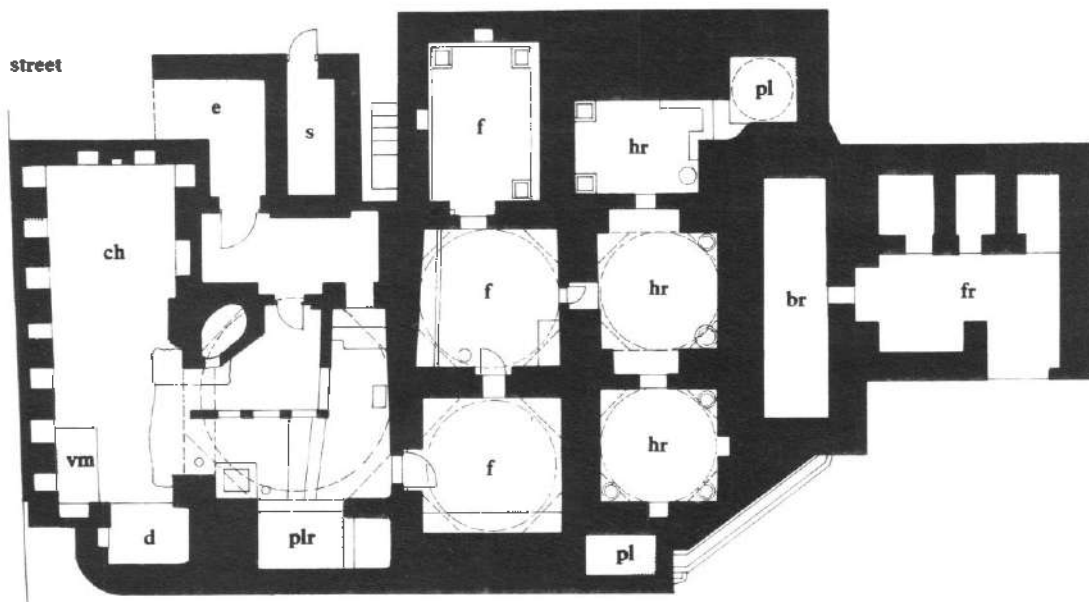
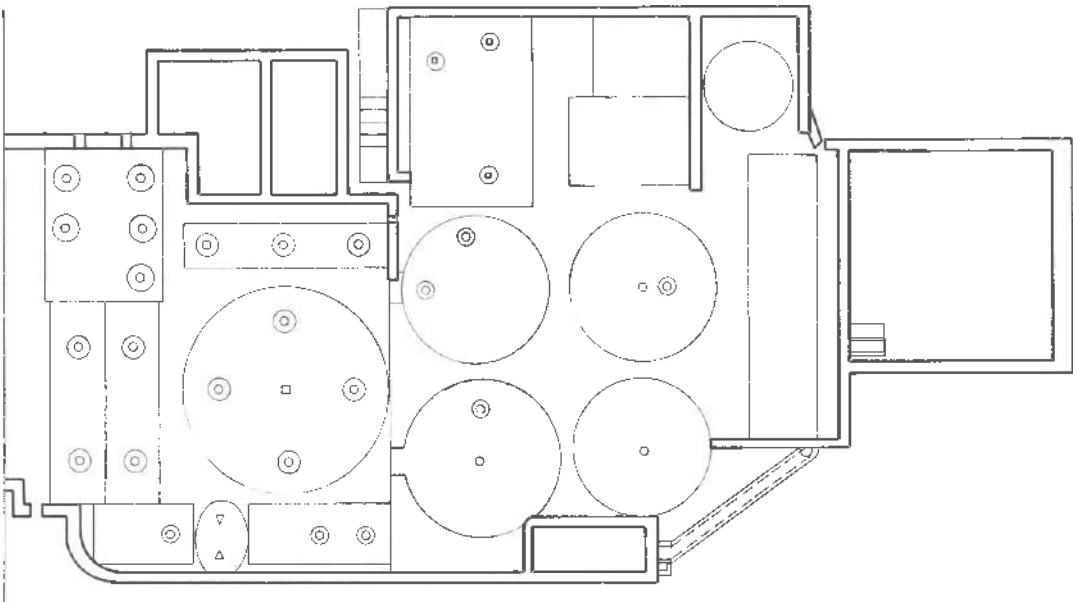
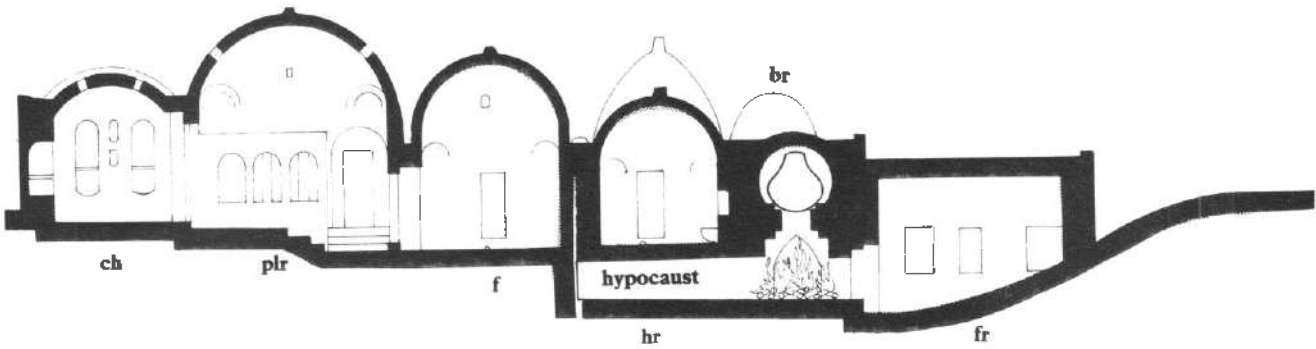
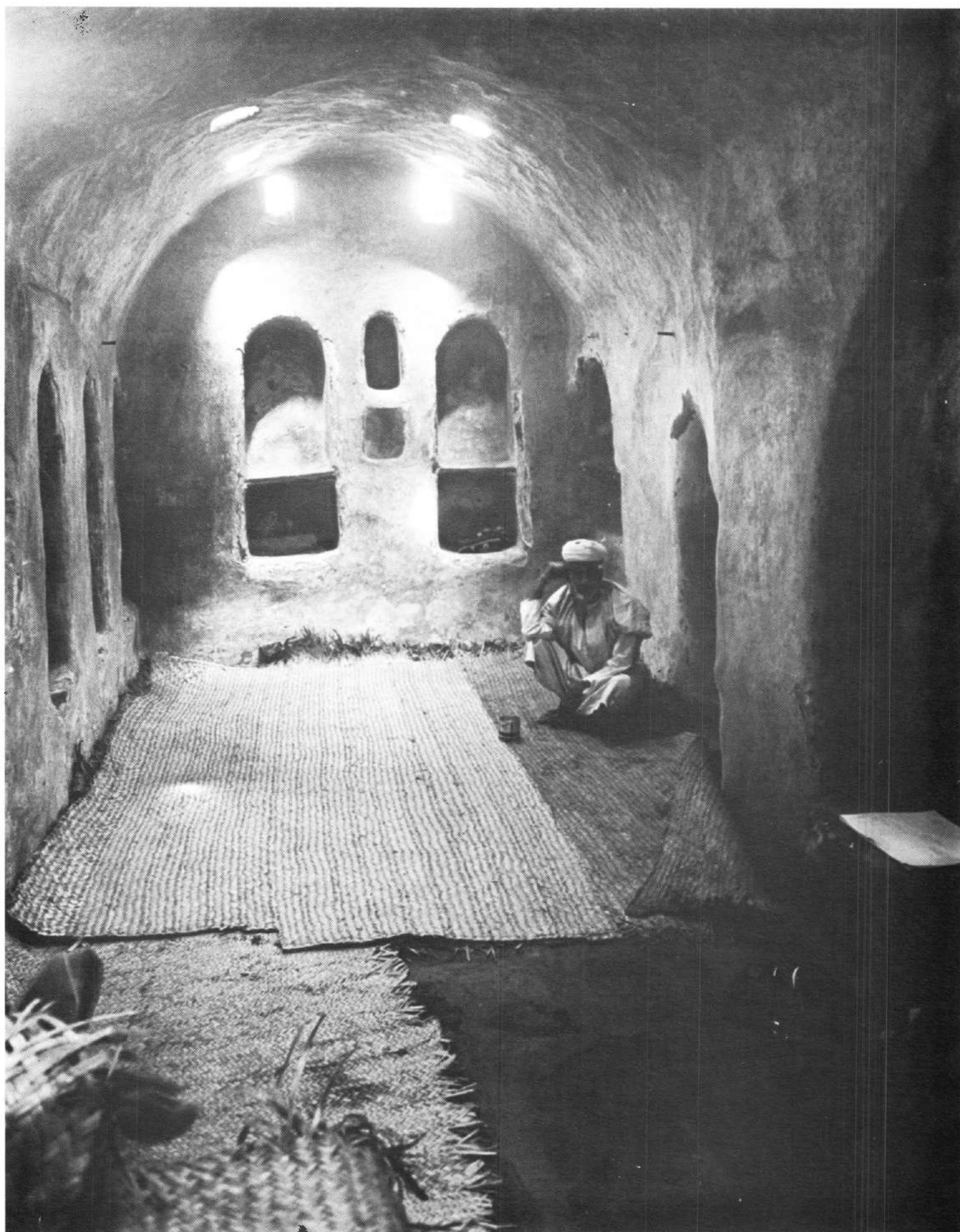


Fig. 23.2 Hammām Shukr. Roof plan, ground plan and long section through the building.





23.14 Hammām Shukr. The interior of the changing room. While the niches around the walls are mostly storage places for clothes, that to the right of the

kneeling figure extends to the floor and is a *mihrāb* to mark the direction of prayer.



23.15 Hammām Shukr. The other end of the changing room with the entrance to the baths on the left. The recess in the end wall forms a reclining place for an important patron. The raised platform to the right of it and the niches behind it serve as the sitting place for the bath keeper.

Hammām al-Maydān

Situated in the Maydān al-Qaṣr (re-named since 1962 Maydān al-Laḡiyyah,²⁹ another soldier involved in the assassination attempt on Imām Aḥmad in 1962), the large open area and parade ground of earlier times immediately west of the Castle of Ṣan'ā'. It was built by the Ottoman Pasha Ḥasan³⁰ who left the Yemen in 1013/1604-5.

Hammām Yāsir

Situated north east of Sūq al-Milḥ. It is believed to be the oldest public bath in Ṣan'ā'.

Hammām al-Faysh or Hammām al-Qā'

Situated in Qā' al-Yahūd, reputedly Jewish, and supposedly dating from the early 12th/18th century. It is said that the Jews made it private and restricted to the Jewish community. The *ḥammāmī* of al-Faysh says it was Makhlafah that was the old Jewish bath; this seems more likely. It is now one of the public baths.

Hammām al-Faysh is confirmed by those now living in the former Jewish Quarter as having formerly been called Hammām al-Uṣṭā by the Jews. Brauer³¹ in discussing the important synagogue Knīs bēt Mori Aḥaron 'Arāḡi ('Arāqi) ha-Kohēn, also known as Knīs bēt el-Uṣṭā, adds, 'Zu dem Knīs gehören ein Warmbad und mehrere Häuser, deren Erträgnisse für die bestimmt sind, die im Knīs dem Lernen obliegen.' So among the Jews like the Muslims a *ḥammām* was linked with a religious institution which its revenues helped support.

Hammām Makhlafah

As Hammām al-Faysh.

The statistics given by writers for the number of baths in Ṣan'ā' from the time of al-Rāzī onwards show a remarkable consistency, except that for some imaginary period of mythical expansion of Ṣan'ā' located about the time of the 'Abbāsīd al-Rashīd there is a legendary tale that Ṣan'ā' had 12,000 mosques and a like number of baths.³² For the 18th century Niebuhr³³ gives twelve large baths, Manzoni³⁴ adds to this figure a bath at al-Mutawakkil and another at Bīr al-'Azab. Zabārah³⁵ for the beginning of the 14th/20th century, i.e. about the same time as Manzoni, gives the figure of twenty baths on the authority of another writer.

The Bath

The baths are usually partly sunk underground in order to retain their heat. A short twisting passage to prevent sight lines into the interior of the bath from the street leads, down stairs, to a changing room, from which a further descent leads to a series of small temperate and hot rooms, covered by barrel vaults and domes.

Architectural Description of a Typical Public Bath (Hammām Yāsir)

The bath presents an unpretentious facade to the street. Only 2.25m high and 5m wide, it is merely a white-washed stone wall pierced by a single doorway. The door stands open when the baths are in use.

Inside this doorway three rough stone steps descend into an outer lobby containing a stone seat on the south, and two doors (fig. 23.1). That on the north is the door of a storeroom for fuel. That on the east gives into an inner corridor (*majza'*), which leads north until the main entrance to the changing room (*mikhla'/makhla'*)³⁶ is reached, in the eastern wall of the corridor.

The changing room is a large room a little less than five metres square, covered by a single high dome on squinch arches (pl. 23.2). The latter frame curious semi-domes made of corbelled, pointed, arches with straight sides. Around the base of the dome runs a chevron pattern which is used to narrow the span of the dome, the top moulding overhanging the lower one. Inside the door a small enclosure surrounded by a low kerb marks the limits of the area in which shoes may be worn, as in mosques also (pl. 23.3). Against the west wall a raised masonry and plaster platform has underneath a deep recess for storage of shoes. The platform is that on which the *ḥammāmī* sits to control admission to the bath. Usually there is a recess in the wall for a *madā'ah* pipe, or even a cupboard. In the case of Hammām Yāsir there is a recess behind the platform. Most of the stone floor is covered with a layer of clean palmleaf mats (*ḥaṣīrah*) on which the users of the bath may change their clothes, recline after the bath, and where commonly prayers are said. Around the walls is a series of niches, and above them wooden hooks, then a wooden shelf, for the storage of clothes. Valuables are left with the *ḥammāmī* who keeps on his platform a locked wooden chest for safe-guarding them. There is a niche extending to the ground on the northern side, a *mihṛāb* indicating

29 It is doubtful if this new name is used however.

30 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, II, 784.

31 *Jemenitischen Juden*, 306.

32 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 15-16, quoting al-Ṭayyib Abū Makhramah and Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's *Anbā' al-zaman*.

33 *Description*, I, 333.

34 *El Yēmen*, 112—he gives the fees for that bath and its attendants also.

35 *Nashr al-'arf*, loc. cit.

36 This word is found in al-Khazraḡī, *al-'Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyah*, II, 26, and *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 113.



23.16 Hammām Shukr. Inside the cold entrance room. The changing room is visible in the background. Entrance is from the right and was originally screened

the direction of Mecca.³⁷ Entered through an arch on the western side of this large domed space is another smaller changing room, for private use. This has a low dome and a barrel-vaulted recess to the south.

The large domed changing room is separated from the smaller circulation space to the south by both a small and a large arch, and by two high steps making a descent of fifty-six centimetres. A kerb just inside the arches defines the dry palmleaf-matted area of the changing room from the wet stone-paved area on the south. The large arch is supported in the middle by an ancient pre-Islamic column, which appears to be a later reinforcement (pl. 23.5). This assumption may be incorrect, however, as a number of other baths have a central column under this arch. Perhaps the column was originally intended to separate people descending to the bath from people ascending from it, a pattern still preserved in Hammām Shukr (fig. 23.2), and in the ablution places (*maṭāhir*) of *ghayls* at some mosques. To the west, within the changing room, is a low wall on which men's wet waist wrappers (*fūṭahs*) are placed after the bathing process is finished; on the top step alongside they have been modestly removed under a dry wrapper brought by the bath-keeper. From this wall the wet *fūṭahs* can be easily collected as the user leaves the bath after he has dressed and prepared for the street.

On the other side, the small arch in the south east corner contains the small pool of clean cold water, hollowed from a single square stone, which is used by bathers coming from the bath as a water reservoir from which to wash their feet before re-entering the mat-covered area of the changing room.

The lower room on the south side of the changing room is roofed on the west by a smaller dome, with the same squinches as

from the passageway through to the hot room in the foreground by a row of arcades which have since been broken. To the left is the cold pool.

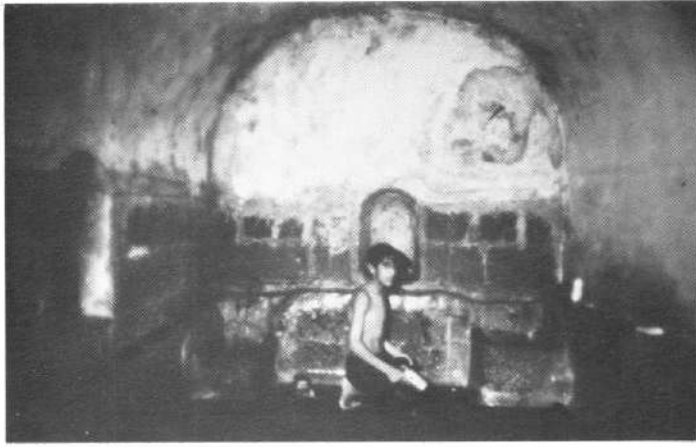
that of the changing room, and by a low barrel vault running south. Like the big dome of the changing room, both the dome and barrel vault of this space are pierced with small toplights closed on the outside with glass sheets (perhaps originally alabaster) set in plaster. A domed ceiling (*saqf muqabbab*) is called *jumān* or *jumūl*.

The area under the dome is half-filled by a large tank (*barik*)³⁸ of cold water with its lip at chest height (pl. 23.6). It appears that, since all baths contain such a pool adjoining the changing room, it must once have been intended for some special purpose. That in Hammām Yāsir is 2.50m long, 1.50m wide, and 1.25m deep. Others, although they are often polygonal in shape, are not very much bigger. They are therefore not big enough for a bather to swim in, but would merely be used for a cold dip, as was the practice of the Romans and the Byzantines after they had completed their hot bathing. Alternatively, it has been suggested that this cold pool was used for washing clothes, and particularly *fūṭahs*; it is still used for the latter function by some bathers before leaving the baths. A final interpretation is that the cold pool was mainly intended as a reservoir from which the bather, having emerged from the hot rooms, dipped water to shower himself with cold water in completion of the bathing process; there is a row of circular stone seats against the eastern wall under the barrel vault which would seem to confirm this theory, although no similar practice survives to the present day.

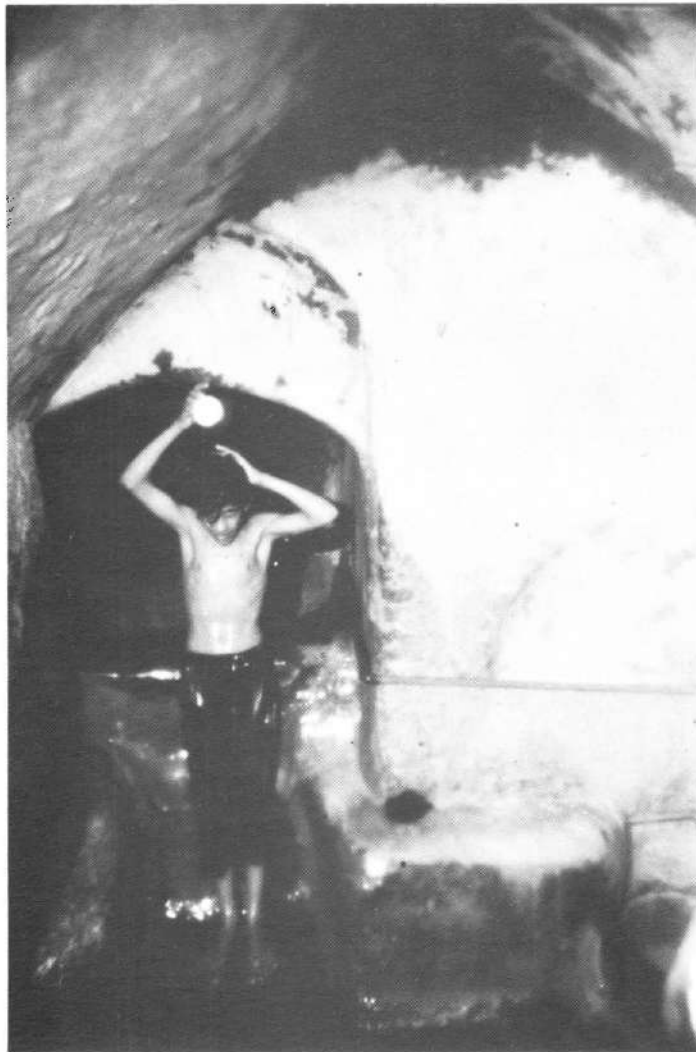
Originally, a door in the south east corner gave access to the first of the temperate rooms (*mabrad/frigidarium*) on the southern side. Recently this has been blocked up and the room given over entirely to the function of a sump for the drainage, following a modern innovation introduced into many of the Ṣan'ā' baths.

37 Not all baths have a *miḥrāb* in the *mikhla*.

38 In al-Rawḍah bath this whole room is called *al-barik*.



23.17 Hammām Shukr. The interior of the west temperate room showing two stone basins for water from which individual washing may be done. Pipes in the walls lead hot and cold water to each of these basins.



23.18 Hammām Shukr. The interior of the hot dark room on the western side, in which private ablutions are made.

Instead, a new doorway has been created giving direct access into the central temperate room, and incidentally eliminating entirely the urinal which used to exist at the eastern end of the first temperate room.

The number of temperate rooms is now reduced to two, the domed central room and a northern room which is darker and covered with a barrel vault. The dome is supported on a very simple kind of corbelled pendentive (pl. 23.7). A large arch spans across the small door between the two surviving temperate rooms,



23.19 Hammām Shukr. The interior of the central hot room. The fire is directly under the floor of this room, which therefore has to be cooled by throwing water across it before patrons can sit or lie on it.

suggesting that they may once have been one space. A similar arch in the same place exists at Hammām Shukr (pl. 23.8). There are three small stone seats in the central room of Hammām Yāsir, but none at all in the northern room, which is essentially a washing floor on which the bathers sit, using water from one of the two square stone basins. Hot and cold water pipes lead into these basins. By contrast the central room is to a large extent a waiting area, and has no basins.

From this central temperate room an eastern door gives into the central hot room (pl. 92), which is flanked by other hot rooms on north and south (pl. 23.9). The central and northern rooms are domed and fairly well lit through the holes pierced in the domes. That to the south, however, is darker, and is meant for the final washing of the private parts of the body.

All three of these rooms are built over a low space, on the pattern of a Roman hypocaust, through which air from the fire circulates. The fire is nearest the central floor which, in spite of a considerable thickness of brick and stone, is so hot that it can barely be touched. Flues extend up the walls of the central rooms, one on the south east corner of the hot room and the other on the north west corner, so that the latter heats also the central temperate room.

The central hot room contains two square stone basins fed by hot and cold water pipes (pl. 23.18). These basins provide water for washing down the hot stone floor so that people can sit or lie on it, but also serve as convenient seats for those who are averse to hot surfaces. In the northern hot room there is a stone bench across the northern wall and part of the western wall, and three square stone basins which provide water for washing. The floor here is not so hot as in the central room.

The southern hot room, the darkest of the three, contains a deep tank on the eastern end which is fed directly from the hot water boiler over the fire (pl. 23.10). The temperature of the water in this tank may, however, be moderated by the addition of cold water which is led to it by a pipe from a cold-water tank nearby on the outside of the building. A square, solid stone basin adjoins this tank which allows a bather to adjust the temperature of the water to his own requirements, if he so wishes. Other baths frequently have a small circular stone seat (*dakkah*) as well, but the absence of one in Hammām Yāsir results in the stone basin being frequently used as a seat while hot water is poured over the bather's head and shoulders.

The remainder of the components of the bath may only be viewed by going outside and proceeding across the roof, past a series of projecting domes and barrel vaults (pl. 23.11) to the area east of the hot rooms. Here are located the hot boiler, below the roof level of the bath, and the furnace under it. The latter is stoked by descending a stair which winds down from natural ground level around a central stone core to a depth of nearly 4 metres.

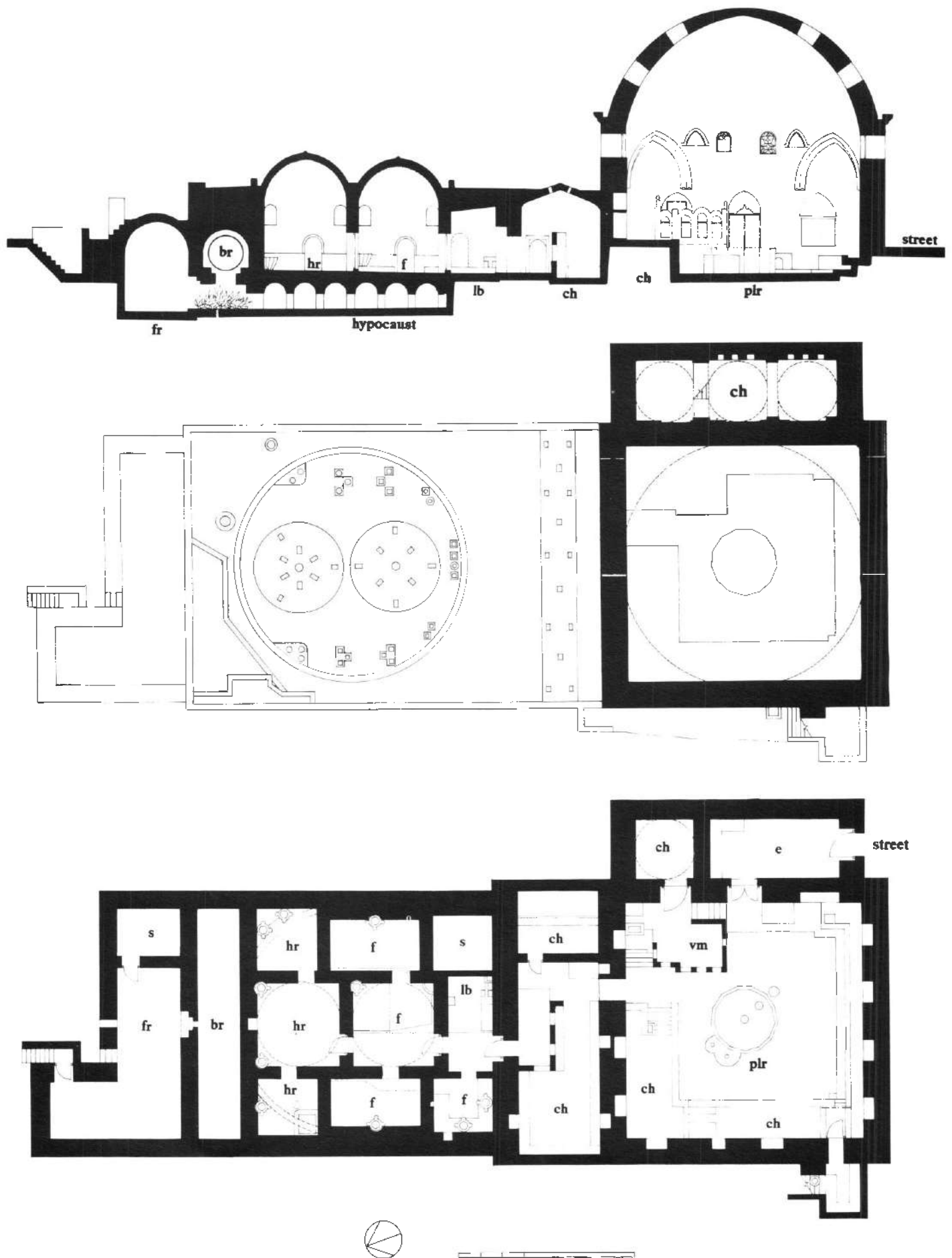
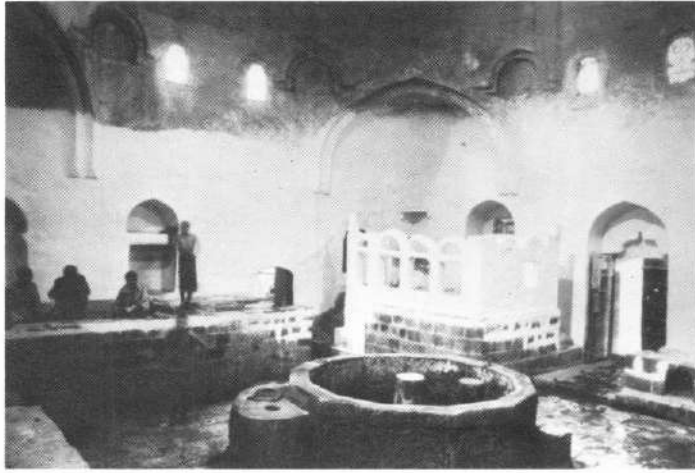


Fig. 23.3 Hammām al-Maydān. The roof plan, ground plan and long section through the building.



23.20 Hammām al-Maydān. The interior of the main changing hall, showing the musicians' gallery in the far corner, next to the entrance door to the room on the right. Matting originally covered much of the floor and the central system was filled with water.

Storage niches for fuel are built in the walls of the subterranean stoker's room. The fire is fed through a concentrically double-arched opening in the thick east wall of the bath. Further east are two large reservoirs for cold water filled from a well behind them, from which water used to be drawn by animals (pl. 23.12). Today the well has been mechanized.

Variations in the Design of Other Public Baths

All seventeen of the Şan'ā' baths are partly underground. With only one exception, discussed below, they present unpretentious facades to the street and frequently pass unnoticed by foreign visitors. The domes of Hammām Shukr can be observed from the Sā'ilah on its west side, but this is purely fortuitous (pls. 90 and 23.13).

Hammām al-Maydān is unusual in having three changing rooms (fig. 23.3). The innermost one conforms to the typical Şan'ā' pattern, but the outer two are designed on precedents from Istanbul and present a fine architectural effect from the street (pl. 93). These are composed of a large square block built of striped black and buff stonework, and covered by a high dome, and adjoining it on the east a narrower block of the same materials roofed with three low domes. The low block is double-storeyed, the bottom level providing the outer entrance lobby, and the upper a special *diwān* for wealthy patrons of the bath, long since fallen into disuse (pl. 23.23). The large domed room, 10.50m square, has wide raised platforms around all four sides, built of stone and provided with recesses for hot braziers underneath (pls. 23.21 and 22, and fig. 23.3).

Only in the north east corner is the platform replaced by a raised enclosure surrounded by arcaded screens, in which the *ḥammāmī* sat, and which was also reputedly used by musicians for the entertainment of patrons.³⁹ This large room was apparently originally intended to provide the wide range of facilities still enjoyed by patrons of public baths in Istanbul. The patrons reclined on carpets spread on the platforms, and were served with coffee or other drinks and the *madā'ah* (water pipe).

In the centre of this room in the Hammām al-Maydān, and in an equivalent position in a small number of other baths (e.g., Hammām al-Sulṭān, pl. 23.28, and Hammām Saba', pl. 23.27) is a polygonal or circular pool with a central fountain.⁴⁰ Adjoining this central pool, and quite separate from the main changing

area, there is sometimes a raised *diwān* in a recess (e.g., in Hammām al-Ṭawāshī).

From these forward changing halls the intending bather proceeds to the inner changing room, and then straight into the temperate and hot rooms, which in al-Maydān resemble closely those of Hammām Yāsir, described above.

Other baths, however, have the circular pool with its central fountain in the transitional space between the changing room and the first of the temperate rooms, that is, in the room which in Hammām Yāsir contains a square corner pool. An important difference in some cases is that the entrance lobbies lead into the transitional space, from which the changing room is then reached. This means that the intending bather is greeted by a cheerful fountain playing in a central pool before he goes through to change (pl. 23.28).

In other cases, such as Hammām Shukr and Hammām Sūq al-Baqar, the entrance is first into the transitional space (*majza'*) before the changing room (*mikhla'*) is reached, but there is no central pool and fountain, the cold pools being unpretentious square pools on one side of the room (fig. 23.2).

The general plan of three temperate (*isqāh/mabrad*) and three hot rooms (*ṣadr* = *calidarium*) is varied only twice, in Hammām Saba' and Hammām Sūq al-Baqar, which have only two temperate and two hot rooms. Usually the three hot rooms have the fire underneath them, while the temperate rooms have flues (*maṭraṭ*) on one side. Hot rooms have to be re-plastered with *nūrah* about once a year.

The arrangements for heating the floor of the hot rooms by a hypocaust system does not change from bath to bath, though the number of rooms with floors heated in this way does change up to as many as six in Hammām al-Maydān. The number and position of the flues in the walls varies considerably, from only one flue in the wall between the central hot and temperate rooms in the case of Hammām Shukr (fig. 23.2), to four in Hammām Saba' (fig. 23.4).

In Hammām al-Maydān the solid stone basins are elaborate in form, with three lobes on a circular shape, and decorated at the sides with carved ornament. Hammām Shukr, like a number of the other baths, has circular stone basins instead of square ones; there are rough square stones projecting from the walls of two of the hot rooms above head height, used for exercise on some occasions, but perhaps intended primarily to hold oil lamps at night, before electricity was introduced. Similar projecting stones occur in a number of other baths; the remainder have niches in the walls for the same purpose.

The furnace (*miḥrāq*) room, boilers, reservoirs and wells are similar in all the baths. A chimney is called *madkhanah*, and a flue under the floor, *millah*.

Construction

The lowest levels of the bath are those of the furnace and the hypocaust (*shāri'*) about half a metre high under the hot rooms (pls. 23.24 and 25). They are built of red brick (*yājūr*); the hypocaust is made up of a series of barrel vaults about a metre wide and high, running from the furnace towards the temperate rooms. The furnace and the space containing the boiler above it are usually barrel vaults running in a transverse direction, and slightly wider in diameter. The boiler is a large cauldron, two or three metres in diameter made of brass or copper. In Hammām al-Maydān the hypocausts of the furnace are built entirely of brick domes.

The outside walls are built of squared stones on a stone foundation, a construction which extends up to roof height. Internal

39 Zaydī Imāms tended to frown upon music and sometimes to prohibit it.

40 In a bath the fountain is called *fiṣṣiyah*—the pool is called *birkah* which is

dug into the ground (*maḥfūrah fi 'l-arḍ*). The word *shādhurwān* is only applied to fountains in *maḥārīj* reception rooms.



23.21 Hammām al-Maydān. The interior of the great domed changing room. In winter braziers with hot coal in them could be placed in the niches under the

raised changing platform to keep it warm. A fountain played from the centre of the pool.

walls are sometimes brick, sometimes stone; if brick they are invariably protected with a thick layer of hard gypsum plaster which is then oil-painted. Internal stone walls are of roughly coursed ashlar, with openings spanned in brick or stone arches. Wooden ceilings are not used in any part of the bath.

Most of the domes and barrel vaults of the ceiling construction are of brick, often with parabolic rather than semicircular cross-sections to give them additional strength. They are pierced by a small number of glazed holes called *al-thurayyā*, but at al-Rawḍah bath simply *khuzqī* (pl., *khizqān*) or holes, to admit natural light to the spaces below. The domes stand on a variety of squinch arches and simple pendentives, or even on short beams spanning across the corners (pls. 23.4, 7 and 28). They are thickly plastered externally.

All the brick used in the bath is of the dark red, highly fired type; even so, the life of the domes and barrel vaults is said to be shorter than the rest of the structure, doubtless due to cracking caused by differential expansion, and by the penetration of water. It is doubtful if any are more than two hundred years old, whereas the substructure walls are in many cases much older.

The bricks are sometimes thicker than those used in normal building, up to 5cm thick, perhaps in an attempt to strengthen the structure.

Fuel

For the fuel of the bath wood is sparingly used since it has always been expensive in the central highlands and is not easily available. Alternative fuels include skins, feathers, and bones from the slaughter yards. Old rubber flipflop shoes (*shubshub*,

pl., *shabāshib*) and shoes (*qanāṭir*) are burned nowadays and burn well—the supply of these is of course limited. The most important fuel is human excrement (*kharā*) which is stated to give a great heat and therefore to be specially appropriate for heating the bath. The excrement is collected from the lower level of the small chamber at the bottom of the ‘long drop’ (*maṭṭal*) found in every house for this purpose. The man employed for this purpose is called *mujahḥith* and he takes the excrement packed in skins through the streets to the *maḍḥā* of the bath, an open court, where it dries, though it is already so dry when removed as to be almost odourless. It may also be spread on the roof as well as in the open court of the bath which is often at a level with the roof, and contains the reservoirs and well (pl. 23.26). The name *mukharwī* (from *kharā*) is also given to the man who takes out the excrement from the houses—the fodder (*‘alaf*) for his donkey is supplied by the bath-keeper. The *ḥammāmī*, we are informed, used also to use dung collected from the streets.

At al-Rawḍah the fuels used are cow-dung in rounds (*kibyah*, plur., *kibi*), but there was also human excrement ready for burning there, but no heap of firewood which is evidently scarce. We noticed that when the fire was lit the entrance to the furnace was stopped up with clay bricks. A long rake (*mighrafah*) is used to remove the ash from the fire—this the proprietor of al-Rawḍah bath uses on his fields.

In Ṣan‘ā’ the Banī Quṭayb, from a village of Jabal al-Sawd, part of Jabal ‘Ayāl Yazīd, used to sell to the country-folk the excrement from the privies and ash from the houses of the city, so it was not all used for the public baths.

The donkeyman who supplies the bath with fuel also removes the ash to sell to the orchards and vegetable gardens as manure.

In former times, according to the Hebrew sources, the bath-

keepers used themselves to collect the excrement burned in the furnaces of the baths. After the decree that the Jews should be obliged to make the collection the bath-keepers complained that they would lose a part of their livelihood through this new regulation. It was eventually agreed that the Jewish collectors should sell to the bath-keepers but at a very low price, and the bath-keepers should re-sell it to the customers to whom they have previously sold it. There was even a fixed measure named *khabshat al-kharājkhar* (the basket of ordure) which the Jewish collectors filled each day to sell to the bath-keepers, and the latter were always complaining that the Jews gave them short measure. The Jews complained to the bath-keepers for not giving them the full amount owed to them. The bath-keepers complained that they were not properly paid, and many of the strong and powerful did not pay at all! The collectors were actually paid by the Jewish community, and there is an allusion to this in the case brought by the Inspectorate of Waqfs against the Jews of Qā' al-Yahūd for the payment of rent.⁴¹ The Jewish proverb runs, '*Himl al-khar*' '*ala 'l-rās wa-la ḥājah li-'l-nās*, A load of ordure on the head rather than having to depend on (other) people.' It seems that in Šan'ā' they took it out of the recesses by hand. At 'Amrān they used to add ash (*ramād*) to the ordure (*zabīl*) until it became like earth (*turāb*)—the Arabs gave them money (*zalaṭ*) for it.⁴²

Water Supply

There is naturally always a well very close to the bath house. The water drawn from the well passes into the main reservoirs (pl. 23.11), from which it is drawn as required through either the hot boiler or the cold reservoir immediately adjacent to the bath. There is a system of pipes throughout the bath, carrying both hot and cold water to the hot and temperate rooms. There are no taps in the pipes, instead cotton swabs are inserted into their ends, which can only be drawn out by calling one of the bath attendants, who removes them with a hooked wire. The tapless pipe end is called *biṣbūz*, but a *ḥanaḥ* (sic) is one that can be closed with a tap, and it is used for hot water.

Drainage

The floors of all rooms in the bath slope quite steeply towards a common drainage point situated on the line of the wall between the first of the temperate rooms and the changing or intermediate room, whichever is the closer. At this point the waste water ceases to flow across the stone floors, or in special channels provided for the purpose (which sometimes pass through the walls in small openings). Instead it descends underground in a sump and enters a large underground sewer, usually high enough to admit a man. These sewers are said to have originally extended for considerable distances to allow the water to be used in a vegetable garden or orchard. Now, however, the waste water from a bath or house is led to a wide stone or bricklined pit by a channel called *qū'ah*, closely resembling a well but not as deep, situated usually just in front of the public bath, in the street. This is covered over with beams and stones so that it is not visible in the roadway, but it is opened every few years for cleaning. The tendency of the sump to get blocked or empty slowly has led many bath owners to close the first temperate room completely, providing entry instead directly into the central temperate room.

Open Time at the Baths

As a rule the baths are open four days for men and three for women, though arrangements vary at different baths. Men usually have the use of the bath on the Thursday, and always on the Friday. At one bath however the programme runs—Sunday, women; Monday, men; Tuesday, women; Wednesday, men; Thursday, women; Friday, men; Saturday, men.⁴³ Some baths open more days for women than for men—which is more profitable to the bath-keeper since women remain longer and pay more, almost twice as much as men—but this is unpopular with the men of the district. Men go to the bath from dawn until about 9 or 10 p.m., but on women's days the bath is open from 7 a.m. until 6 p.m. As a sign that it was a women's day the entrance to the bath used to be half curtained over, but this custom has fallen into desuetude of more recent years. E. W. Lane⁴⁴ remarks that in the Cairo of his day a cloth was hung outside the bath at the time for women. In Ramaḍān the bath is open for men from the evening to after Ṣalāt al-Fajr, the Dawn Prayer, and from 9 a.m. onwards up to the late afternoon (*aṣr*) for women. The fires burn from 2 to 4 a.m., from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 5 p.m. to 6.30 p.m., that is to say they have to be lit two hours before the bath opens. The bath is shut outside the hours mentioned, but it is never entirely closed unless it be for repairs.

Bathers and Bathing

As a well-established custom, to take the bath in Šan'ā' has its fixed procedures and social conventions. These, to judge, for example, by accounts given by Lane for early 19th century Cairo, follow the same broad general patterns in other Islamic countries. They compare also with the humorous narrative of Morier's Hajji Baba of Isfahan and Mark Twain's wry experiences of the bath at Istanbul. We actually have a description by Manzoni⁴⁵ of taking the bath in Ottoman Šan'ā'. Two modern accounts of the use of the bath follow, the first by the writer and the second by Qāḍī Ismā'il—they describe the procedure and customs of the bath from rather different angles.

The Use of the Baths

Description 1

The patron of the bath usually arrives with two clean *fuṭahs* in addition to that which he is already wearing, a towel, soap, and his own rough glove and soap glove, wrapped in a large scarf. Sometimes he will carry a complete change of clean clothing as well.

He takes off his shoes at the entrance to the changing room, and leaves them in the opening under the *ḥammāmī's* seat.⁴⁶ He is then attended by the *ḥammāmī* until a suitable clear space has been found for him to change, with a hook, and a clear shelf or niche for his clothes. The *ḥammāmī* then takes all his valuables and money back to a box on one side of his seat, into which they are securely locked. The *ḥammāmī* is responsible for any clothes or property lost in the bath, and is naturally careful to safeguard possessions.⁴⁷

The bather dresses in one of his (or her) spare *fuṭahs*. The men wear them around the waist extending almost to the ground, the women wear a longer *fuṭah* which ought to begin above the

41 See p. 429b. Ameen Rihani, *Arabian peak and desert*, London, 1930, says that the Jew sells the excrement at about 20 U.S. cents a donkeyload.

42 *Jemenica*, 65, no. 404. Brauer, 254, also deals with the collection of excrement by the Jews.

43 Van den Broeke (see p. 109a) says that men have the bath in the morning and women in the afternoon. According to E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1895, 349-54 (ch. xvi), of the 60-70 *ḥammāms* in Cairo some were

for men only, some for women and small children only, and some for men in the morning and women in the afternoon. Cf. S. Poole (Lane's sister), *The Englishwoman in Egypt: letters from Cairo*, London, 1844.

44 Loc. cit.

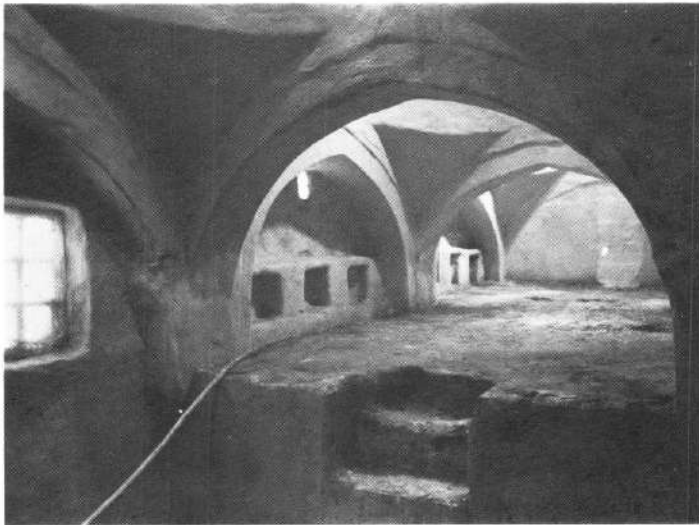
45 *El Yémen*, 112 seq.

46 Shoes at al-Rawḍah bath are kept under the *isqāh*.

47 Cf. the regulation in *Qānūn Šan'ā'*, section 49, ii, seq.



23.22 Ḥammām al-Maydān. The interior of the changing room showing the great dome on squinch arches. The use of the niches in the wall for holding clothes can be seen. The stepping stone in the foreground allowed access for the washing of clothes in the central cold water pool.



23.23 Ḥammām al-Maydān. The interior of the *dīwān*, the private changing room over the entrance passageway to the bath.

breasts.⁴⁸ A few bathers wear rubber sandals into the bathing rooms, but this practice is unusual.

48 Nothing else is worn. This has evidently always been the case. Usāmah b. Munqidh tells how a Crusader lord at the bath tore the *fūṣḥ* off an attendant and was surprised to find the man had shaved the pubic hair. See P. K. Hitti, *Memoirs of an Arab-Syrian gentleman*, reprint, Beirut, 1964, 165.

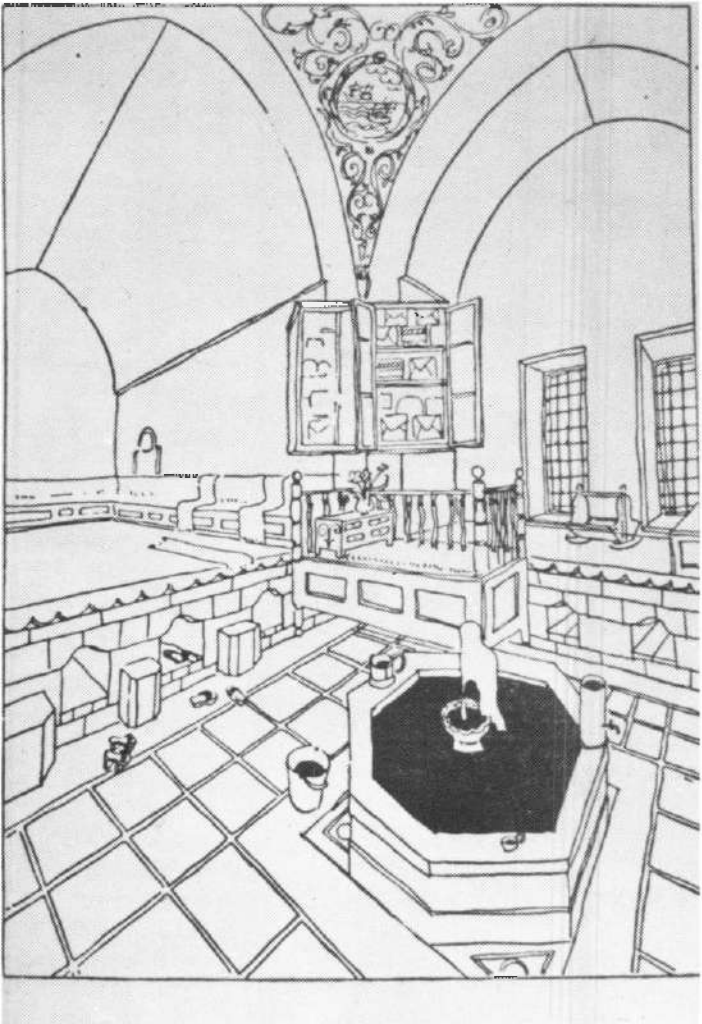
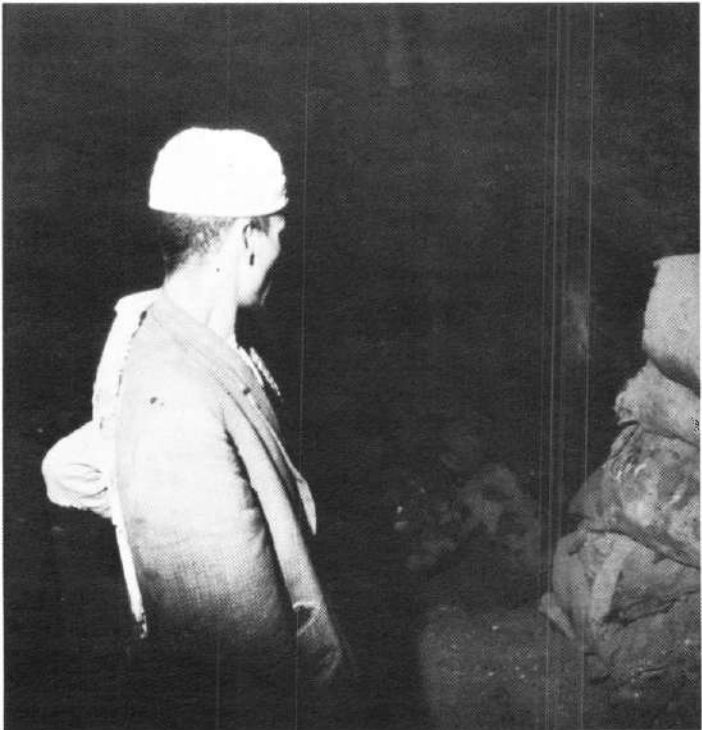
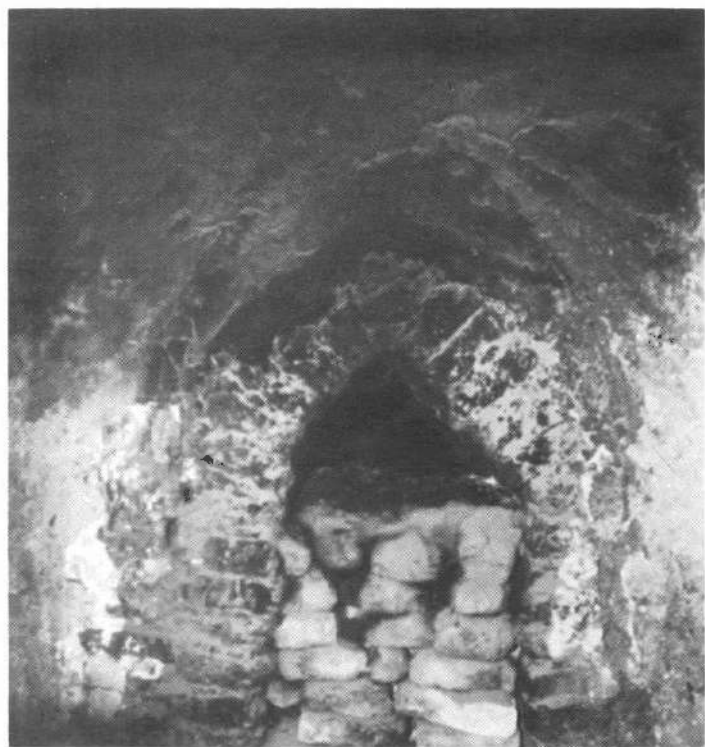


Fig. 23.4 Damascus, Ḥammām. An Ottoman bath contemporary with Ḥammām al-Maydān in Šan'ā'.



23.24 Ḥammām al-Maydān. The interior of the furnace room.



23.25 Hammām al-Maydān. The mouth of the furnace under the floor level of the baths.

The bather then proceeds to the top of the steps leading down from the changing room to the bath proper. There he washes his feet using water dipped from the small stone basin provided. He next proceeds right through the temperate rooms to the dark hot room, where the attendant douses him several times with very hot water dipped from the hot tank in that room. The attendant then goes with him into the central hot room carrying a dipper filled with water, and swills down an area of the hot floor so that the bather can sit or lie on it. The bather does this for five or ten minutes, unless he is trying to reduce weight or recover from an illness, in which case he might remain for as much as an hour. In the latter event the bather will not remain continuously in the hot room, but will go out to the temperate or intermediate rooms at regular intervals to cool off.

The purpose of remaining in the hottest room for this period is to build up a sweat, prior to the dirt and the sweat being removed by rubbing down with a piece of pumice stone or a rough woollen glove. Women prefer the former. To accentuate the process, exercises are sometimes performed by individuals, or, the room being relatively free, a group of people will form a line or a circle and go through the motions of a Yemeni dance, one or more of their number humming the rhythm. Until a few years ago, it is said, this dancing was particularly in evidence for an hour after the midday meal, the young men being obliged to take part in it for exercise, or the young women when the bath was being used by them. This practice has largely disappeared, however. Occasionally a bather calls an attendant to massage him in the hot room, but if this practice was ever common it is now in decline.

Several times during the period spent sweating the bather calls the attendant from the dark room to douse him with a dipper of hot water. Finally he proceeds to a part of the bath in which he can find a vacant space next to a stone basin, and then either rubs the sweat and dirt from himself, peeling off the top layer of dead skin as he does so, or else he engages a bath attendant to do it for him.⁴⁹ Members of a family or close friends often rub each other down. Children in particular are expected to attend fathers (or mothers) and elder brothers (or sisters). The process is completed

by a careful dousing with water, adjusted to the desired temperature, from the stone basin, which has been completely cleaned out and filled with fresh water from the hot and cold pipes either by the bather himself or by the attendant.

Some bathers then return to the central hot room and undergo the cycle of sweating and rubbing-down a second or even a third time.

Others go directly to the next stage, which is a complete lathering with a cake of soap held inside a cellular glove (*ḥif*). The soaping begins with a triple lathering of the hair on the head, the soap being washed off in between, and continues to the upper body, then the outside of the legs under the *fuṭah*, the bather standing during the latter process. After a cursory washing off with water the bather then proceeds back through the central hot room to the dark hot room where he washes the private parts of his body and is then doused three or four times from the large dipper by the attendant. Some bathers remove their *fuṭahs* completely here and wash them.

Once doused the bather leaves the hot and the temperate rooms as quickly as he can, and is followed by an attendant carrying a large dipper full of hot water, with which he is finally doused as he stands on the top stone platform of the changing room. After this he is expected to wash his feet again, using cold water dipped from the small stone basin which stands there. The *ḥammāmī* has brought his towel and his second *fuṭah* from his bundle of clothes, and is waiting to help him change by putting the dry *fuṭah* over his head and removing the wet one from underneath. The towel is then wrapped around his shoulders and he proceeds to his place in the changing room; there he squats or sits on his shawl, which is spread out on the mat surface, for up to an hour, talking to the other bathers, taking coffee, tea or water offered him by the *ḥammāmī*, and praying if he is in the bath during the time of prayer. Frequently a number of patrons forms into a rank which is led in a formal prayer by one of their number. There is usually a *miḥrāb* in the wall of the changing room to indicate the direction of Mecca. If he wishes, the customer may be massaged after the bath by the *ḥammāmī* or an attendant in the changing room.

The long wait in the changing room after bathing is due to the time taken for the human body to adjust to the difference between the high temperatures of the hot and temperate rooms and the outside air. During this time the bather continues to perspire and has frequently to dry himself. Eventually he begins to feel cool and then dresses in preparation for his departure. The wet *fuṭahs* and other objects are wrapped in the towel. The scarf is wound around his head to prevent the cold air on his wet hair from giving him a cold. Approaching the *ḥammāmī*'s seat he retrieves his valuables, offers a customary fee, either to the *ḥammāmī* alone, or to the *ḥammāmī* and the attendants (see below), and puts on his shoes. He then proceeds to the outer lobby, where he usually sits for a few minutes on the stone seat provided there for that purpose, further to adjust his body to the outside temperature while still sheltered from winds or breezes. He then makes his way home, with the scarf still wrapped around his head.

Description 2—The System of Regulation for the Baths and the Customs Followed There

The baths customarily open their doors daily from dawn-time up to three o'clock in the evening (nine o'clock Frankish (Franjī) time), though generally only a person ritually impure (*junub*) goes to them at this (early) hour. A person who needs to go to the bath may rise an hour or more before dawn so as to go to the bath, and if he finds it locked he goes to the bathman's (*ḥammāmī*) house which is usually near the bath, knocks on his door and asks him to

49 Lane speaks of the joints being cracked in Cairo, and this is sometimes done at Şan'ā' today.

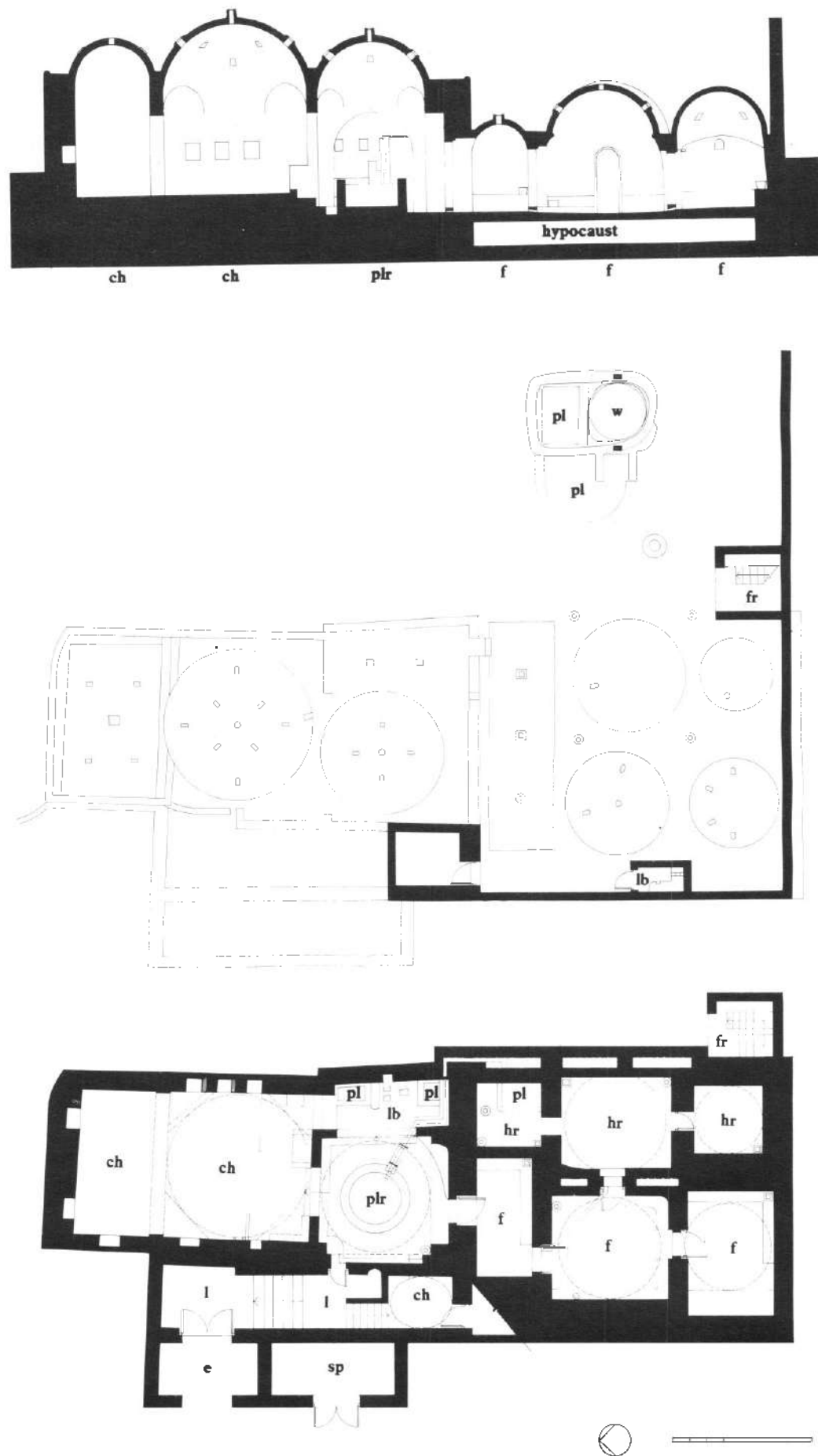


Fig. 23.5 Hammām Saba'. The roof plan, ground plan and long section.

open the bath. If he is a person known (to him) he hands him the key, and the bathman goes on sleeping until dawn. In this the system followed is that some baths are for men and some for women. Those baths allotted to men on Fridays the women will have on Saturdays, and so on alternately, day by day, but men use the bath during the morning of the day assigned to women up to one o'clock Arabic (time) (i.e. 7 a.m.), then women come to it. Men likewise use it after the women have left it after sunset up to three o'clock Arabic (time) (9 p.m.).

During the month of Ramaḍān the time appointed for entrance to the baths commences from three o'clock (9 a.m.) in the morning up to sunset for men and women, and, for men only, from evening prayer ('ishā') until dawn.

The Baths at the Festival Seasons (Mawāsim al-a'yād)

Men, women and children alike increasingly repair to the baths during the three or four days before the Festival, and the nearer the Festival approaches the greater the crowding grows and the number of visitors (to them) increases. The festivals are the first Friday of the month of Rajab, the festival of Ramaḍān, i.e., 'Id al-Fiṭr (the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast), and the Festival of 'Arafah, i.e., 'Id al-Aḍḥā (the Festival of the Sacrifices).⁵⁰ The men along with their male children⁵¹ repair to the baths assigned to men, and the women along with their female children repair (to those assigned to them). The men start by bathing their children so that the heat will not hurt them, then set to bathing their own persons. The women do likewise. The children wait for their fathers and mothers in the *makhla'*, i.e. the place for undressing and dressing, until they come out.

On ordinary days the baths are only moderately frequented. It is a custom of persons of distinction, notables of the town and merchants, each to set aside a special day in the week on which to go to the bath, generally Thursday or Friday,⁵² each making it his habit to take the bath at the nearest bath to his dwelling, though some of them go to another bath if that particular day should coincide with the women's day. When he goes to the bath his wife will already have prepared his bath clothes for him in a *buḡshah*, i.e. a *ṣurrah* (a cloth used for wrapping and carrying packages) in which she places a *ḥawfī*⁵³ (*minshafah*, towel)—sometimes she may put in two towels and one or two *fūṭahs* (waist-wrappers)—and she puts in clean clothes from under-clothing to outer clothes. The package of clothes (*buḡshah*) is accompanied by a prayer-carpet (*sajjādah*), or an *izār* (i.e. *fūṭah*) or a small woollen rug (*shamlah*)⁵⁴ to be spread out under him when he emerges from the bath so that he can lie on it till the sweat dries off. With all this is a (cake) of soap, bath-bag⁵⁵ (*kis ḥammām*) and a bunch of palm-fibre (*lifah*)⁵⁶ so that he will not have to use the bathman's gear which a person unable to bring these things uses when he goes to the bath.

If he goes by himself he carries these things over his shoulder. If he is a man of rank it may happen that his son or younger brother or his servant will carry them for him—or the servant may go on ahead to the bath with them before the master comes, and await his arrival. As soon as he does arrive the chief bathman (*kabir al-ḥammāmiyyin*) receives and welcomes him. As he enters the changing room (*makhla'*) he says to those present there,

'Al-salām 'alay-kum wa-na'im 'alay-kum, Peace to you, and enjoyment.' To this they reply with the words, *Wa-'alay-kum al-salām, wa-raḥmatu 'llāh wa-barakāt-uh, wa-an'am Allāh 'alay-nā wa-'alay-kum bi-'l-'āfiyah*, Peace to you and the mercy and blessings of God be upon you, and may God give us and you enjoyment of good health.' Then they say to him, '*Wa-antum na'im-an tasbiqah*,⁵⁷ (We wish) you enjoyment in advance' (of taking the bath). To this he replies, '*An'am Allāh 'alay-nā wa-'alay-kum bi-'l-'āfiyah*, May God give us and you enjoyment of good health.' Then he takes off his clothes and hangs them up or folds and wraps them up. He will previously have put on the *fūṭah* in which he is to enter the bath, and wooden shoes (*qibqāb*, pl. *qabāqīb, qabāqib*)⁵⁸ to put on inside the bath are brought to him, and one of the bath attendants (*khadamah*) will go in with him to attend him, wash him, rub him with the bag (*takyis*), and soap him down (*taṣṣib*). Every time he meets anyone (there) before him he will greet him with the same greeting (as above), and that person will return his greeting in the same way. When he enters inside the bath the attendant provides warm water for him in one of the tanks (*ḥawḍ*) so that he can perform the ritual ablution (*tawaḍḍa'*) with it. Most people do not go to the bath without having gone to the lavatory (*mirḥāḍ*) at home so as not to have to use the bath lavatory. He then lies down in the *khizānah* which is the hottest room in the bath till the sweat⁵⁹ pours down him—then the attendant (*kḥādim*) called *mukayyis* or bathman (*ḥammāmī*) comes and rubs him over with the bag (*kis*) into which he inserts his right hand, rubbing (*da'aka*) his body so as to remove the oily substances and engrained dirt. Another attendant then pours a bucket of warm (*mu'tadil*) water over him, and he gets up and sits on a (masonry) bench (*dakkah*), the bathman sitting in front of his to soap him down twice or thrice, pouring a bucket of warm water over him on each occasion. When he has finished soaping him he gives him the soap along with the *lifah* so that he can wash his private parts (*madḥākīr*) himself while the bathman gets up to fill the tank with warm (*mu'tadil*) water, or, as it is called in the Yemen, *mukāsir* (tepid) so that he can wash in the water it contains. He takes from him the *fūṭah* upon which he was (lying) so as to wash, clean it and hand it over to the chief bathman along with the other things, i.e., soap, *lifah* and bag, and he takes the towels (*manāshif, ḥawfī*) and a *fūṭah* or towel for the bather to wear as a waist-wrapper inside the bath. To those bathers who happen to be in the bath when he comes out of it, he says, '*Al-salām 'alay-kum wa-na'im-an 'alay-kum*, Peace to you, and enjoyment.' To this they reply with the greeting, saying, '*An'am Allāh 'alay-nā wa-'alay-kum bi-'l-'āfiyah, wa-antum na'im*, May God give us and you enjoyment of good health, and may you have enjoyment also.' He replies to them with the same words as they have uttered. When he arrives at the changing room the chief bathman and others say to him, '*Na'im-an 'alay-kum*, a pleasant (bath).' To this he makes the customary reply repeating those expressions to anyone there in the changing room. From there he goes to lie down on the prayer-rug he has brought with him, and the chief bathman or one of his assistants comes to rub (*dalaka*)⁶⁰ his feet and massage (*kabbas*) him, then he leaves him as he is so that his sweat may dry off. Thereupon he gets up, puts on his clean clothes, collects his other clothes and puts them in the cloth which held his clean clothes. Then he calls those who attended him in the bath and changing room and gives each a certain sum.

50 Also called 'Id al-Nahr.

51 We are told however that small boys under six go to the bath with their mother.

52 On ordinary Friday nights Arab time (our Thursday evenings)—*hi jum'ah min al-'ashiyi* a man spends the evening with his family (*laylat al-jum'ah samrah ma'a ahl-ah*).

53 *Ḥawfī* is Ṣan'ā' and Dhamār dialect.

54 A *shamlah* here means a small woollen rug carried over the shoulder. The *izār* means a *fūṭah*, and the head-cloth is *mi'waz*.

55 At al-Rawḍah bath a *kis al-ḥammām*, used for older children there, was a small oblong bag to go over the head—that shown us was made in Syria and was said to cost six riyāls.

56 The *lifah* is of two sorts, one is *nasij mukharrah* woven with holes in it,

cellular.

57 *Tasbiqah* means *musabbag-an, mugaddam-an*, i.e., you have not had a bath yet but when you do—then *na'im-an*, enjoy it!

58 Lane calls the parallel type in Egypt 'high clogs', but they seem to have fallen out of use in Ṣan'ā' now.

59 This is called as below, 'the sweating of the bath (*'arḡat al-ḥammām*).'
(*'Arḡah* is the verbal noun.) Qāḍī Ismā'il cites the proverb, '*Khudh min al-laḥm al-maraq, wa-min al-baqal al-waraq, wa-min al-ḥammām al-'araq*, Of meat take the soup, of white radish the leaves, and of the bath the sweat (it induces).' This proverb is quoted in advising someone to go to the sources of profit or advantage in anything.

60 At al-Rawḍah massage or rubbing off the dirt was called *fahās, yifḥas*. For children a stone *madiakah*, pl., *madālik*, was used.

The man who saw to washing and soaping him receives a fee, the man who brought him the water has a similar fee, and the owner of the bath (*ṣāhib al-ḥammām*) a larger fee. A notable will have coffee⁶¹ served him, either brought from his own dwelling, or else the chief bathman will have it prepared in his house. Sometimes this notable will bring with him a piece of aloes-wood (*ʿūd*) to burn in a censer so that he can perfume himself with it, (inviting) those in the changing room to partake in this with him. When he leaves the bath he puts a shawl (*shāl*)⁶² over his head, but some put on the towel (*ḥawli*), winding it round the whole of his head so that only part of his face remains (uncovered) so as not to be exposed to the air (*hawāʾ*)—this action being called *taḥbiq*, from the verb *ṭabbaq*, when one covers one's head.

Some people come to the bath with a little henna with which to dye their white hair; some too, bring arsenic (*zarnikh*) which they hand to the bathman to prepare for them and mix with another substance to remove their pubic hair, while others call in the barber (*ḥallāq*) to the bath to shave the hair of their heads. There are persons who are accustomed daily to make use of the bath after lunch to arouse their thirst to use *qāt*,⁶³ and some use it when they have not had a walk before lunch, for the same purpose. This sort of bath is called *ʿarqat al-ḥammām* (the bath sweat).⁵⁹ When a number of those persons gathers together in the bath, especially if they be of the inhabitants of Ṣanʿā, they dance a quick dance to the tune of the *washwashah*⁶⁴ or else it is accompanied by some songs (*aghānī*) when there are persons there good at reciting them. Some too, go to the bath after chewing *qāt* when they have drunk an excessive amount of water⁶⁵ and want to turn it into perspiration, so as to rid themselves of it.

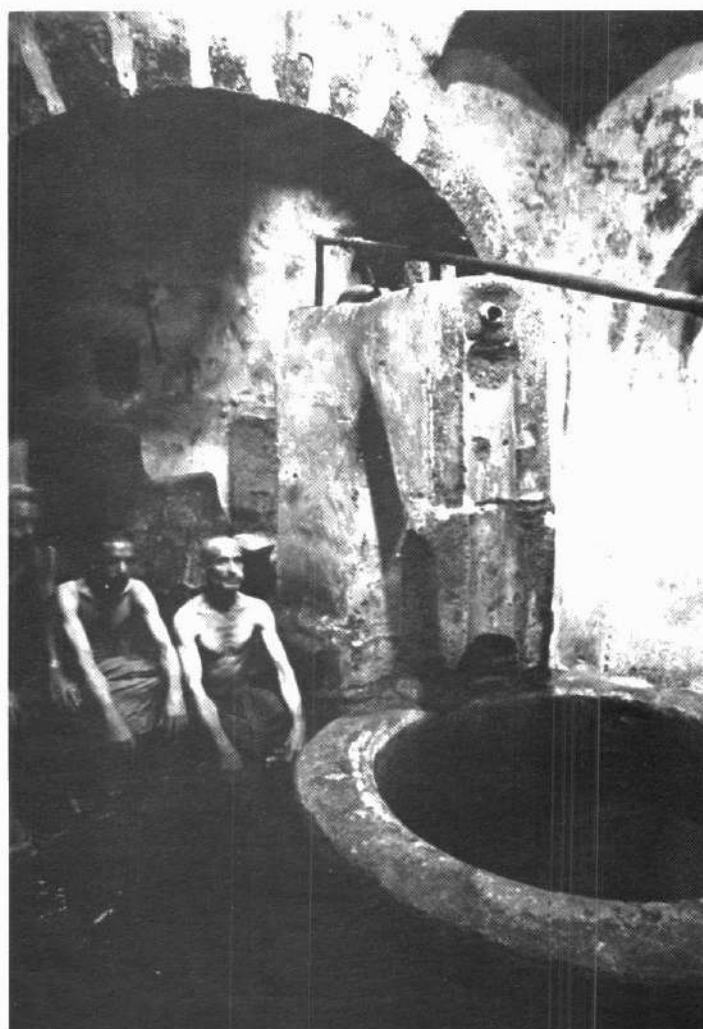
The tribes also make use of the bath, but they use it only for treatment of, either, cold which has affected one of their members, or rheumatism (*riyāḥ*) and so on.

Women's Customs at the Bath

Women go to the bath at purification after menstruation—this is *de rigueur*, but they may also go to the bath though there be no need for them to do so, for cleanliness only. It is a women's custom that all the women of one household generally go (together) to the bath, taking clean clothing with them along with the utensils of the bath, consisting of a scoop (*maghraḥ*), bucket (*bāldī/bārdī*),⁶⁶ soap, *lifah* and bath-bag (*kis al-ḥammām*). In the past women used to take hair-earth (*turāb rūṣ*)⁶⁷ with them, i.e., sticky white dust, to wash their hair, before applying soap, so as to remove the engrained dirt (*bukhār*, pl., *abkhirah*) at the roots of the hair of the head, it being known as *jahrah*, but nowadays women use medical preparations to cleanse the hair.



23.26 Ḥammām Saba'. A view of the domes of the bath, from above. In the foreground is the well. A donkey carrying dried human excrement for fuel is on its way to the furnace room which is reached from roof level.



23.27 Ḥammām Saba'. The room containing the cold pool.

61 Coffee brings out the sweat.

62 A *shāl*, pl., *shūlān*, is usually of the Kashmiri type.

63 There is a fairly widespread view that a bath between lunch and the *qāt* session both makes the *qāt* taste nicer and increases one's capacity for chewing *qāt*. It is however doubtful if anyone goes to the public bath solely to improve the effect of *qāt*.

64 The *washwashah* is a 'shushing' sound made with the mouth. The *ḥanḥanah* song is also sung.

The dancing is purely and simply to work up a good sweat and old and young take part. Qāḍi Ismāʿīl mentioned as possible dances the *da'sah*, *bar'ah* and *hawshariyyah*. The last word is no doubt equivalent to *hawshaliyyah*, meaning chaos (*ḥawḥā*) as in al-Khafanji's poem in *Masājid Ṣanʿā*, 71. Tribes

dancing to the drum alone have each their own style of *bar'ah*, and at a gathering each tribe in turn will perform its own *bar'ah* with daggers (Yāfi'is perform it with swords). Then at the end it will be said, '*Al-ān hawshaliyyah—qād hī hawshaliyyah—bar'ah hawshaliyyah*. Now it's free for all, a general dance.' Each will then dance his own tribal *bar'ah* at the same time as the rest—and hence the sense of 'confusion' enters. Only the *raqḥ* has the pipe (*mizmār*) accompanying it.

65 As much water is drunk with *qāt* they have a sensation of heaviness (*thiqal*) in the belly.

66 Instead of a bucket women may take a *ṣafīḥah*, a flat bowl, with them. *Bardī*, an iron bucket, is a Dhamār pronunciation.

67 *Turāb rūṣ/jahrah* comes from the mountains but is, or was, sold in the towns.

Some women used to go naked⁶⁸ into the bath, but this is not reckoned nowadays to be a very widespread custom. It is a custom of some of the houses of Ṣan'ā' to get in touch with the bath-woman so as to get a tank to themselves (*li-yukhlā lahunna ḥawḍ*) in return for fixed fees, so that, when they come to the bath the tank is ready for them, without anyone sharing in it with them except when they have bathed and left the bath.

Al-Khulwah

*Al-khulwah*⁶⁹ is the clearing (*ikhhlā'*) of the bath for an hour or two for persons who ask for this in return for a fixed sum of money—in the past it was two *riyāls* an hour, but now it goes up to fifty *riyāls*, and may even go up to as much as a hundred *riyāls* if the person to whom the bath is exclusively let (*al-mustakhli lahu*) is obviously wealthy and well known. The bath is let exclusively to the bridegroom (*ḥarīw*) and the bride (*ḥarīwah*). The bridegroom's people ask the bathman to clear the bath for an hour or two so that the groom can go to it, accompanied by his party (*zumrah*), friends and relations, to take the bath, this happening before sunset up to the time of evening, or after the evening. When he goes to the bath a member of the family will already have received the key from the bathman and be waiting for him at the door in order to open it when the bridegroom arrives. When he does enter the door painted eggs are broken—as he enters and as he leaves. The bridegroom goes to the bath on the night of the procession (*laylat al-julwah*,⁷⁰ i.e. *al-zifāf*).

Similarly the bath is given over exclusively (*yakhtālī*) to the bride two or three days before the procession (*zifāf*). The women of the family and her friends accompany her, and they may also invite some of the women of the bridegroom's house. Decorated eggs are broken for her at her entry and on her leaving, for protection against Satan the Accursed. The henna-ing (*naqsh*)⁷¹ of the bride by the tire-woman (*muṣayyinah*) takes place at her house after the bath.

* * *

The popular belief that the bath is inhabited by jinn, so universal in the Arab world, still prevails in Ṣan'ā', although the young tend to pooh-pooh the idea and to blame women and old folk for its continued survival. Yet, notwithstanding this, people entering the bath commonly utter the following precautionary phrases, '*A'ūdhu bi-llāh min al-Shayṭān al-Rajīm*, I take refuge in God from Satan the Accursed.' '*Ṣarraḥ Allāh bi-l-Shayṭān*, May God avert the Satans.' It is clearly for like reasons that the eggs are broken at the main entrance to the bath just after the door with the words, '*Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, In the name of God the Compassionate the Merciful,' and '*A'ūdhu bi-llāh min al-Shayṭān al-Rajīm*,' etc. This is done by a member of the family or a servant—no special person. The eggs, no specific number, are carried in a vessel of soft earth usually intended for holding candles; they are dyed red and green with the plants *shadhāb*/*shumār* and *lizāb*—in Ibb with '*uzzāb* which appears to have the property of averting the evil eye (*yīṣarrif al-'ayn*) and *dihn*, fresh butter.

Ownership, Management and Maintenance

Thirteen of the baths belong to the Waqf, three to the Government ('Alī, Makhlafah, and al-'Urḍī), and one (al-Hamdānī) is privately owned. The *ḥammāmī*, who would himself make between 50 and 150 *riyāls* a day, pays the Waqf or the Government about 100 *riyāls* a month, usually at a fixed rate. He must meet all the costs—labour, providing fuel, water and electricity. He pays no taxes on the baths, nor does he contribute to any night watch in his quarter. He usually collects the money from customers personally. The external maintenance of the bath must be done by the Waqf or the Government, unless privately owned. But all internal improvements or maintenance are done at the expense of the *ḥammāmī*. The hot rooms are replastered every year.

The baths used to be inspected by the Headman of the Bathmen ('āqil al-ḥammāmiyyīn) whose office also entailed giving decisions on any dispute between two *ḥammāmīs*. Now they are inspected four to five times a year by the Health Department, but no one was certain as to when this started.

The Ḥammāmī and his Employees

The *ḥammāmī* is of extremely low social status, and belongs to the group of occupations coming under the title of Bani 'l-Khums. All professions involving the service of bodies of others are demeaning, but since the *ḥammāmīs* used to collect human excrement before the Jews were set to this work doubtless this in itself was more than sufficient to relegate them to the lowest level. Qāḍī Ismā'il's proverb underlines the fact: '*Qafr daymah wa-lā ḥammām 'abd*, A (traveller's) hut in deserted country rather than the bath of a slave.' Nevertheless the *ḥammāmī* makes a lot of money. Manzoni and Nazīh also call the bath proprietor *mu'allim* and the term is still often used today. All *ḥammāmīs* questioned claimed that the bath had been in the hands of their family for as long as they had any knowledge. On more than one occasion the son of the *ḥammāmī*, who would eventually succeed his father, was pointed out, and was seen to be working as a *mukayyis*.

All social classes are permitted to make use of the bath, even the low Akhdām class employed as sweepers, but their introduction to Ṣan'ā' from the Tihāmah has only taken place since 1962, or so it is said. On the other hand it appears that the Jews were debarred from using the baths of the Muslims, but had special baths of their own.

The *ḥammāmī* employs a number of *mukayyisīn* (masseurs, those who use the rough glove, *kīs*). The number employed varies according to the size of the bath and the amount of custom involved, Thursdays and Fridays demanding the maximum, the average on those days being four or five in most of the baths; on other days only one or two are employed. These are, on men's days, young men or boys, the *ḥammāmī*'s sons, for obvious family

68 Women also wear a *ḥijāb* only, but they consider exposure of the body permitted (*mubāḥ*) among themselves though this is contrary to the *sharī'ah*. Lane (loc. cit.) says that in Cairo many women of the lower orders wear no clothes whatsoever in the bath. Turkish women in hirsute detail are portrayed so at the bath in Fehmi Edhem and Ivan Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul*, Paris, 1933, fig. 21.

69 You can book the entire bath or the tank (*ḥawḍ*) only. 'Akhtālī 'l-ḥammām,

I book the bath.' Lane, op. cit., 349-54, alludes to *khilwah*, booking the whole bath for a marriage.

70 That is the night of the procession of the bride to the house of the groom. *Julwah* means *wuḍūḥ*, appearance, revealing.

71 Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 96, provides an Arabic description of the *ḥammām wa-naqsh*, bath and decoration of the bride, which is not repeated here.



23.28 Hammām al-Sultān. A view from the changing room to the entrance to the hot rooms with the cold pool room in the centre. Thin shafts of sunlight from above blend with thin jets of water from below.

reasons, and others who sometimes work, on a part-time basis in afternoons, evenings or holidays. On women's days the *ḥammāmī*'s wife employs her own daughters or relatives on the same basis when she can. Female bathers wash themselves.

The attendants are paid either directly by the customer, or by the *ḥammāmī* when the customer has paid an inclusive charge. They might make between 30 to 40 *riyāls* on a reasonable day.

The work period does not often exceed eight hours per day. Usually at least one of them sleeps in the bath.

Beside the *mukayyisīn* there are other attendants:

The *shāqī 'l-bārid* is responsible for keeping an adequate supply of cold water in the cistern, drawing it from the well. He would be tipped by the customers and his money is made up to about 15 to 20 *riyāls* per day by the *ḥammāmī*.

The *mūqidi* or stoker is responsible for the fire. He is paid about 10 *riyāls* a day by the *ḥammāmī*.

The *shāqī 'l-ḥammām* circulates in the Quarter to bring in human excrement. He would set it out to dry and it is then taken by the *mūqidi* to stoke up the furnace. He is paid by the *ḥammāmī* at a rate of about 1/2 *riyāl* per load. The donkey he uses belongs to the *ḥammāmī*. He does not remove the ashes taken out of the fire by the *mūqidi*. In the case of some baths this is now done by the Municipality (Baladiyyah).⁷²

The rates of pay relate to the period before the high inflation (*ghalā'*) and apply to not later than 1975.

Origin and Development

According to popular belief Hammām Yāsir is the oldest bath and is at least a thousand years old. Hammām Shukr rates next, with its age given at between eight hundred and six hundred years. These dates must be treated with caution as we have so far discovered no historical evidence to confirm them. After that a large number of the baths is said to be four hundred years old.

Hammām al-Maydān is known to have been built at the same time as the Bakiriyyah Mosque, that is, in 1598 A.D.,⁷³ and there is nothing in its construction to conflict with this date.

This gives us a firm datum, and allows us to conclude that, both in style and construction and planning, some of the baths are likely to be considerably earlier. It is interesting to notice that though the first two changing rooms of Hammām al-Maydān are quite close to the Ottoman baths in Damascus in design and character, the back area of hot and temperate rooms is completely different, conforming in *Ṣan'ā'* to the *Ṣan'ā'* tradition, which was obviously firmly established by this date.

According to al-Ḥajārī,⁷⁴ Hammām al-Ṭawāshī was founded in 1028/1641.

Hammām Sūq al-Baqar (Maḥmūd) shows some internal evidence of relatively early date—for instance it does not have a central round or square pool in the intermediate space, and it has only two hot rooms and two temperate rooms instead of the

⁷² The above list of employees may be compared with M. 'Abdul Jabbār Beg, op. cit., *ṣāhib al-sundūq* treasurer, *qayyim* lessee of the bath, *waqqād* stoker, *zabbāl* supplier of dung fuel, *muzayyin* barber, *ḥajjām* cupper. The *Encycl. Islam* (2nd ed.) says that in the 4th/10th century Damascus baths had the *qayyim* lessee,

kayyās/mukayyis masseur, and at later periods the word *dallāk* would be used in some places.

In *Ṣan'ā'* the *muzayyins* used also to circumcise (*yūḥḥirūn*) not of course at the Bath. Bayt Barqūq is a *muzayyin* family of *Ṣan'ā'* which did this.

⁷³ *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 17.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 69.

groups of three found in Ḥammāms al-Maydān and al-Ṭawāshī.

If we now group together the baths which we believe likely to be earlier than the first Ottoman occupation of the Yemen, that is, Ḥammāms Sūq al-Baqar, Yāsir and Shukr, we find that all three have no central pool in the intermediate space. They are relatively small, compared with most of the other baths, and they have no *ḍiwān* off the intermediate space. Ḥammāms al-Bawniyah, al-Sulṭān, al-Mutawakkil and al-Ṭawāshī, all have the latter room, facing a central pool with a fountain. In this conjunction of features they seem to relate to a precedent established by the Ottomans. Other baths, such as Saba', have the central pool without the *ḍiwān*, so that, following this reasoning, they were either altered or entirely built since Ottoman times.

Assuming then that we have, in Ḥammāms Sūq al-Baqar, Yāsir and Shukr, three baths earlier than the 9th/16th century, and that they represent a tradition of grouping four, or, more usually, six small rooms together for the hot and temperate rooms of the bath, how early are public baths likely to have been in Ṣan'ā'?

There are several pieces of evidence in answer to this question. The first comes from the historians. Al-Rāzī for instance, as seen above, tells us that in 353/964 there were 13 baths (*ḥammām*) in Ṣan'ā'. In the same passage he says that there were 106 mosques in Ṣan'ā'—which is quite close to the present figure.

The other piece of evidence is the design of the baths with their clusters of small rooms. Such a bath design is quite unlike that of the baths of Cairo (e.g., Ḥammām Bashtāk, dating from the 8th/14th century). Not only does the latter lack the grouping of small rooms, but the furnace is at roof level, not underneath, and the heating is effected by circulating hot water and dropping it down into the pool from a height so that steam forms in the air of the bath.⁷⁵ Nor are the Ṣan'ā' baths like those of Turkey, which are characterized by grouping all the small hot rooms around a central cruciform or polygonal space. Finally, they do not appear to resemble baths of an early period in Iraq or Iran,

although relatively little has been discovered and published about the design of these.

There is, however, one type of bath that the Ṣan'ā' baths do resemble fairly closely. This is the type built during the late Roman Empire in Libya and northern Egypt (Leptis Magna and Alexandria).⁷⁶ These baths have a number of features in common with those of Ṣan'ā', particularly their method of heating and the lay-out of their rooms. The Roman baths used the hypocaust method of heating the floor of the hot rooms, with flues passing up the walls, the practice still followed in the Yemen. Like the Ṣan'ā' baths, those of Roman North Africa had two or three rooms for the hot zone (*calidarium*) and two or three for the temperate zone, suggesting that a link may have existed between the architecture of the two areas during an early period.

Finally, there is one early Damascus bath with a closely related plan, Ḥammām al-Sulṭān, built in 684/1298, which alone among sixty baths in the city resembles the Ṣan'ā' type.⁷⁷ It has been conjectured that it may be derived from Persia or Iraq, but perhaps it may not be too much to suppose that its design was taken to Syria from the Yemen?

Postscript:

As a caution to those who might leave the bath too precipitously, let the would-be bather take heed of the unhappy consequences which befell the two brothers Ibrāhīm and Dāwūd b. 'Abdullāh, Amīrs at Ṣan'ā', as chronicled by the *Ghāyat al-amānī*,⁷⁸ under the annals for the year 747/1346-7. 'They continued governing Ṣan'ā' until the weavers (*al-ḥawak*) in it rose and entered the Qaṣr while the two Amīrs were in the bath (*ḥammām*). They were brought their breast-plates which they put on, and came out of the bath. The people rallied to them and some of the weavers they slew and others they took captive. Amīr Dāwūd was seized by a partial paralysis because of putting on the breastplate after the bath!'

75 Similarly, the method of use differs in many important particulars; for example, towels are dried in Egyptian baths in specially constructed high ceilings in the changing rooms.

76 J. B. Ward Perkins, J. M. C. Toynbee and R. Fraser, *The hunting baths at Leptis Magna*, Oxford, 1949.

77 Additional references to baths are *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 79, Ta'izz; II, 381, Dhī Sufāl in 587/1191; *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 454, al-Khaḍrā' of Radā' loses its inhabitants and its *ḥammām* is ruined (after 1111/1699-1700); *ibid*, I, 222, Ta'izz has two baths, one for men, the other for women. M. Ecohard and C. le Coeur, *Les bains de Damas*, Beirut, 1942-3, 51-7, 130; M. J. Sauvaget,

'Un bain damasquin du xiiième siècle', *Syria*, Paris, 1930, 370-80; Munir Kayyāl, *al-Ḥammāmāt al-Dimashqiyyah wa-taqālidu-hā*, Damascus, 1966, with interesting sociological data useful for comparison; Ambrosiana Ms. in the Löfgren-Traini catalogue, 161, no. ccxciv, Aḥmad b. al-'Imād al-Aqfahsī, *al-Qawl al-tāmm fi ādāb dukhūl al-ḥammām*, the author being a Cairo Shāfi'ī (ob. 808/1405-6). There is actually a form of document for the purchase of a *ḥammām*, with some architectural detail, in a 3rd-4th century H. author—see Jeanette K. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law (The chapters on sales from Tahāwī's K. al-Shurūṭ al-kabir)*, Albany, N.Y., 1972, 101-99.

78 *Op. cit.*, 514.

Chapter 24

Children's Games in Ṣan'ā'

Introduction

Until the outbreak of the revolution of September 26th, 1962—which changed or altered many things in Yemeni social life—Ṣan'ā' boys and girls used to play quite a range of games, both physical and mental, some of which went back to antiquity, one generation of children inheriting them from another. Some other games had reached a high degree of refinement in respect of organisation or high objective and competition to achieve it. The purpose of most or even all of this was of course amusement. Boys and girls alike, between the ages of seven and fourteen were taken up with carrying on this sort of sport during week days after the late afternoon ('aṣr) up even to the Maghrib prayer-call—whereupon the boys, all of them, would repair to the mosques with their fathers to perform the Maghrib and 'Ishā' prayers—and darkness would envelop the city, the quarters (*ḥārāt*) and streets of which were not lit by electricity until the summer of the year 1960. Boys used not to play or spend the night time together in company except during the nights of the month of Ramaḍān. Probably no account of this has ever been written, and most games have come to an end and vanished completely—the more 's the pity—and children today, the generation of the 'Revolution', no longer know any of these games or take part in any traditional activity like this since new forms of exercise such as football, cards (*lu'bat al-waraq*), tric-trac (*dāmā*, Yemeni *dumnah*) and so on, have reached them.

I have tried to set forth, relying solely on memory, the names of the various games with a brief description of those of them best known and most important. These games, I must point out, are what my generation inherited and played in the fifties of the current century and which were played by children in the forties and long before that.¹

* * *

It must be remarked in the first place that most children and those who have arrived at puberty used to chose (as they still do) the time and way when, from one season to another, they would change the games they play. This would happen in all parts of the city of Ṣan'ā' without any direction from their elders or any other quarter, official or unofficial. My view here is that in some cases it is the material of which the gear for certain games is made

that conditions the linking of them to fixed seasons (*mawāsim*) connected with the seasons of the year. Other games and sports not involving any gear are connected with the seasons also, for naturally during winter vigorous movement such as running, jumping and racing is suitable—whereas in summer one seeks shade and children flee the heat of the sun for the vestibules (*dahāḥiz*) of the houses or shade of trees. There boys will play games that do not involve running and jumping—such as the Button game (no. 6), *Ṣūfi sārīq* (no. 5) *al-Ghuraq* the pits (no. 7), etcetera, as will be seen below. As for the scene and location of these games they are the quarters, open spaces (*ṣarḥāt*) and earth streets which remain in old Ṣan'ā' still much as they were before the year 1962.

To decide which person or team should commence a game a flattish stone was taken and marked with spit (*tuff*) on one side and the players would chose the *tuffālah*, the spit, or *al-yābis*, the dry side. Alternatively the decision would be made by tossing a coin.

1 Boys' Games

i Ball Games

1 *Al-Qāḥish*

This is played with a leather ball and small stick by two teams numbering in all over ten persons. It is a rough game and may be compared with hockey in that rival teams compete to hit the ball in the direction of one-another's goal (*hadaf*).

2 *Qufayqif*

Qufayqif is played with a stuffed cloth ball and there is no set limit to the number of players. One of the players stands in front of the other players and when they are standing behind him he alerts them with the words '*Mustalqifin' qufayqif*.' He then tosses the ball behind him, over his shoulder, or from his nose or ear, or under his leg—there seem to be six different movements which he may adopt. The boys behind him try to catch the ball and throw it at a goal in front of all the players. Any player who succeeds in doing this will then replace the player in front of the group.

Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden, 1975, for games for limited comparison (Translator).

2 *Istalqaf*, to be ready to catch. Cf. class. *laqifa*, to catch. *Qufayqif* is perhaps to be linked with class. *qaffa*, escamoter adroitement une pièce de monnaie entre ses doigts.

1 E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden*, Heidelberg, 1934, 215-21, describes some Jewish children's games and quotes the Arabic ditties that accompanied them, but they are not much like those described here. Cf. F.

3 *Zaqqī-nī ... zaqqayt-ak*³

The meaning of this phrase seems to be 'Pass to me and I'll pass to you'. Two teams of four each play this game with a cloth ball. The ball is passed by hand from one to another without it falling to the ground and the object of the competition between the two teams is to snatch the ball from the other team and keep it passing from hand to hand.

4 *Al-Walīsh*⁴

A stick, a *dhirā'* (cubit) in length, and another, about ten centimetres long, are used, and there are more than two players. The larger stick is used to hit the smaller one. The distance it reaches is measured, using the large stick to do this. The players, more than two persons, continue on in this way from point to point, the intention being to see who can hit it the furthest distance.

ii. Sitting Games

5 *Ṣūfī sārīq* (Honest Man Thief)

This used to be played with a knee-bone joint (*ka'b*)⁵ (top of the fibula ?) but more recently they use a matchbox (*'ulbat kibrit*) instead. More than five players take part, sitting in a circle. The first player throws the bone by hand into the middle of the circle where it will lie with one of its four sides uppermost. If, in the case of the matchbox, it stands up on one of its ends then the thrower becomes King—this of course is not very easy! If it lands on one of its narrow sides the thrower is designated *Wazīr*, and, if on the other narrow side (as agreed before hand) he is designated 'Askārī or Soldier. One of the broad sides of the matchbox is named *Ṣūfī* and the other *Sārīq*, *Ṣūfī* here meaning honest⁶ and *Sārīq* simply thief. Judgements (*aḥkām*) are pronounced on the *Sārīq*, the *Wazīr* consulting the King who orders the sentence to be executed by the 'Askārī. The penalty (*jazā*) might be, say, to prepare tea, to carry the other players, some kind of hard exercise, or a bastinado on his feet (*ḥalakah fī rijl-uh*), etcetera. The next person to throw the matchbox so that it lands in the upright position becomes King replacing the original King. This is somewhat similar to 'Forfeits'.

6 *Li'bat al-azrār* (The Button Game)

Various clothing buttons are used and there can be two or more players. Often a *yalak*, waistcoat, is laid down and a circular area made in it with a sort of rim not exceeding forty centimetres in diameter. A button is thrown onto this 'board' and the next player tries to throw his button to land wholly or partly on top of it. When the buttons are on the board the player tries to flick one button on top of that of another player and if he succeeds he takes both buttons. Sometimes a button will land on the rim of the 'board' which puts it in an awkward position for a player attempting to take it. The winner would be the player who manages to take all the buttons. In former times buttons used to be expensive.

7 *Al-Ghuraq* (The Pits)

Buttons or apricot (*barqūq*) stones, datestones or small pebbles (*ḥuṣam*) may be used as counters. Little pits, in two parallel rows of four each, are made, and on the right of them a bigger pit is made called *al-Sūq*, about ten centimetres away. The number of players is two and the game is very similar to Monopoly. In the pits the player 'builds' a *samsarah* or *bayt* or property of some sort, and distributes⁷ his stones among the pits. In the end nearly all the counters are assembled in *al-Sūq* and are taken by the winner. The player who ends up with no stone in any pit is the loser.

3 A builder in clay would call to his mate, *Zaqqī 'l-khulab*, Throw up the (lump of) kneaded clay.

4 E. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato a Ṣan'ā'*, Roma, 1939, 178, is incorrect in saying that this game is to throw a small stick (*'aṣyah*) at a target (*naṣā'*, for which read *naṣa*). One says, *Aḍraḥ al-naṣa'*, set up the target.

8 *Waraq al-qumār* (Cards)

This game only started with the spread of imported cigarette packets to the Yemen—Bilāyirs (Players), Abū Jinayh (Goldflake) and Abū Wardah (Rose). The packet was torn in two and the two pieces used as targets. Stones (called *maḡfa'ah*) rubbed to the shape of a rolling pin (*yad al-maḡhaqah*) found in the foothills of Nuqum or the debris of buildings were thrown at the packets from four to five metres away. There was no restriction on the number of players.

9 *Li'bat/lu'bat al-zanb* (The Date Stone House Game)

Each player builds a house (*dār*) or more than a single house, with date-stones (*zanb*, sing., *zanbah*)—some will build high houses, others smaller ones, according to their ability. The others fire at these houses by throwing a large date-stone called *al-manbal* (obviously a word connected with *nabl*, arrow or date-shaped pebble).

10 *Li'bat al-qawqa'* (= *al-barqūq*) (The Apricot-Stone Game)

This is played with pairs (*zawjiyyah*) of stones. The player throws one stone on the ground, then a second stone, and tries to flick (*yūqandil*, *qandalah*, a flick) the one against the other with his finger-nails. First one runs one's finger-tip between the two to see if they are apart, then one flicks the apricot-stone, though if you touch either when trying to determine whether there is a space between them you lose your apricot-stone, and if you miss you lose your stone also. The winner of the apricot-stones breaks them open with a stone and eats the kernels.

* * *

Numbers 5, 6, 8, 9 of these games are described as *al-muqāmarah al-barī'ah*, innocent gambling, no stakes being involved.

iii Shooting Games

11 *Al-Aqwās* (Catapults)

The catapult (*qaws* (class. bow)) is manufactured with a forked stick and rubber (*maṣāf*) and used to fire small stones.

12 *Al-Banādiq* (Pop-Guns)

These are manufactured from the branches of the fig (*balas*) tree which are hollow; into such a stick a small soft trimmed stick is inserted, running tightly but smoothly to eject a pellet. The striking head of this stick is teased out (*manfūsh*) just as the head of a tooth-stick (*miswāk*) is, and it is moistened with oil or saliva. The ammunition consists of seeds like those of *dhurah*, in fact pepper-tree (*shajar al-ḥawā'ij*) corns. The air compressed by the thrust of the striking head shoots the corns some four or five metres. One can play with this pop-gun by oneself or a group may participate.

iv Physical Games Played without any Gear

13 *Yā 'ajalah, yā masnā* (O Well-Pulley, O Irrigation Well)

This is played by not less than five players one of whom is the judge (*ḥakam*), called the well-worker (*al-sāmī*). The rest are divided into two teams, and having tossed for choice of role, one team mounts the others who are bent over to the ground in the prayer-stance known as *rukū'*, in a line all facing in the same direction. They commence by chanting the words above and follow with

5 *Ka'b* is so called because it is *muka'ab* in shape.

6 *Amin jidd-an*. *Ṣūfī* in the Yemen is popularly used merely in the sense of a good, upright, man.

7 *Ṣarraḥ*, *ya 'ī ṣarfah*, verbal noun, *tuṣarrāḥ*.

*Wi-snay li wa-rway li,
Yā nāzil al-bīr bi-ghayr ajnāh.
Draw water for me and irrigate for me,
You (pulley) descending into the well without wings.*

One of the riders will then call out, 'an⁸ jīt alladhī sammayt-ak kadhā wa-kadhā, Where are you—you whom I have named so-and-so?' He addresses the player acting as his mount, by some name adopted by him for the game such as 'ewe' (*al-na'jah*), 'lion' (*al-asad*), 'cow' (*al-baqarah*), 'horse' (*al-ḥuṣān*). Raising his hand in the air to show the *hakam* and others, with a number of fingers extended, he asks his mount to guess, 'Kam hawlā, How many are these?' Should the answer be guessed correctly rider and mount change positions, and the game carries on until all of one team has replaced the other. This is a game of chance (*li'bat ḥaṣṣ*) in which riddles (*ahājī*, sing., *ahjiyah*) are asked.

Rossi⁹ describes a rather simpler version of this finger-guessing game, following the first line with,

*U-isnay li ū-'arway-ni
Ṭāṣah ṭurunṭāṣah,
Fi 'l-baḥr ghaṭṭāṣah.
Yā dīk, yā ṣayyāh,
Yā nāyyāh,
Yā nāzil al-qaryah
B-ghayr ajnāh.
Draw water for me and irrigate me,
Ṭāṣah ṭurunṭāṣah¹⁰ bowl,
Plunging into the water.
O cock, o crower,
O bewailer,
You who come down to the village
Without wings.*

14 *Jimāl al-dawlah qālat 'Surr'* (The Camels of the State said 'Ring')

This game resembles the English 'Oranges and lemons say the bells of St. Clements'. The 'state' would be the Imām and the bells are the bells hung round the camels' necks, called *nāqūs al-jamal*. Two of the players face one-another and take hands, holding them above the line of the other players who pass under them. They try to seize or catch the last one rather like the way in which thieves would try to snatch the rear camel of a caravan. The player caught is then eliminated from the game.¹¹

15 *Ṭāb al-balas yā ghurāb* (The Fig is Ripe, O Crow)

Two players, each clasping his hands behind his back, are used as a mount by a third who stands on their clasped hands and holds the right and left ears of his mounts respectively. They shout 'ghāq ghāq, caw, caw,' and go to the fig-trees so that the rider can pluck the figs. This is all I can remember of the game.

16 *Kil li kilizah, yā 'ammaṭi Līzah* (Dole me out Money,¹² Auntie Līzah)

Three play at this game, two of them sitting facing each other, each crossing his arms to grasp the feet of the other, over the back of the third player who is crouched on the ground. The game consists in see-sawing (*yatarajjahān*) to and fro over the back of the third player.

Līzah is not a name current in the Yemen but seems to be employed to rhyme. *Kilizah* suggests Persian *kafizah*, a cup for water, ewer.

17 *Al-Shibrizah*¹³ (The Porcupine)

One player called *al-qā'id*, the sitter, sits on the ground with his legs extended in front of him. The other players who would be, say, four or more, jump over his feet making various contortions, i.e. not just simple jumps. The *qā'id* then raises one of his feet on top of the other and again the players jump over them. He then puts one hand with fingers fully extended above and touching the upper foot and the players jump over that. Finally he raises the fully extended fingers of the other hand on top of the first hand and the players jump again. The first player not to clear a hand or foot of the *qā'id* takes his place. The game is so called because it reminds one of the quills of the porcupine.

18 *Qaṣṣ, qaṣṣ al-maqaṣṣ* (It Cut, the Scissors Cut) (Leap-Frog)

Returning from school all the way to their homes boys leap over the backs of others, one after another, for sometimes quite fair distances. The name of this game is probably derived from the scissor-like movement of leap-frog, but it is to be noted that a thief is called a *maqaṣṣ*, scissors, and so is a merchant (*bayyā' mushtari*) who overcharges his customers.

19 *Dawwāmah/ḍajījah* (Spinning Tops)

There are two sorts of tops, shaped like pears (*'anbarūdah/ijjās*) having a nail fixed in the head. A cord is wound round the nail and it is thrown on the ground, making a sound after which these toys are named *dawwāmah* and *ḍajījah*, the latter a purely Yemeni name. Boys vie with each other in decorating these tops with various colours and different sorts of nail which alter the sound given out by the top. The *ḍajījah* was mainly used by Jewish children and is no longer to be seen in Ṣan'ā'.

* * *

These are the best known of boys' games. Girls do not take part with them except in the games *al-Zanb* (9), *al-Qawqa'* (10) and *Jimāl al-Dawlah* (14).

Now follow the games played by girls until they reach the age of puberty.

2 Girls' Games

1 *Yā rābiyah, yā rubā*¹⁴ (O Hillock, O Hillocks)

Two rows of girls face one-another a few metres apart, stamping the ground with their feet in time to the rhythm of songs of the dance (*ahāzīj al-li'bah*). The two rows run up to each other until they are face to face, then they retreat backwards, half way back. Each side has a *hāzījah*, a girl with a talent for improvising in rhyming prose (*saj'*) or *rajaz* verse. Her words are taken up by the girls of her side and repeated after her. It is customary to commence the dance with the words of welcome *yā marḥabā, yā marḥabā*, then there follows satire (*al-hajū*). The chant *Yā rābiyah* is a sort of chorus. The girls chose a theme upon which the *hāzījah* of one side will make *saj'*, for example, beauty, spring, food, and the *hāzījah* of the other retorts. This goes on till the abler of the two sides manages to silence the other. I recall a line of invective of this sort,

*Yā ka'k bayn al-kibā!*¹⁴

O cake among the the dung fuel cakes!¹⁵

To this the other side will reply *Uhūwih, uhūwih*, as they dance, and their *hāzījah* improvises her rejoinder.

⁸ An = ayna.

⁹ Op. cit., 178.

¹⁰ *Ṭāṣah* is the pierced bowl used for measuring shares in flowing water used in irrigation—perhaps that is what is meant here since the bucket spilling over as it is drawn up might possibly be compared to it. *Ṭurunṭāṣah* seems to be an invented 'nonsense' word.

¹¹ Professor Serjeant informs me that Brauer, op. cit., 216, describes a game

involving the arrival at Ṣan'ā' Gate of a camel caravan and declaring what merchandise it has brought with it, to the guard.

¹² This is how *kilizah* is understood in Ṣan'ā'.

¹³ Rossi, op. cit., 177-78, has a shorter account of this game. He records a game, *malwiyyah* which he states to be similar to it.

¹⁴ Metre *mustaf'ilun fā'ilun*.

¹⁵ See pp. 168, n. 127, 395, n. 29.

2 *Tar'ays*¹⁶ *yā dhā'ib wa-dhawā'ib* (Are You the One Who Guards the Kid, O Wolf and Wolves)

The girls form a circle, holding one-anothers' hands, and go round and round quickly, dancing and repeating the above words of the game. Outside the circle is a boy of whom they laughingly make fun, and he tries to grasp one of them who defends herself from him by kicking (*khadh*) him with her feet. The game concludes when the 'wolf', the boy, has managed to seize them all.

3 *Tihṭibātī tihṭibah*

Any pair of girls can play at this. They take hold of one-anothers' hands, facing each other with their bodies bent backwards and whirling round quickly at the speed of a spinning top.

4 *Hizza lī, yā hizza lī* (Shake to Me, O Shake to Me)

A pair of girls performs this, by dancing (*raqs*), their knees bent, half-squatting on the ground, half jumping half walking and raising alternate hands to their heads like a salute, in time to the beating of the ground with their feet and the rhythm of the tunes of the songs (*ahāzīj*) of the dance. The best known of the *ahāzīj* and songs of this dance are the following words.

<i>Hizza lī, yā hizza lī</i> ¹⁷	<i>qad nazalna 'l-yawm nṣallī</i>
<i>Taḥt rummānah kabīrah</i>	<i>wa-'anāqīd al-ḥaḍīrah.</i>
<i>Ṣawt man dhā?</i>	<i>ṣawt man dhā?</i>
<i>Ṣawt l-a'jam</i>	<i>ṣawt l-a'jam,</i>
<i>Qad takahḥal</i>	<i>qad takahḥal</i>
<i>Qad tidaghṇaj</i>	<i>qad tidaghṇaj,</i>
<i>Qad nazal Ṣan'ā' 'l-madīnah</i>	<i>yakhṭub al-bint al-ṣaghīrah.</i>
<i>Ma 'l-kabīrah hī la'īnah</i>	<i>akalat nuṣṣ al-jihīnah.</i>

Shake to me, o shake to me.¹⁸

Today we've come down to pray

Under a large pomegranate

And the (grape) clusters of the (vin)yard.

Whose is that voice?¹⁹ (*bis*)

It is the stranger's voice, (*bis*)

He's got antimony round his eyes, (*bis*)

He has dotted himself up all gallant-wise,²⁰

He has come down to Ṣan'ā' city

To ask for the hand of the young(er) girl.

As for the old(er) girl she's naughty,
She's eaten half the millet bread piece.

At this point the dance will have reached its climax and be at its liveliest and it will break off with

Shāwish ya 'bni 'l-shāwish
Shāwish man 'allama-nī?
'Allama-nī Sa'd al-Yamani.

Sergeant²¹ son of the sergeant,
Sergeant who was it taught me?
It was Sa'd al-Yaman taught me.

Sa'd al-Yaman and his brother Ṣālīḥ al-Yaman were men who flourished in the first quarter of the present century, farmers/peasants (*ra'iyyah*) of Bīr al-'Azab whose properties are well known including the garden in which al-Raḥmah mosque was established and where Imām Yaḥyā was buried in 1948. This Sa'd was famed for his manly qualities (*ruṣūlah*) and his expertise in dancing (*raqs*) and the *bar'ah* dance with brandishing daggers, which became proverbial. Some of his grandsons are still well known in Ṣan'ā' today.

* * *

Appendix

Rossi alludes, and no more, to a ball game with a ball called *kurt* (plur., *akrāt*) and a ball and stick game called *nishighah*. He quotes a type of word game playing on the names of the days of the week. One child says, *Al-yawm aḥad*, Today is Sunday. Another caps this with, *Ra's-ak muqaḥḥat*, Your head is eaten/beaten. There are innumerable games of this sort.

The *madrahah*-swing used to be used at feasts²² etc., and is still on some occasions seen today. There are special songs for it called *aghānī 'l-madāriḥ*. In older houses there is a swing in *al-hujrah al-kabīrah* and even a special beam (*khashabah al-madrahah*) from which it was suspended.

Another game one still sees in the Ṣan'ā' region is *waqal*, a sort of hopscotch.

16 Abbreviated for *tar'a 'l-tays*.

17 The pattern *fā'īlātun* is the basis of these verses.

18 Perhaps the allusion is to shaking down the fruit from the pomegranate infra.

19 The girls are now talking of a man whom they hope has come to see them to choose a bride from among them.

20 *Takahḥal* here gives the impression of doing oneself up in a rather feminine way, and *tidaghṇaj* implies that he is rather a 'softy', perhaps mocking him.

21 Probably because the Turkish sergeant was well turned out and had an air of importance.

22 Cf. p. 312b.

Chapter 25

Şan'ā' Dress, 1920-75

This chapter describes the patterns of dress of Şan'ānīs in the years 1920-1975.* It examines male and female dress separately, although a case could well be made for dividing the material by social class or rank rather than by sex.

In gathering material for this chapter, I relied upon the accounts of past convention given me by older Şan'ānīs. Their accounts were sometimes vague about the extent of variation in the clothing of different groups and about the timing of innovation. They also tended to tie change in dress very neatly to periods of political change.¹ I tried to supplement these accounts by studying photographs for the period before 1960, collecting old or traditional garments, observing current practice where relevant, and by drawing upon written sources, both Arabic and European.

Traditional Ideals

If, in some societies, dress is a poor indicator of social status and wealth, such an approach to dress does not seem to have been favoured by those who held power in Şan'ā'. Fact, or more likely fiction, the tale of al-Qu'darī suggests their ideals.²

One Friday morning, the Governor (*'āmil*) of Şan'ā', the Faqīh 'Alī al-Ānīsī, was out walking among the people of Şan'ā', well guarded by soldiers. In the crowd was a certain al-Qu'darī, a man who worked leather in the market, who was today dressed as well as any great shaykh. Riding on a proud horse, he wore a new deep black *qamīš*, and about the belt holding his erect silver-embossed dagger (*'asīb*) he had wrapped a brightly coloured cloth worked in gold. On his head was a shining indigo turban (*qub'*) and over his shoulder lay a great striped cloth worked with silver thread (*maşnaf*). As he rode out in front of the Governor's party, his horse jostled someone, who happened to be a man of Islamic learning, an *'ālim*. The *'ālim* turned round in fury and there he saw al-Qu'darī dressed in all his finery. The *'ālim* stiffened but said nothing. Returning home, he removed his clothing (a white *zinnah* and *qamīš*,

curved *thūmah* dagger, white shoulder cloth and *'imāmah*) and sent it, tied in a bundle, to the Governor.

On opening the bundle the Governor was momentarily puzzled but, suspecting a meaning hidden in the gesture, summoned the *'ālim*. Asked why he had sent his clothing, the *'ālim* recounted the morning's incident, and added that, looking at al-Qu'darī, no-one could have distinguished the true status of the two men. He then petitioned the Governor to assign a particular garb for each order of society so that in future each would receive the respect due to his standing.

The Governor ordered the town-crier (*muzayyin*) to summon all the men of the market. Next to the Governor stood the instruments of public correction (*ta'zīr*):³ the drums (*marāfiq*) with which a man was drummed round the town,⁴ the tar (*quṣṣān*) to cauterize a hand when cut off, and the rod (*'aṣiyy*). All having assembled, al-Ānīsī called for the leather worker, and when al-Qu'darī came forward, the Governor remarked, 'No, that is not the one; that is a shaykh.' Staring at al-Qu'darī he repeated these words. Al-Qu'darī stood silent. Then al-Ānīsī turned to the instruments beside him and asked the leather-worker what they were. Al-Qu'darī answered, '*Al-marāfiq, al-quṣṣān, al-'aṣiyy*.' Slowly al-Ānīsī turned to look directly at al-Qu'darī, as though he had only then demonstrated his sanity. The Governor ordered him to wear clothing suitable for one who works leather in the market: a dull *zinnah* and an inconspicuous turban. In fact, to answer the petition of the *'ālim*, he then went on to assign a dress for each class of the men of the market: a headgear or manner of wrapping the turban, a suitable garment, a shoulder cloth (*liḥfah*) and manner of draping it, and a belt (*ḥizām*) with appropriate dagger (*jambiyah*).

The moral of this story is not hard to find. In Şan'ā' there is a hierarchy of occupations, recognized and affirmed by those who hold power. At the top of this scale are those who rule other men and those who by their knowledge of God's law make possible a virtuous society in conformity with this law. Below them come

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1 The major periods to which reference is made in the text are: the Ottoman occupation, 1872-1918, the reign of Imām Yahyā Hamid al-Dīn, 1918-1948, the coup led by 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr, 1948, the reign of Imām Aḥmad Ḥamid al-Dīn, 1948-1962, the Yemeni Republic (accompanied by Egyptian intervention and protracted war ending only in 1970), 1962 onwards.

2 I have failed to find any reference to 'Alī al-Ānīsī and so cannot provide any judgement concerning the possible historical background to this tale. I have reconstructed the tale from notes I made when the tale was first told me. I later taped a shorter version of the same story. I am grateful to my friend, an older school teacher originally from al-Rawḍah, who told me this and much else of traditional lore.

3 Punishment below the *ḥadd* punishment, fixed by statute, see p. 180b, *passim*.

4 This is the *tashkīr*, cf. p. 150b *passim*.

other professions in descending order—down to those whose honour is diminished by dependent service or by handling defiling matter. In keeping with this hierarchy, status that deserves respect should receive it on sight, and wealth out of step with social degree should not be advertised.

In our story the Governor is given the dramatic role of suppressing an attempt by a lowly placed individual to exhibit the signs of prosperity and higher status. In fact, such suppression was usually accomplished by informal social control and not by formal regulation.⁵ An example of such informal control is the account—now almost legendary in her mind—given me by an older woman, daughter of a very successful butcher of Ṣan'ā'. Needless to say those who were subjected to such regulation had no enthusiasm for the minutiae marking their lower status. This woman described her father with pride: 'My father was a very tall man with a great head of hair, a shaykh you would say, not a butcher. He wore a fine coat of woollen cloth (*jūkh*) with a sheep-skin lining, a great indigo cotton cloth (*ṣabighah*) over his shoulder and another *ṣabighah* on his head, not a short *qub'* but a whole one. Over his indigo cotton *qamiṣ* he wound round and round a striped cloth belt (*ma'jar*). His dagger, he'd carry it here,' she said, gesturing to her right side, 'but hidden, he didn't show it, and round all he wound a *ghurm* [a goat-wool strip worn wrapped about the haunches and believed to offer protection against evil spirits].' She went on to tell how a prominent Sayyid in the butcher's community provoked comment by wearing his new *qamiṣ* of shining indigo cotton on the last day of Ramaḍān (*yawm al-waqfah*). When asked why he had worn his new clothing a day before the 'Īd, he replied: 'Or do you expect me to go out, I and the butcher the same?' 'The Sayyid', she explained, 'wanted to be different, and my father looked better than he did.' After a pause she added, 'My father was like the full moon (*al-badr*) but I don't remember what the Sharīf looked like.' But since those in Ṣan'ā' who were in a position to promulgate regulations were trained in Tradition (Hadīth) and in *sharī'ah*, it is of some interest

to examine what Zaydī *fiqh* had to say on these matters.

The codes of *fiqh* require a distinctive dress for protected non-Muslim groups, such as Jews and Christians, living among Muslims. For the Jews, traditionally the major craft group of Ṣan'ā', buildings and mounts as well as dress were regulated by Zaydī law, as modified by the occasional decrees of the Imām.⁶ This regulation of dress for non-Muslim communities is justified on the basis of the Ḥadīth that he who resembles a people is one of them (*man tashabbah bi-qawmin fa-huwa min-hum*).⁷ On the other hand, similar regulation of dress within the Muslim community is more difficult to reconcile with the formal religious equality of the Believers. Within the free Muslim population a distinctive dress is required only of the two fundamental categories of male and female:⁸ Zaydī *fiqh* prohibits women from adopting the speech, gait and dress of men and vice-versa.⁹ *Fiqh* has little to say, however, about distinctions in dress within the free Muslim male population. The question is discussed only in a gloss on the passage of Ibn Miftāḥ's text that prohibits the two sexes from adopting similar dress. In his comment, the author of *al-Athmār* argues that, just as men should not adopt the appearance of women, so they should not use that of infidels, recognizably dissolute persons, or those whose manly honour is honour (*nāqīṣ al-muruwwah*).¹⁰ But, adds the author, when a man is driven by dire need to take up a demeaning occupation such as does not befit him (by birth, presumably) this may be permitted by reason of his need. In this comment, the author refers to the conception that certain occupations involve a slight to a man's honour, or, in other words, exclude him from full political life, and should be practised by traditionally marked groups. In Ṣan'ā' these groups are usually called the Bani 'l-Khums and include butchers, *muqahwīs* (keepers of caravanserais, 'innkeepers'), *qashshāms* (vegetable growers, particularly of onions, garlic and radishes (*qushmī*)), *muzayyins*, bathkeepers and, in varying and lesser degree, tanners, dyers, and weavers.

In essence, although jurists might cite relevant Traditions to

5 I have made this judgement since I have been unable to find any historical evidence in support of the story given above or any record of actual regulation of dress. I suspect that the tale is one of the genre referred to by al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī in his introduction to *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. He notes that these ceremonial duties, as well as the dress of different classes, were said to have been regulated in past times, and he remarks that these patterns of dress were so accepted that any deviation from them was considered 'a slight to manhood and a wound to honour.' Al-Sayāghī praises such regulations because they make explicit a political philosophy left implicit by others, 'Wa-kull dhālika la-'amri min al-sunan al-mahmūdah wa-'l-ṣarā'iq al-mashrū'ah al-khayriyyah al-kāfilah li-sa'adat al-mujtama' bi-nā ṭaṭma'in bi-hi al-nufus wa-tasud bi-hi al-rāḥah 'alā jami' al-ṭabaqāt wa-tuzīl al-haraj min ṣudūr al-du'afa' wa-taklīfahum faṭwā' ṭaḥatī-him aw bi-mā yusū' fi akhlāqī-him wa-dīyānati-him,' *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, *Revue de l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes*, Cairo, X, 279.

Al-Sayāghī's statement has points in common with the two tales about the regulation of dress recounted in the text. Here al-Sayāghī justifies the sumptuary laws limiting the dress of different classes by referring to religious principles, while in the tales the figure applying the sanctions is a man of religious authority regulating only the dress of the artisans and classes in the town, not that of tribesmen outside the walls. In a sense, therefore, the gesture of correction seems likely to have been made with an eye to impressing an audience of country people, thus underscoring the status of the religious personage by symbolically disassociating him from the taint of the market and other men of the town. Cf. n. 13 and 20.

But in support of the possibility of actual regulation, see n. 20. In South Arabia, regulation of marriage often stipulated limits to the bride's trousseau. See, for instance, R.B. Serjeant, 'Recent marriage legislation from al-Mukallā with notes on marriage customs', *BSOAS*, London, XXV, iii, 472-498. It is my experience, however, that a regulation such as this, designed to limit a rise in marriage payments and gifts, is generally disregarded.

6 By Zaydī law I mean the tradition of *fiqh* developed by Yemeni Zaydis and exemplified by the *Sharḥ al-Azhar* of Ibn Miftāḥ. The *Kiṭāb al-Sayr* of the Zaydī *fiqh* manuals contains regulations for the dress, riding mounts, buildings, and religious symbols of the Jews. It states that Jews must adopt 'a dress by which they will be distinguished from the Muslims and which is belittling and humiliating to them' (*ziyyatamayyazūna bi-hi 'an al-Muslimīn fi-hi ṣaghār la-hum wa-idhlāl*). Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abdullāh b. Miftāḥ, *Kiṭāb al-Muntazā' al-mukhtār min al-Ghayth al-midrār li-Kamā'im al-Azhar*, Cairo, 1922, IV, 567.

How such a principle was applied in practice depended upon relations between the communities. It was, moreover, more strictly applied to men, as political figures, than to women. There is also evidence that an Imām could exempt an individual from such regulations, and that in areas outside the Zaydī sphere, where

the individual Jew had a tribal protector, Jews sometimes neglected to wear Jewish dress. So Niebuhr describes how a Jewish financial advisor to the Imām was granted permission to wear Muslim clothing but refused to do so (C. Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, Edinburgh, 1792, I, 379). And Ḥabshush describes meeting a Jew in the East of Yemen who was dressed as a shaykh: 'Wa-ṭaḍ laqīnā fi tariqī-nā rajul rāḥib 'alā ḥimār-uh, wa-huwa fi ḥayah naqīb min nuqabā' al-qabā'il, al-qub' al-muḥadḥbal 'alā qa'shat rās-uh al-mandūshah faṭwā wijk-uh wa-'l-qamiṣ al-mukammam wa-muḥtashar 'alay-h mithl al-qabā'il, wa-huwa maṭṭūb bi-silāḥ-uh wa-'l-ṣabighah 'alā junūb-uh. Fa-tashabbah la-nā annah qabīl wa-qad dhallaynā min-hu fa-waṣal ilay-nā wa-huwa yum'in nazar-uh fi-nā fa-qāl bi-lisān al-Yahūd, Shalūm 'alay-kum. Wa-bādar nazal min faṭwā al-ḥimār wa-sallam 'alay-nā bi-'l-mu'anaqah sabīl 'adat-hu. Fa-sār ma'a-nā qatīl wa-tahādath ma'uh... Wa-zād sa'alt-uh 'alā ziy-uh ḥadhā, fa-qāl anna 'adat ba'd al-Yahūd fi ḥadhīhi 'l-maḥallāt yatashabbahū bi-zinat al-'Arab fi quruq wa-fi aswāq al-qabā'il li-lā yastaḍ'ifu-hum wa-yata'arradū-hum wa-waqt al-hājah yujarridū al-silāḥ 'alā 'l-mu'at'arid la-hum wa-law takallafū li-'l-qatīl, inna dhālik ifṭkhār li-jirāni-hum alladhī hum fi qūhūrī-him.' S.D. Goitein (ed.), *Travels in Yemen*, Jerusalem, 1941, 105-06.

C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Paris, 1779, I, 95-96, reports that the dress of the Indian Hindu traders was similarly regulated. 'Il y a quelques années que les Baniāns de l'Yémen qui s'habillaient tout en blanc, comme dans les Indes, eurent ordre de porter le rouge. Ils payèrent une grosse somme à l'Imām, et l'ordre fut révoqué. Bientôt un autre édit les obligea à prendre le turban rouge; mais, ne voulant pas payer de nouveau droits, ils obéirent. Leur habit est donc blanc aujourd'hui, et leur turban rouge... Plusieurs ont encore par-dessus une robe de toile blanche qui leur serre le corps et les bras; elle est plissée sur les hanches, et ne ressemble pas mal aux habits des paysannes d'Europe. La ceinture appartient à cet habillement Indien, mais les Baniāns et les Juifs de l'Yémen n'osent pas porter des armes, ni par conséquent, le grand couteau des Arabes.'

The choice of white and red may not have been made at random, white being the preferred colour, and bright red and yellow forbidden to the adult male in traditional Zaydī law as in Ḥadīth literature, cf. Ibn Miftāḥ, op. cit., IV, 109-110, and for the regulation of Jewish dress, *ibid*, IV, 567, where it is stated that Jews should not be obliged to wear yellow and red since they are colours forbidden to Muslims.

7 *Ibid*, IV, 117. Shāfi'is also cite this tradition in support of their views on what dress it is appropriate to wear.

8 A clear distinction is also made between the dress required of a free woman and that required of a slave woman, in that the latter does not veil, but this, however important historically, does not concern us here.

9 Ibn Miftāḥ, op. cit., IV, 117.

10 Ibn Miftāḥ, op. cit., IV, 117.

validate existing patterns of social stratification,¹¹ inequality obviously did not originate in Islamic prescriptions but rather in the local political and economic order. In a well known passage of his biography, the first Zaydī Imām apologised for his compliance with local custom when, returning from the market in Ṣa'dah with a fine new coat (*qabā' mulḥam*),¹² he met his cousin, 'By God,' he said, 'were I among Believers, I would not wear a coat such as this. Indeed it is not my kind of dress. I would wear only rough clothing, but, if I wore such, people would think little of my position. So, I considered their ways and realized that they will obey only a leader who dresses in such clothing, but I feel as if a cloth of thorns lay against my skin.'¹³ Even if this apology rings a little hollow, there is every evidence from his biography that al-Hādī found the marriage of theory and practice, of literate and illiterate, and of town and country, thorny.¹⁴ The tribesman recognized the written tradition; he needed the services of documentation, of outside arbitration and judgement, and, at the higher levels, of communication with national politics provided by learned families. Those who made their livelihood from the written tradition sought to obtain a good recompense for their services. A proverb says, 'When a city child is born, seven are born in the countryside to serve him.'¹⁵ Yet, if the townspeople enjoyed cultural and economic privilege, they nevertheless lived in the shadow—and for long periods under the formal protection—of the political organisations of armed agriculturalists, the *qabā'il* or so-called tribes.¹⁶

Traditional notions of social rank embraced competing and at times contradictory claims to high status. The townsmen chose a somewhat theoretical claim built on Islamic piety, which, socially articulated in the role of the ulema, spelled the superiority of the groups controlling the literate and legal tradition.¹⁷ Perhaps reflecting better the realities of power, the tribesmen emphasized the autarchy and autonomy of men and communities, excluding from tribal membership many of those dependent upon the sale of their services to the tribes, whether as administrators, school teachers (rarely endearing figures, 'the village *faqīh*, the devil's ass'),¹⁸ soldiers, craftsmen (particularly of course the Jews), butchers or others. Those who could lay no claim to status on these grounds were those who belonged strictly to the market. In effect, the tribesmen scorned the very groups that could join together with the *literati* to break the power of the tribal leaders. In such a world social concord was based not upon tolerance among individuals under an all-embracing state, but upon the maintenance of division, of distance between different and unequal groups. Here clothing served as a chosen marker of social identity.

Male Dress¹⁹

As the tale of al-Qu'dārī suggests, particular elements of dress (type of garment, shoulder cloth, headgear, dagger and so forth) used to be combined in the costumes worn by the different social

11 The most systematic treatment of this point occurs in the book on marriage equality, *kafā'ah*, that deals with the criterion for a good and 'equal' marriage. Women, with the male 'honour' they represent and with whatever property they own and inherit, are transferred, in most lasting marriages, to the patrilineage into which they marry. The ulema, being well aware of this social fact, discuss in some detail all the elements of social rank—descent (*nasab*), occupation (*ṣinā'ah*), property (*māl*) and 'religion' (*dīn*). They differ over what combination of these should be the criterion by which to judge equivalence, and the question is one of considerable disagreement. This disagreement revolves about the interpretation of a *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet where he exhorted the Believers to marry their daughters to men of good character and faith, implying—or so it seems to be understood by many commentators—that they should stop refusing suitors who couldn't afford the brideprice demanded. Incidentally, Imām Yahyā actually put into practice the Prophet's exhortation. Some time in the 1930s he sent out ulema to induce the tribesmen to give their daughters in marriage and not to retain them at home, holding out for a higher brideprice and enjoying the benefit of their labour. My informant, who was then a student in the Imām's school (al-Madrasah al-'Ilmiyyah) claims to have married forty couples in one night in the village that is the political capital of the tribal group of Hamḍān.

On the basis of the Prophet's words, some commentators argue that 'piety is the only necessary legal criterion for marriage equivalence', and 'piety' (*dīn*) is here limited to the absence of flagrant debauchery (*tark al-jihār bi-l-fisq*). This was the reading chosen by the Imām of the Yemen, Yahyā Ḥamid al-Dīn, *Ṣirāt al-'arīfīn ilā idrāk ikhtiyārāt Amir al-Mu'minin*, ed. al-Qāḍī 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mujāhid al-Shamāhī, Ṣan'ā', 1356 H., 75, where he even relaxed the stipulation appended in the older interpretations requiring that any marriage involving disparity of status be made, not only with the consent of the higher party, but in the case of the woman, with the consent of her marriage guardian *walīyy*, in fact a representative of her patrilineage as well. Imām Yahyā restricted this stipulation to the consent of the mature woman regardless of the opinion of her legal marriage guardian. Yet, even in this most liberal interpretation, the principle of status differentiation is of course implicitly accepted—a marriage involving a disparity of status between the partners may occur only through the consent of the *higher* party. Cf. also the editor's remarks (p. 50) where he argues that defiling occupations are incompatible with good education and high morals.

12 A *qabā'* is an open-front coat probably like a *ṣayyah*. *Mulḥam* is stuff with a warp of silk and a woof of some other material. Probably the allusion is to the silk content of the fabric, silk being prohibited for men's wear in Islam. See R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, Beirut, 1972, 255.

13 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydullāh al-'Abbāsī, *Ṣirāt al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn*, Beirut, 1972, 56.

This passage appears to have been well known and is cited by ulema in the course of an interesting debate on the question of whether it is permissible that eminent religious men avoid entering the market-place. The question *dukkūl al-sūq li-l-fuḍalā'*, occurs in Ibrāhīm b. Khālīd al-'Ulufī, *al-Ajwibah al-mufidah 'ala 'l-sū'ālāt al-ḥamīdah*, fol. 275, British Museum Arabic Ms., Supplement 431, Glaser Collection 217. Al-'Ulufī wrote in the first half of the 17th century (d. 1056/1646).

It is said that certain distinguished religious men of this age feel ashamed to enter the markets and consider themselves above doing so and above purchasing things even when at times they need to do so. They imagine that by doing this their status would be lowered and claim that this was a custom of the

Prophet, of the Caliphs who followed him, and of many of the Imāms. Yet, it was the Prophet's habit to carry another person on his mount and to ride without a saddle; but they are above doing that. It is said that [this is done] for good reason, the Prophet demonstrated that such actions were permissible.... There is nothing wrong with avoiding [entering the market] if that does result in lessening of a man's honour, in a diminution of his prestige or of the respect [offered him], or in a man's being mocked. Indeed, in such a case it is a duty to avoid it. The situation depends entirely upon the individual, the time and the place. But if none of this occurs, then one should not as a matter of habit avoid [the market] because that smacks of haughtiness. Then the ignorant man takes to imitating this until for no real reason it becomes a habit for him to disdain [to enter the market], since the origin of the ignorant man's action is pure habit and putting on the airs of the high and mighty (my translation).

Al-'Ulufī employs similar casuistry to resolve the sharp disagreement over al-Imām al-Mahdī's judgement that a man could stay away from the Friday prayer if he feared that entering the assembly would bring about a fall in his status. Apparently there is little in the *Ḥadīth* to support this judgement. Aside from *Ḥadīth* concerning 'Umar which he discounts as irrelevant, all that al-'Ulufī adduces is a version of the text cited where al-Imām al-Hādī justified his princely garb as necessary to command obedience. Opposing al-Hādī's judgement, a scholar, al-Muqbili, is quoted as stating bluntly that such a notion has nothing whatever to do with the 'Islamic Muḥammadan Arabian religion but belongs to the morals of Khusraw and Caesar.' Al-'Ulufī answers al-Muqbili with what he describes as a lenient answer (*fi-l-kalām tasāmuh*). The Imām, he explains, actually spoke of performing the Friday prayer among people whose 'leaders follow custom [scil. rather than Islamic *sharī'ah*], who are renegades and hypocrites.' [In other *fiqh* writings such terms may explicitly refer to heterodox tribal opponents of the régime.] Al-Muqbili, he adds, should have considered this situation, because—or so al-'Ulufī implies—even the most extreme marks of social hierarchy are warranted in cases where the faith and its leaders must defend themselves.

The rebuttal made by al-Muqbili is strangely reminiscent of verses in *ṣūrat al-Furqān* (XXV, 20, cf. 7-13) exonerating the Prophet's conduct in frequenting the markets. 'We have not sent any apostles before you but that they did indeed eat food and walk about in the markets.'

14 This is not to suggest that there was no pre-Islamic urban tradition—quite the contrary—but what concerns us here is the particular expression this assumed under Islam.

15 Qāḍī Ismā'il 'Alī al-Akwā', unpublished section of *al-Amthal al-Yamāniyah*, II.

16 Today the best remembered example of this is the sack of Ṣan'ā' in 1948 when Imām Aḥmad is popularly believed to have had his tribal supporters take vengeance on the Ṣan'ā'ni, many of whom had supported the coup led by 'Abdullāh al-Wazīr against Bayt Ḥamid al-Dīn.

17 As in two proverbs, '*Dīn al-qabīlī mithl ṣābūn al-ghirārah*, or *mithl mā yuṣabbīnū 'l-ghirārah*, 'The religion of a tribesman is like washing a black sack' (i.e. something not done, not worth the bother and effort). '*Al-qabīlī 'aduww nafsuḥ*. The tribesman is his own enemy' (i.e. he won't and can't learn). The latter proverb is in al-Akwā', op. cit. II, no. 1064.

18 Ibid, 980.

19 The dress described here is that of an adult. A boy receives his adult headgear and dagger at puberty about thirteen or fifteen years of age. Often he first wears his *jambīyyah* and headgear on the festival day when he joins the men of his family to visit and present gifts to the women of his family, and so becomes no longer eligible, as a child, to receive a gift.



25.1 This man is wearing a short indigo *qub'* turban, and over his *zinnah* a *qamiš* of the cloth called *Miṣrī* (with the sleeves tied up for work) and a *lihfah* shoulder-cloth wound round his *jambiyyah*. (Photo: Mundy, 1975.)

groups. Of these elements, two, the dagger and the headgear, were of particular significance.

There are basically two types of dagger (*jambiyyah*) in the Şan'ā' area. One is the J-shaped '*asīb* (or *jihāz*) with bone or wood handle. Housed in a leather sheath, it is worn on a leather or

cloth belt. The '*asīb* was the dagger of the tribesmen or of those men of Şan'ā' who claimed tribal origin ('*Arab*'). The other, the slightly curved *thūmah* dagger, has an ornate handle of silver filigree work and is housed in an embroidered case. It lies at an angle to the waist on a belt of woven, embroidered, or silver thread (*tazjah*) cloth. The *thūmah* was worn by men of religious genealogy, the Sayyids and Qāḍīs, and occasionally by others who by virtue of descent or occupation, chose to identify themselves with these groups and the urban literate tradition. The Bani 'l-Khums did not wear an '*asīb* but might carry a small knife in a cloth sheath tucked in the belt, or very occasionally a *thūmah*.²⁰ Generally, Jews and other non-Muslims did not carry arms.

Just as was the dagger, so the form of a man's headgear was a sign of political status.²¹ The beard, which traditionally was not shaved, had a similar significance.²² Indeed, where Zaydī *fiqh* accepted the formal removal of man's headgear in public assembly as a form of punishment and of public shaming, a gloss on this passage discussing other forms of punishment refuses to accept the cutting of a man's beard.²³

Corresponding to the *thūmah* dagger of the Sayyid, the Qāḍī and the *faqīh* was the headgear termed '*imāmah*. The '*imāmah* consists of a stiff pill-box frame about which is wound a *miḥashshah* or, far more commonly and exclusively today, white muslin (*shāsh*). The oldest version of the base is thought to have been a black quilted frame (*qāwāq Thulā'i*) over which fitted an embroidered top (*qihf*), of the same work as the *kūfiyyah mukattabah* worn by boys of wealthy families; a man also wore one or two sweatcaps (*ma'raqah*) under the *qāwāq*. Another type of frame is the Meccan *kūfiyyah qaṣṣ*, a similar pill-box shape, the sides of which are covered with patchwork of red, green or yellow cloth, and the top of which is finely worked with white thread. The most common '*imāmah* base today is made by sewing coloured thread over a stiff base so as to resemble the *kūfiyyah qaṣṣ*. This '*imāmah* is said to have appeared only after 1948 when a number of important men imprisoned by Imām Aḥmad in Ḥajjah set about making it.²⁴ If one can believe older travellers, headgear has been growing lighter in recent times, although it is possible that the '*imāmah* was once made not of one stiff frame but simply by piling a number of soft hats one on the other.²⁵

The cloth around the base was also wrapped and draped in different ways. It is said that the Qāḍīs and other *fuqahā'* wound the muslin cloth round and round giving the tightly folded, rippled look ('*imāmah mula'waqah*) commonly seen today. High ranking Sayyids wrapped the muslin (or silk) cloth in a wide smooth band ('*imāmah muqawlabah*). The etymology of the word

20 An older *faqīh* has reported to me that, in the days of Imām Yaḥyā, men were distinguished by where they wore the *thūmah*. The Imām and his ministers wore the *thūmah* far to the right, the *fuqahā'* in the middle and the Banu 'l-Khums to the left, the lesser side. This may have been the correct alignment, at least in the eyes of the *fuqahā'*, but it is my impression that the Banu 'l-Khums tended not to wear *jambiyyahs* much at all. For instance, the normal practice of a butcher in Şan'ā' was to wear over his simple dark *zinnah* a long thin wound cloth of coloured stripes (*miḥashshah*) as the belt into which his knives were set and as a turban another *miḥashshah*, that of a *qashshām* or of a *muqahwi* to wear, a *madra'ah*, a *maqtab*, a *ma'jar*, or *kamar* (leather belt) around the waist, and on the head a *qub'*. For the descriptions of these items see p. 533a. With the exception of the lack of an '*asīb* this could be the clothing of a poor or middling tribesman. As for the *muzayyins* in Şan'ā' theirs was an occupation that could occasionally allow them to be fairly prosperous. It was not unknown for them to wear the '*imāmah*, the *qamiš*, and the *thūmah* like that of any man of respected descent in Şan'ā'. There was a well-known barber and dentist of Şan'ā', Muṣṭafā, who wore a *Miṣrī qamiš*, an '*imāmah* and a *thūmah*. As he grew older he hennaed his hair, which, always quite long, then spilled out in a red fringe below and around the '*imāmah*. A man more concerned with the letter of the rule would have cut the hair and hennaed, at most, the beard. As for the adoption of the '*asīb*, I have been told that Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn, when still Imām designate in Ḥajjah, once disciplined those of Banu 'l-Khums about Ḥajjah who had adopted the '*asīb* by calling them together, stripping them of their arms, and hanging the daggers on the door of the Government building. Once again, however, I have not been able to have this story finally confirmed as fact.

21 A man did not go without his headgear, as Niebuhr, *Description*, remarked in his day: 'Comme il est incommode d'avoir toujours la tête si chargée, ils ôtent chez eux, ou chez leurs amis, tout ce poids, à un ou deux bonnets près, et le placent à coté d'eux, pour le remettre quand ils sortent; et ils ôtent et remettent leur turban

avec autant de facilité que nos perruques; mais ils ne sauroient avec décence, se présenter sans turban devant leur supérieurs.'

22 'Non-seulement les Orientaux ont diverses manières de s'habiller mais encore de se laisser croître la barbe. Les Juifs, en Turquie, en Arabie et en Perse, conservent leur barbe dès la jeunesse, et elle diffère toujours de celle des Chrétiens et des Mahométans, en ce qu'ils ne la rasent ni aux oreilles, ni aux tempes; au lieu que les derniers la retrécissent en haut. Les Arabes tiennent leur moustache très-courte, quelques-uns la coupent tout-à-fait; mais jamais ils ne se rasent la barbe. Dans les montagnes de l'Yemen, où l'on n'est pas accoutumé à voir des étrangers, c'est une honte de paroître rasé...' Niebuhr, op. cit., I, 96. 'Les Mahométans croient, peut-être, comme le remarquent quelques voyageurs, que les anges habitent dans leur barbe. Il est très que quand quelqu'un, après avoir laissé croître la barbe, se la fait raser, il peut être très-sévèrement puni; et il devient la risée de ceux de sa religion,' ibid., I, 98. Or in the words of a traditional saying, 'Zayyan Allāh al-rijāl bi-'l-luḥay wa-'l-nisā' bi-'l-ḥulay, God adorned men with beards and women with jewelry.'

23 *Bāb al-ta'zīr*, Ibn Miṣṭāh, op. cit., IV, 381. In Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār al-jāmī li-madhāhib 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, Cairo, 1949, V, 212, the cutting of a man's hair is similarly forbidden as a punishment.

24 I am grateful to Ismā'il 'Alī al-Akwa' and 'Abdullāh 'Atīq for this information.

25 Renzo Manzoni, *El Yémen, tre anni nell'Arabia Felice*, Rome, 1884, 192, reports that up to eight caps were worn. Although the number of hats described by Manzoni and Niebuhr (see n. 27) is surprising, it does seem that headgear has become lighter with the years. The modern '*imāmah* is now commonly worn with less muslin than previously, but whether—as Niebuhr might have interpreted this change—the trend indicates greater modesty among the scholars it would be hard to say: 'Les Mahométans m'ont paru affecter de prendre un turban de grosseur excessive, quand ils veulent passer pur des savans du premier ordre.' Niebuhr, *Description*, I, 90.

muqawlabah would imply that the cloth of the 'imāmah hung down the wearer's back.²⁶ This was the common form of 'imāmah in Niebuhr's day, but in the Ḥamid al-Dīn Imāmate, only the Imām and men of his family wore an 'imāmah that had a long section, adorned with a fringe, hanging far down the back.²⁷

In some of the more distant areas of the countryside tribesmen did not wear headgear but left the hair long.²⁸ Around Šan'ā', however, headgear was the rule, among men of the country as of the town. The stock headgear of a tribesman was the *qub'*, an indigo-dyed cotton turban wrapped about a small crocheted sweat-cap. In fact the *qub'* was in no sense restricted to the tribesman but was worn by many craftsmen of the market and by some of the Bani 'l-Khums.

In proverbs headgear could stand for those who wore it. A Jewish proverb opposes the two types: *mā sabarat-sh li-'l-mu'ammimīn, khallī li-'l-muqabbī'in*, 'if it didn't work out with the men of the 'imāmah, leave it for those of the *qub'*.'²⁹ (This shorthand reminds one of the idiom of industrial society, though here it is hats, not collars, that are white and blue.) Al-Akwa's collection of proverbs contains a surprisingly polite one: *'al-faqīh birr Bawnī wa-'l-muqqabī' sha'ir*, 'the *faqīh* is Bawnī wheat, the man of the *qub'* barley.'³⁰ Many proverbs are less kind and more vulgar. *La budd li-'l-qub' min-tāthīr wa-law yibdi al-luṭf min ja'far* (*ja'far* used here as a euphemism for *jihrah*), 'The *qub'* is sure to mark [a man] even if gentility suddenly appeared from his ass.'³¹ And on the other hand, *'al-kufr taḥt al-'amā'im*, 'beneath the 'imāmahs, ungodliness.'³²

From the later years of Imām Yaḥyā's reign many other cloths were also used for turbans. Townspeople prized the embroidered cotton cloths of Aleppo and the woollen embroidered shawls of south west Asia, which, when used as turbans, were called *šumāṭah*. Well before 1962 many men, including certain Sayyid merchants of the market, had adopted the *šumāṭah* as daily headgear.

A man of some means wore a *qamīš* (a wide-bodied and very wide-sleeved full length garment) over a *zinnah* (a tight-sleeved garment of similar length). A vest (*šudayriyyah*) and today a jacket could be worn between the *zinnah* and the *qamīš*. Over this a man could put a *šāyah* (an open-front coat of light-weight cloth with wide sleeves and a zigzag pattern on the lapel area) or a *jūkh* (pl. *jīkhān*) (a coat of similar cut, so named because it was made of imported flat wool, *jūkh*, with worked gold thread banding and buttons) or in cold weather a *kirk* (a coat with lambskin lining). Simpler cuts of clothing of countrymen and modest urban folk included the *madra'ah* (an open-front shirt of indigo-dyed cotton), the *maqṭab* (a kilt made of an unsown piece of muslin or other cotton folded about the waist and held in place by a belt), the *ma'jar* (a striped cloth wrapped round and round the waist as a belt), and the *šabīghah* (a long piece of indigo-dyed cotton worn around the shoulders, either alone without a shirt or over the *madra'ah*). The *'abā'*, a short vest of black and white

goat's-wool often with intricate woven geometric patterns, was known as a tribal not an urban garment.

Men of learning or of highly placed families preferred white or pastel colours. Fine Aleppo striped silk and cotton cloths (called *Miṣri*) were also very popular.³³ Most countrymen, and all who could not afford the better cloth, wore dark indigo or simple undyed cottons. Shoulder cloths (*liḥfah*) were of brightly coloured striped cotton, finished in a woven band and fringe, the best of a heavy silken cotton with lines of gold or silver thread interwoven (*maṣnaf*). Indigo-dyed *šabīghah* or other cotton cloth could also serve as *liḥfah*. The imported woollen shawl (*shāl*) also used as a *šumāṭah* has largely replaced the locally woven *maṣnaf*, as the elegant shoulder cloth. The school teacher who recounted the tale of al-Qu'dārī explained that in the past men of different occupations wore particular types of *liḥfah*, draped in characteristic ways. In practice, however, although some men carry a shoulder cloth simply for ornament, others need a cloth for more utilitarian purposes—carrying loads, as a cover when sleeping or in cold weather, etc. I suspect, therefore, that this detail reflects as much a contemporary longing for rules as it does the rule bound character of past society.

Niebuhr pointed out that fashion changed in the great cities of the Islamic world just as it did in comparable centres in the West.³⁴ Šan'ā' was not a metropolis, but nonetheless fashion and articles in the dress of different classes did change gradually. Two factors shaped the pace and form of change. Until the middle of this century, cloth and clothing were costly. This was true of both local production and luxury or common cloth imported from India, Syria, and Europe. Most people purchased and received dress on ceremonial occasions, notably marriage and festival days, and wore garments for as long as possible, patching and re-dyeing them.

Change likewise took place within a coherent aesthetic tradition. Clothing was designed not so much to display or present the bodies it fitted, as to cover and hide their forms, building up and presenting planes and surfaces for decoration. This living aesthetic is caught in a legal dictum: 'A man may not wear dress so thin that it describes the body without having under it other clothing to cover him.'³⁵ When applied to women, the rule takes another form, suggesting the special concerns embodied in female dress: 'A woman should not wear clothing so thin that it describes her body, except with her husband in private.'³⁶

Women's Dress

The variety of men's dress pales before the differences between the dress of men and women. As noted above, legal tradition forbids women from adopting the habit of men and vice-versa. Women's dress, although it shared many basic forms with men's

26 Cf. Le Comte de Landberg, *Glossaire daftinois*, Leiden, 1942, III, 2521.

27 Concerning the 'imāmah Niebuhr remarked, 'Leur coëffure est incommode et dispendieuse. Ils ont jusqu'à 10 ou 15 bonnets les uns sur les autres. Il y en a qui ne sont que de toiles; mais il y en a aussi d'un drap for (*Fās*) ou de coton piqué; et celui qui les couvre tous, est souvent richement brodé en or. J'ai toujours vu sur ceux que mes amis m'ont montré, ces paroles: *La allāh illa allāh Mohāmmad rassūl allāh*... ou quelque autre sentence du Koran. Ce n'est pas encore tout le fardeau dont les Arabes chargent leur tête; ils enveloppent cette multitude de bonnets d'une grande pièce de mousseline nommée *Sasch*, qui a aux deux bouts des franges de soie, et même d'or, qu'ils laissent pendre entre les épaules sur le dos.' Niebuhr, *Description*, I, 89-90.

Niebuhr adds a further note 'La mode de laisser pendre sur le dos les bouts du turban ou du *Sasch*, paroît être très ancienne; car les anges étoient ainsi coëffés à la bataille de Bedr.' There does in fact seem to be, as Niebuhr fancifully suggests, a tradition whereby dangling pieces on the headdress were felt to have protective powers (*ḥirz*) as the *'adhāb* on the *farrādī* of the woman's *'uṣbah* (see n. 57), the *durū'* on the *rās maghmūq* (cf. n. 41) of women and the *qarqūsh* of young girls, and again in tribal silver jewelry worn on the head and forehead. After all, these do hang like hair.

28 Niebuhr noted that many of the outlying tribal groups of the Yemen did not shave their hair: 'Dans le royaume de l'Imām, les hommes de toute condition se font raser la tête. Dans quelques autres contrées de l'Yemen, tous les Arabes,

jusqu'aux Schechs même, laissent croître leurs cheveux et ne portent ni bonnets, ni *Sasch*; mais au lieu de cela un mouchoir dans lequel ils nouent leurs cheveux en arrière. Quelques uns les laissent flotter sur les épaules, et attachent, au lieu de turban, une cordelette autour de la tête.' Niebuhr, *Description*, I, 92.

29 S. D. Goitein, *Yemenica*, Leiden, 1970, 145, no. 1083.

30 Ismā'il 'Alī al-Akwa', *al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, II, no. 981.

31 Šan'ānis consider this a 'tribal' (*qabīlī*) proverb.

32 S. D. Goitein, op. cit., 180, no. 1412. I have heard a proverb with similar meaning from Muslim Šan'ānis.

33 Nazīh, *Riḥlah*, Cairo, n.d., 124-5, remarks on the Syrian *šāyāt* of silk he saw in a Jewish shop in Šan'ā'. 'They call them in Šan'ā' *al-šāyāt al-Miṣriyyah* (Egyptian *šāyahs*) because they come by way of Egyptian Suez, but they are Syrian *dīma/dayma šāyahs*, most of them being manufactured in Aleppo.' Nazīh also mentions *jūkh* and woollens mostly from Britain, and cheap cottons, etc. The *šāyah* is described by A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris, 1935-50, 424, as an Aleppo piece of cloth varying in length from seven to twelve *dhīrā'*. Ibid, 681, lists 25 types of Aleppo cloth. Cf. Italian *saia*.

34 Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Utrecht, 1776, I, 127.

35 Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. al-Hādī, *K. al-Luma'*, d. 814/1411, British Museum Arabic Ms. 3949, fol. 50: '*wa-lā yaḥuz an yalbas min al-thiyāb mā yaṣif al-badan li-riqqati-hi idhā lam yakun bi-taḥti-hi mā yasturu-hu.*'

36 Ibid, fol. 51: '*wa-lā yaḥuz li-'l-marāḥ an talbas min al-thiyāb mā yaṣif al-badan li-riqqati-hi illā ma'a zawji-hā fi khalwah.*'

dress, was ordered along quite different principles. A man's dress reflected his role in political society. If he 'dressed up' on the festival day, or if, when relaxing, took off some of his clothing, he still presented essentially one guise to all. On the other hand, within urban society, female dress incorporated no specific marks of the status of a woman's descent group. Regional and to a lesser extent economic differences were marked, yet a woman could more easily adopt the dress of another group than could a man.³⁷ But, through the manipulation of veiling, she drew the lines of social division central to her life.

Fiqh tradition takes about as strong a stand as is possible on the covering required of a woman before all men except her husband and men of her family within the prohibited degrees. Even the face, and, if possible, the feet and ankles too, should be covered. This covering is relaxed only in the case of the child, the woman past menopause, and of the dead.³⁸ If we examine the legal rule, namely, that women should veil 'from' all men outside the family, here we find the kernel of a confrontation. On the face of it, a woman is to veil 'from', to maintain a symbolic distance between herself and foreign men. If we go a little further and consider woman as a representative of her family, her veiling can be said to mark the others of different rank. If, in life, these aspects are inseparable, in analysis we may dissect them by approaching them from different perspectives, from each of which one of these aspects appears more clearly.³⁹

First, however, a word on language—although too much may be made of it, in Arabic a woman veils herself 'from' (*tataḡhaṭṭā 'an* or *min*) or 'towards' (*'alā*, even 'against'). In order to simplify problems of translation, I have substituted for veiling or covering the analogy of 'keeping one's distance', an idiom common in English. In fact, the cultural ideal was also to keep women apart from foreign men and, except at certain times of the day, even from their own menfolk, but in practice, certain circumstances in Ṣan'ā' made the actual physical separation of women rather difficult. Unlike the homes of the upper classes of many Islamic towns, such as Zabīd on the coast, the Ṣan'ānī townhouse did not provide inner courtyards or fully separate quarters for women. Within the house, the *liḥmah* (the face veil formed by a long rectangular piece of cloth wrapped ingeniously so as to cover the forehead, nose and mouth) allowed a woman to veil from men who were not of the immediate family and yet to be unhindered in her movements. Thus, the *liḥmah* veil permits women to be symbolically separated from men without having to be at any physical distance.⁴⁰

If, then, the veil signifies a woman's separation from men foreign to her family and class, this article of apparel must do the reverse and underscore her adherence to the men of her family, whether by blood or marriage. In Zaydī *fiqh* a marriage contract

is drawn up between the husband (or his representative, and in the case of a minor, his guardian) and a woman's marriage guardian (*walīyy 'l-nikāḥ*, her father or, failing him, the men of her family and paternal lineage in a set order of precedence). Although a woman, particularly a divorcee, has considerable freedom of choice as to her partner, contrary to what is true in other contracts, a woman cannot represent herself in a marriage contract, nor can any woman act for another. In so far as possible, moreover, the law systematizes the code of honour according to which all sexual relations (with free women) must occur within marriage.

Most women marry; a girl who remains unmarried past puberty is felt to be in a temporary, almost incomplete state. Indeed, whereas a boy receives his adult dress at the conventional time of puberty, a girl veils from somewhat before the time she is legally marriageable and assumes the dress of an adult woman only at marriage, regardless of whether this is before or after her physical puberty.⁴¹ The covering of a woman's body is seen as a symbol of woman's adherence to this sexual code, which defines her position in relation to the basic patrilineal organization of society. As culturally valued, her veiling advertises her isolation from other men, and with that her abstention from taking the initiative in sexual behaviour. After all that has been said about the veil, the true oppressiveness of the symbol may fall on men for it never allows them to rid themselves of their suspicion that, although women are punctilious in their use of the symbol, they are perhaps not always committed to the code of behaviour men would have the symbol represent.

The second aspect of veiling, in which a woman is considered as a representative of her family, will become clearer if we climb down from the generalities of woman's position in the social structure and look at the veil from the vantage of the person within. She experiences the cover not so much as a burden but as a protection from the possible, and expected, aggressions of strange men.⁴² For so, on the other side of the coin, was the system maintained. In the words of a proverb often quoted in this connection, 'a man most desires what he is denied.'⁴³ Men, it presumes, are waiting for a glimpse of the face or body, or even an invitation from other men's women. Such an occurrence is a slight, not only to the woman but also to her man's honour. Women, as male honour incarnate, come under the cross-fire of masculine competition.

Indeed, the richest aspect of veiling is its manipulation as a sign of high social status. As the veil symbolically isolates a woman from foreign men, it also implies that she is so well provided for by her men-folk as not to need any truck with outsiders and, obviously, with the market. But in arguing this, I have taken for granted a culturally ascribed, positive value for the veil, such as no such functionalist account can suffice to

37 Tribal women married into Ṣan'ā' or following men who had moved into Ṣan'ā' adopted Ṣan'ānī dress, and, if somewhat more reluctantly, Ṣan'ānī women accompanying their husbands on administrative duty elsewhere in the Yemen could adopt articles of local dress. In everyday life, regional dress (e.g. the tribeswoman and the woman beggar, cf. p. 535a) distinguished an outsider from the Ṣan'ā' woman, but within town society there was little formal restraint on conspicuous consumption by women of lower status descent groups. This is to be expected in so far as women can pass from one family (and status group) to another and hypergamy is not uncommon. Still, women's gatherings are a study in informal politics and a stage where no article of dress goes uncommented.

38 Ibn Miṭṭāḥ, op. cit., IV, 113-114. While the chorus of commentators on these questions is not unanimous, it is overwhelming. In practice, even the most orthodox may allow their women to go unveiled before very old men as well. There are also legal manipulations that can extend the circle of men within the legally defined prohibited degrees. A girl of an important family tells me that when still a little girl she was married and later divorced so that she and her mother would thereby be able to go unveiled before her 'husband' and his father.

39 A full analysis of these patterns is beyond the scope of this chapter. As a result I have confined my remarks here to a general description of clothing and veiling and shall present a more analytical study of dress and status in

another paper.

40 A similar point is made by H. Papanek writing of purdah in S. Asia ('Purdah: separate worlds and symbolic shelter', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, The Hague, XV, 295).

41 In Zaydī law a woman may be married from nine years of age. A girl of good family might begin to veil at about six or seven years of age, wearing a *liḥmah* or head/face veil. In the street she wore over this a *burqu'* (a black face panel with holes for the eyes, decorated with shells, coral, buttons and other hanging ornaments) and a *fuṣṣah* (a shawl over head and back). She might wear a *ṣitārah* (the woman's outer cloak) as she neared marriage, but it was usually only at marriage that she received the elaborate headpiece for the woman's face panel (*rās maḡhmūq*) embroidered with gold and silver thread, decorated with coral and little hanging chains (*durū'*). Only on the night of her marriage, did she discard her childhood *qarqush* (a bonnet made of a square piece of cloth rising to a point in the back and fastened under the chin).

42 The word aggression should not be understood in its violent aspects. Suggestion suffices in such a context. Although tales of physical aggression are discussed by women, it is my impression that these reflect more the considerable tension by which the sexes are kept apart rather than fact.

43 *Aḡabb shay li-'l-insān mā muni'*.

explain.⁴⁴

The roots of this high estimation lie in cultural history. Although there is no thorough study dealing with the history of veiling in the Middle East, an examination of the uses of the word *ḥijāb* (veiling and the veil) in older Arabic texts suggests that the ancient symbolism of the veil was adopted in various aspects of Islamic practice. *Hijāb* refers not only to the veiling and seclusion of women but also to the practice of the Caliph of Islam veiling himself by a curtain 'from' the common court and crowd, and also to various uses in religious devotion, particularly by mystics in the sense of a curtain between man and the Divine Reality.⁴⁵ In short, it was associated with some of the most highly valued persons and religious symbols and, at some time in the formative period of the religious codes, the face-veil for women was made informal practice.⁴⁶

Such a high value for the veil is reflected in the claims made in the biography of al-Hādī, the first Zaydī Imām of the Yemen. 'If he saw a woman he ordered her to wear a veil, and if she was past menopause, he ordered her to wear a cloak. He was the first to bring the *burqu'* face-veil to Yemeni women and he ordered them to adopt it.'⁴⁷ The association of the veil with urban religion was as true traditionally as elsewhere in the Islamic world.⁴⁸ For the most part tribeswomen did not veil their faces but wore throughout life a simple black *qarqūsh*, sometimes wrapped round with a large head scarf. The outer cloak of the tribeswoman differed from area to area, and only women of a few settlements of the Şan'ā' plateau (al-Rawḍah, Ḥaddah, Qaryat al-Qābil) and of other northern towns wore a Şan'ā' *ṣitārah*.⁴⁹

As one might expect, there were women who stood as the antithesis to the aspirations of the urban woman, unveiled women, hereditary beggars, dancers and singers. Certain ulema advised Muslim women to veil themselves both from infidel women and from wandering women and to shun them. It is reported that al-Hādī, the first Zaydī Imām, kept his daughters from meeting such women, and a Qāḍī 'Abdullāh al-Dawwārī explained that this was necessary lest they tell Muslim women about their lives and infect them with their licentiousness.⁵⁰ Once again, the boundaries marking social divisions and female virtue would seem to be the same.

If before the public male world women's dress was forbiddingly exclusive and protective, within her own society, that of other women, dress served to demonstrate status in other ways.

A woman's day and wardrobe were divided into two parts.

From the moment she rose in the morning, often for the dawn prayer, until after the mid-day meal, she worked at household tasks. The maintenance and operation of the household depended on the labour of its women, and there were few servants even in wealthy households. A woman's work included fetching water, sorting and grinding grain, baking the daily break, cooking, sweeping, washing, and tending the household animals. Women's work was organized by women. Even in a small and modest family, a young woman rarely began her domestic tasks after marriage without the help or supervision of an older woman. In large and prosperous households, which might comprise as many as five or six adult women, work was usually divided or taken in turns so that some women enjoyed an occasional morning off. Slowly, a woman gained in seniority in the household. When or if she reached the top she would manage the household, budgeting the stocks and supplies and directing the work of a team of women. Although a woman's progress in the domestic economy usually depended on success in marriage and childbearing, in building her so-called uterine family, this was not invariably so, especially not in the most important households of the town where a woman might have resources of her own and where the number of women in the household allowed greater specialization of labour. In such families, not only a widow but even an unmarried, barren, or divorced woman, undistracted by the duties of childbirth and bringing up children, might become an outstanding manageress and petty capitalist. Such women, often formidable characters in women's society, joined forces with solidly established mothers and household heads of the middle levels of society in promoting something of a serious or censorious tone in Şan'ā' women's society. Such women never failed to comment upon other women's, and especially younger women's, performance of household work. A woman usually saw fit to dress as practically and inconspicuously as possible in the morning hours—typically in a simple cotton *zinnah* (a calf-length dress with narrow sleeves) dyed and re-dyed black, and on her head, a 'minimal' *uṣbah*.⁵¹

Following the afternoon (*ʿaṣr*) prayer a woman normally changed her dress to go out to a women's party or *tafriḥah*. Although such a *tafriḥah* could be a simple, informal gathering of family and neighbours, the most important of such gatherings were those marking the turning points in a woman's life—marriage (in the days of Imām Yaḥyā for several afternoons prior to the consummation of the marriage and for twenty days thereafter), childbirth (afternoons during a forty day *post-partum* resting period), and death of family members (usually a ten-day period of

44 It has been argued by one author (G. Tillion, *Le Harem et les Cousines*, Paris, 1966, 195) that, even before the modern period in N. Africa, the veil was not so highly valued since the beduin, not the urbanite was traditionally 'l'homme chic'. I rather doubt whether one could establish such a consensus, but the rich ambivalence of Ibn Khaldūn's remarks concerning the nature of the Bedu should clarify what is really at issue. For the period in question (post Hilālian N. Africa, or Yemen for the 19th and early 20th century) ultimate power often lay with the tribe, not with the town. As Ibn Khaldūn points out in another context (*Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*, Baghdad, n.d., 147 (*Bāb II, faṣl 23*)), the vanquished logically impute to their vanquisher the virtues in which they find themselves lacking.

45 The meanings of this word discussed here are simply drawn from Lane's Arabic/English dictionary and from the discussion in J. Chelhod's article on *Hijāb*, *E.I.*², III, 359-61.

46 There is a modernist myth that attributes to 'the Turks' the use of the veil. As far as ultimate origins are concerned, this is clearly not true though the black *sharshaf* street veil so popular since the revolution was itself introduced by the Turks.

47 'Fa-in ra'a 'mra'atan amara-hā bi-l-ḥijāb, wa-in kānat min al-qawā'id amara-hā bi-l-tasattur, wa-huwa alladhī aḥdatha al-barāqī li-l-nisā' bi-l-Yaman wa-amara-hin bi-dhālika.' *Sīrat al-Hādī*, 386.

48 This was certainly true in N. Africa and for Egypt, compare R. Arié, 'Notes sur le coûtume en Egypte dans la 1ère moitié du XIX^e siècle', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris, 1968, II, 211-12. As for other parts of the Muslim world I have not had the occasion to check possible sources. Certainly some groups of country or tribal women may well have traditionally worn types of face veils.

49 The *ṣitārah* or outer cloak of the Şan'ānī women was a white cloth with red designs called *bayram*, until about 1920. The blue Indian cotton print (*ghanami*) then became the usual cloak and has remained so until today. The face panel (*maghmūq*) of red with black circles is dyed in Şan'ā'. According

to the men who dye the *maghmūq*, a face panel for women similar to a girl's *burqu'* was abandoned in favour of the *maghmūq* sometime about the turn of the century. The latter, they argue, has the advantage of not being transparent to the onlooker and yet easier to wear than a flap with small eye holes. Women of means sew the *maghmūq* to the *rās maghmūq*, cf. n. 41. Other darker cloths were also sometimes used as cloaks. A hand woven cotton shawl, dark with purple and yellow thread bands interwoven was the finer wrap. This was called *shamaṭ* and was locally made. Coloured, striped and blocked cloths, such as those used for the men's sarong in Lower Yemen, are also employed by women as common wraps and called *fūṭah*, as they are when used by men. The black *sharshaf* has only become very common since 1962.

As I have said, within the home women generally wore a *lithmah* face-veil wrapped to cover forehead and nose and mouth.

In the tribal areas about Şan'ā' three types of cloak or *maṣwan* are common—*maṣwan al-wādī*, *maṣwan faḡīrī* and *maṣwan kubānī*. These are all of open weave cotton cloth in which black and red are the dominant colours. A *maṣwan* is a rectangular cloth, wrapped around a woman's head and shoulders. It is smaller than the *ṣitārah* which reaches to the ground. Some of these *maṣwans* are still woven in Şan'ā'.

50 In a gloss on the text *wa-l-tasattur bi-man lā ya'iff*, the question is raised, 'wa-yajib 'ala 'l-nisā' al-muslimāt an yatasattarna 'ala 'l-nisā' al-kāfirāt wa-yustahabb li-l-nisā' an yatasattarna min al-nisā' al-dawwārāt.' 'Muslim women must cloak themselves before infidel women and it is recommended that women cover themselves 'from' wandering women.' And the discussion continues as translated above, Ibn Miṭṭāḥ, op. cit., IV, 115.

51 'Minimal' is my term for an *uṣbah* that usually comprised 1. a *raffādah*, 2. a *makhnaqah*, 3. *marātiq* of lead (*raṣāṣ*), 4. plain *farrādī* without tassels, 5. a black woollen band wrapped as a *tazjah*, and 6. as a *lithmah* a *ṣarmiyyah* *abū khaṭṭ*, a rectangular black cotton cloth bordered in red, still a common *lithmah*. Cf. n. 57 for a brief description of these articles.

mourning gatherings).⁵² It is impossible in this chapter to deal with these ceremonies in any detail. A few words must suffice to place the clothing described.

As is to be expected, a bride is singled out by a ceremonial dress.⁵³ In the large gatherings in her parental home before she goes to her husband, the girl is brought in by the *shārī'ah* (the marriage dresser who is sometimes also the singer in a more modest marriage), fully veiled; and so she remains until her marriage night. A red *qinā'* covers her face and an Indian silk *maqramah* her hair and shoulders. A sprig of rue is placed where the two cloths are pinned. Even today the bride is customarily dressed in the older *qamiṣ*⁵⁴ and in traditional silver jewelry now no longer worn except occasionally by a mother honoured in the *post-partum* celebrations. Such traditionalism (dress is only part of the paraphernalia of the rite) may be understood to bestow on the actors the power and protection of the received social order, but the veil obviously invites dramatic manipulation. On the marriage night, usually a Thursday or a Sunday since Friday and Monday are times of 'blessing' (*barakah*), when the *shārī'ah* has dressed the bride to meet her husband, she first takes her into the assembled women. There she lifts the veil from the girl's face, a gesture she will repeat later in the evening. The bride sits with her eyes downcast or closed, expressing the submission, innocence, or apprehension (?) she will soon show to her husband—an expression, according to several accounts, unnerving to a young bridegroom. A properly outfitted bride is dressed in a *ṭās* (gold Indian brocade) *qamiṣ*, in *sirwāl* trousers with richly embroidered leggings of fine Jewish work (*Ḥarāzī*, the commonest design, or *kawkab*, a fine star pattern) and a *tashbīk* headdress (a glittering display mounted on a conical pad *qumbā'i*, and wrapped round with herbs, flowers and scarves).⁵⁵ A bride's neck and chest are weighed down by jewelry, and one of a woman's surest recollections of her marriage is the ordeal of bearing such a weight up on her head and neck.⁵⁶ In order to show sufficient pomp, the bride's family usually borrows or rents from others, or through the *shārī'ah*, most of the requisite costume and jewelry.

During the gatherings in her marital home following the consummation of her marriage, especially on the third and seventh day after that event, the bride was also especially finely dressed. On other afternoons a bride's wardrobe might be further diversified by clothing loaned to her according to the custom of *tabdūl* (exchange). On many of the days when women were to assemble, the bride's family or friends would send a great bundle containing an *'uṣbah* and *qamiṣ*. In the case of wealthy families, a *shārī'ah* usually carried the bundle. Even the



25.2 Dancing in the streets as part of the celebration of a marriage in Bir al-'Azab Quarter.

poor might in this manner have a chance to wear the clothes of the rich, since, it is remarked, such generosity could not fail to be recorded in the tables of the heavenly reckoners and certainly did not escape the bride's observant neighbours.

The dress of a mother being feted during the forty days of *post-partum* gatherings was likewise ornate and traditional—a *qamiṣ*, traditional silver and coral jewelry, and a full *'uṣbah*.⁵⁷ In these gatherings, however, although the mother and child are raised above the other women on a bed, they are often almost dwarfed by the elaborateness of the staging. Such a room (*makān al-wilād* or *al-walidah*) is hung with prayer rugs, paintings, furnishings and as many suggestions of fertility and divine protection—Qur'āns, swords, ostrich eggs, gourds, bunches of rue, and so forth—as the family possesses or cares to exhibit. Indeed, the very opulence of the staging reminds us of the obvious fact that such gatherings are a ceremony that honour not only the mother but also the household to which she has delivered a child. And, in practice, although the expenses incurred in providing a woman with a full childbirth ceremony are seen by the mother and by the other women as recognition of the mother's place in her marital home, so does the richness of the furnishings and of the hospitality reflect the status of the household.

Women attending such gatherings were no less concerned than their hosts with appearance. They wore an *'uṣbah* headdress which we have seen could be quite an elaborate affair, and as fine a dress as they could afford. From sometime early in this century

52 However important mourning ceremonies ('*azā'*) may be in social life, they are not discussed in this context. Women's mourning dress was traditionally an indigo-dyed *qamiṣ* and a black headdress turned so as to hide any ornament, often covered with a cotton *maqramah* like that worn by Jewish women. Here, as in other family rituals, women played a more developed role than men. For instance, men do not usually gather to mourn the death of women and of younger children, and, one might add, Islamic law prescribes a dress of mourning for the widow but not for the widower.

53 The account given here is of traditional ceremonies as performed today. None of my informants believed, however, that the particular elements of the ceremony described here had changed much during this century.

54 The *qamiṣ* with its vast proportions and very wide sleeves is a very old garment (much discussed in *Ḥadīth*) and in the early years of this century was more commonly worn by all women to such gatherings than it was at the time under discussion. For instance, R. Manzoni, op. cit., 196, describes the *qamiṣ* (*thōb* he calls it) as the better dress of Ṣan'āni women, when he visited Ṣan'ā' in the late 19th century.

55 Today all the *tashbīk* are made largely from gold pins with only a little silver ornament. Sayyid Aḥmad as-Shāmī reports that the much finer pearl *tashbīk* headdresses, examples of which are preserved by Yemeni Jews in Israel, were formerly also used by Muslims. Other informants in the Yemen did not describe such *tashbīk* to me, and I certainly do not think that there are any examples left in Yemen. In general, my informants were unable to provide any information on the origin or history of the *tashbīk* and *'uṣbah* headdresses. It is probable, however, that the older *tashbīk* was the property of only a few of the highest families and that most women were dressed only in an *'uṣbah*. The modern *tashbīk* would then be a more popular development. Such a conical form of women's headdress appears to have existed elsewhere in the Islamic world. L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Geneva, 1952, 71, quotes Arnold von Harff on the *tartūr*, 'Women wear a high thing on their head, in the shape of a goblet, wound with expensive cloths and ornaments'. Mayer, *ibid*, also mentions

an *'iṣbah* headdress as common among Mamlūk women.

56 Jewelry is not discussed here in any detail since it is a complex speciality beyond my competence. The collection of jewelry worn by a bride in the 1920s or 30s usually included three strings of amber dust *kirab*, a *labbas mukhlās*, a *lāzim lu'lu'*, a *duqqah muḥarrafaḥ*, a *mulabbas mukhlās*, and an *'aqd mirjān*, or some combination thereof.

57 A typical *'uṣbah* in order of placing the articles on the head includes: 1. *al-raffādah* (a plain head-scarf), 2. *al-makhnagah* (a narrow dark cloth wound about under the chin and over the head through which the *marāṭiq* are pierced), 3. *al-farrādī al-mu'adhdhabah* (a white Syrian open weave cotton cloth with red or black border onto which long silver and coloured tassels are sewn), 4. *al-marāṭiq al-dabābis* (long pins ending in silver, often gold tipped ornament, on which are threaded coral and silver (*tūt*) beads. Another type of *marāṭiq* is called *mughādarāt*. An older informant also said that there was a third type *qahā'iṭ*, but I have not seen these and the word *qahā'iṭ* usually refers to ornaments worked into the ends of the hair. These pins are pierced through the *makhnagah* and extend in a line with the chin), 5. *al-qashā'iṭ* (gold coins sewn on a cloth worn at the crown of the head, usually in three rows of seven each), 6. *al-mashāqir* (sprigs of sweet basil, *rayḥān*, or occasionally rue, *shadhāb*, lying along the *marāṭiq*), 7. *al-qashīṭah al-jall* (a single piece of satin or silk worked heavily with gold thread, or *al-qashīṭah al-mutartar* when worked with sequins), 8. *al-ṣumāṭah* a silk scarf of geometric design with tassels, 9. *al-tazjah* (a long silver embroidered band about two metres in length, wound about the headdress so as to give it a distinctive and lovely uplifted shape), and 10. a *qinā'* (a rectangular light-weight silk or synthetic cloth with metallic thread or sequin appliqué, also imported from south Asia), or for occasions such as the *post-partum* gatherings, a *maqramah* (a word that can be used for any large rectangular shawl to cover the head, but here designating one of Indian silk heavily woven with gold thread). See also the description given in 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-Wāsi'i, *Tārīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1927, 303-03, and in the poem of Muhammad Muhammad al-Dhabbānī, *al-Anghām al-sha'biyyah*, Ta'izz, 1969, 24-25, translated in the text.

a *zinnah mukarmashah* (a longer dress with tucks on the bodice and pleated cuffs) was the cut worn by all women.⁵⁸ But far more important than the cut was the cloth. The favourite cloths in the earlier years of this century were Syrian striped mixed cotton and silk cloths (*Miṣrī*), velvets, Indian brocades, and, reports a Syrian visitor, French silks:

I also saw various kinds of coloured silk in bright colours like red, yellow and green, most of them being French manufactures. These silk fabrics wealthy Muslim ladies use for their clothes. I was told that some of them spend lavishly on their clothes, and the cost of a lady's dress, with the work on it, embroidery (*taṭrīz*) and decoration in gold thread (*al-khuyūṭ al-qashabiyyah*) or silver and gold (thread) comes to between thirty and fifty English guineas.⁵⁹

Jewelry was also an indispensable part of a woman's presentation, and it can even be said, of her self-estimation, since she owed her jewelry to the marriage payments made for her, payments which women sometimes describe as 'my price' (*qimati*).⁶⁰ Traditional jewelry was of fine silver work, though corals and pearls were also much used and liked. What little gold women had in the earlier years of this century was worn about the head as earrings, as coins across the crown of the head (*al-qashā'it*) or strung on a necklace. The standard piece of jewelry for everyday wear by the 1930s was not the work of local craftsmen, but consisted of imported necklaces of large beads of *kirab*, amber, packed amber dust, or artificial amber, depending on the quality.⁶¹

A woman's marriage trousseau formed the basis of her wardrobe. As the years passed, however, a wife rarely failed to impress on her husband the 'public' aspect of her appearance in women's gatherings, suggesting that if she shone among other women so too did her family's reputation. If she could not hold her head up, either her husband was unable to provide for her suitably or he did not care for her. When such an argument failed, women often invested in clothing and jewelry what money they made or received as gifts.

Many of these aspects of traditional women's life are brought together in the poem of Muḥammad al-Dhahbānī of which I have translated couplets 14-30. Although the poet purports to inveigh against the old order, he reveals a certain ambivalence both concerning women and concerning the passing of a way of life.

Good folk, what was a woman's life like (literally, the woman, how was she)? How hard she worked yet still was despised. They would stop her learning to read/recite even the Qur'an itself.

Weary and frustrated she was in this life. She was bound up in an 'uṣbah.⁶²

She was silent, unresponding; the Imām left them stupid.

58 The cut of the *zinnah mukarmashah* and particularly the ruffled or pleated cuffs may have been modelled on a Turkish dress as were the buttoned cuffs on the male *zinnah*. There is, however, no certain evidence for this, and narrow sleeves have been known in the area for a long time. L.A. Mayer op. cit. 22, 'Narrow sleeves were of course known in the Near and Middle East long before Maqīzī, or Qalā'ūn for that matter. But they were the overlong sleeves, which if stretched, extended for many inches beyond the tip of the fingers and are usually shown as ending at the wrists in many folds.' The sleeves of the *zinnah* are usually shortened by wide folds on the upper part of the sleeve. Narrow and very long sleeves are to be seen on the women's dresses of the Ta'izz area, but these fan open below the wrist.

59 Nazih, op. cit., I, 125.

60 These include today a conventional *sharṭ* or payment to the bride's father or guardian, some of which is to cover the costs of the wedding ceremonies (*ḥaqq al-nār*) and to provide clothing and jewelry for the bride, and the *mahr* or Islamic payment to the bride. The *mahr* is usually much less than the *sharṭ*, often about a fifth, and most often given in jewelry to the bride. The husband may also provide gold with the trousseau he sends but this remains legally the property of the husband. In wealthy families the bride's father often spends far more than the *sharṭ* on the wedding and on his daughter's trousseau. In poorer families and in many tribal areas, the father may take most of the *sharṭ* as a bride-price. Inflation of bridal payments has followed the monetarization of the economy in Yemen. In the past it was not uncommon that a groom, being unable to pay the full *mahr* agreed upon, was allowed to bear the remainder as a debt. In this manner, the debt functioned not unlike the

A woman was walled up (*mahjūrah*) in this life, she was buried alive.

If she learned to read they said: she is indecent.⁶³ Only the *nashshādāt* should recite aloud.⁶⁴

At home (you would find her) winding out thread,⁶⁵ or winding lucerne around sorghum stalks (to feed to the cow) in the entrance way.

Only when she had finished milking (the cow) did she get dressed (to go out). In the old days women were content.⁶⁶

On her head she'd wear a scarf, a *qinā'* and *farrādī*, two spans and a cubit long,

And a *tazjah* twenty fathoms long and three *qahā'it*,⁶⁷ braided into the ends of her hair.

Along the side of her cheek would be *marātiq*, *dabābis*, sprigs of herbs, and earrings.

She'd bind her head with a *qashīṭah* and nine different scarves.

The head of a woman was like a dome. Her husband, poor fellow, would get stuck in it.

If he were spending the evening with her, how should he handle it, when he wanted to see the roses of her cheeks?

Consider my friend, all that effort.⁶⁸ Down behind her it (the end of her 'uṣbah) hung just like a tail.⁶⁹

How much trouble a louse gave her, biting her many times (under all that cloth).

She veiled her face with a cut of hair,⁷⁰ so that the husband of a thin-haired woman was shown half her hair.⁷¹

(Only) when she sleeps—if ever she gets the time—would he see her face itself.

As for the housework and cooking a man still led an easy life. The house was arranged like a flower, you'd long just to sit in it.

Soon after midnight a woman would get up to grind the grain—at dawn she'd be off to fetch water from the spring. She'd sail into the kitchen like a flood—in the evening she'd milk two cows.

She would sit drinking *qishr*⁷² coffee, sorting the grain, and then get up to draw water from the well (in the entrance hall of the house)—it would be brackish.

When she had kneaded the dough she would end up crying if the fuel were wet or the dung cakes damp (i.e. if they wouldn't light properly).

After lunch she goes to a woman's gathering, covering herself in a *siṭarah* with coloured spots.

If it was a *shikmah*⁷³ she wore a *shamaṭ*, swinging coquettishly among the young girls.

A woman would wear a dress (*shuqqah*), a fine *qamīṣ* and *Ḥarāzī* trousers (*libās mazrū' bi-shughl Ḥarāz*),

mahr mu'akhhkar described for traditional marriage in the Levant.

61 *Kirab* for *kahrab* (?).

62 Arabic terms not explained here have been described elsewhere in this chapter, compare n. 49 and 57.

63 Literally 'awrah: nakedness, indecency, that which is covered from sight. The whole of a woman's body was so classified in Zaydi *fiqh* (see my remarks p. 534a) and—wishedful thinking!—so was her voice.

64 *Nashshādāt* are women (of any class) who have learned to recite the *nashīd*, religious verses of Yemeni authors (e.g. al-Bur'i) recited in mourning gatherings. For this they receive a small remuneration.

65 *Tinsil wa-tuhaddib*: the *naslah* is the warp thread and the *fulah* the woof. *Naslah* is also used for any thread. The woman winds out the thread and then re-does it adding other threads into it and finally winds it all into tassels, such as may be sewn into scarves, cf. *farrādī* and *ṣumātah* n. 59.

66 *Shāriḥāt*: said to mean pleased, happy, but perhaps with the connotation of being easily pleased, pleased with little.

67 *Qahā'it*: silver triangles that were braided into the ends of the hair.

68 *Qatlah*: disaster or struggle.

69 *Sublah*: used for the tail of any animal but properly the fat tail of a sheep.

70 *Quṣṣah*: cut of hair made first for a woman at her wedding. Older women in particular wear two long curled *quṣṣahs* along the side of the face.

71 In short it was a ruse of sorts since the husband would imagine that she had a lot of hair from the fullness of the *quṣṣah* exposed (?).

72 Infusion made from the husks of the coffee bean.

73 The day when the bride returns to visit her own family thus closing her marriage ceremonies.

Silver bracelets worked with *lāz*⁷⁴ and two strings of real *kirab*, Red *bindārah*⁷⁵ shoes (*bashmaq*) too, like the other women of the quarter.⁷⁶

Among the womenfolk, the bride was silly and laughing.⁷⁷

Women were still content in those days.⁷⁸

On her wedding night the bride would sit up (all night), wearing the *qumbā*⁷⁹ until finally the herder (who goes round collecting the sheep in Şan'ā' in the morning) came by, In a shining *jaylāni*⁷⁹ *qamiş* and a *zinnah* so large that it would take four servants to lift it.

When the women (came to visit) on the seventh day⁸⁰ they filled the street with their robes.

A woman walked with the forward dip of a dancer—a fair rose but with a weak mind.

If we can now step back from the clutter of sartorial minutiae through which we have been making our way and consider the larger patterns into which they fall, two points stand out—a fine concern with status embodied in the dress of men and women, and the strikingly different yet complementary structuring of the dress of each sex. As his dagger illustrates especially clearly, a man's costume accented his dominant political and sexual role, whereas a woman's dress emphasized her domestic and reproductive role. Bearing this in mind, we may perhaps better understand the storms provoked by deviation from any such traditional code of dress. To its defenders dress is not a matter of individual style, but instead a necessary expression of 'political' order, that is, of the division of labour.

Changes in Recent Times

In investigating the question of when and how these customs came to change, I asked an older *ʿālim* of a traditional stamp when men had first begun to shave off their beards. He replied: 'From the Republic only. Now they imitate the West in everything. And the outside world doesn't imitate us in anything: just imagine a Christian putting on an *imāmāh* and *şāyah*....'

I went on, 'but it is strange, really, how long did they wait after the coming of the Revolution before they began taking off their *imāmāhs* and cutting their beards?'

'The Revolution did away with... I mean, nothing remained but....' He couldn't find the right words—'I'll tell you: Our Yemenis—they know best how to wreck things. Abroad they would have only arrived at the point we have after decades, gradually. They, they've thrown it all in, they've done it all: cutting the beards, growing long hair. And our women want to take their clothes off like abroad. They want this, they want that. It's just that men fight them on this point.'

This is the view of an older man whose life and heart are with the order of his youth. Its chronology is artificially and brutally simple, but true enough for our purposes. If, as we have argued, dress incorporated certain symbols of status, so too we should expect its change to bear some such connotation. Pressures for political and economic change that were building around the Yemen were repressed during the reign of Imām Aḥmad. So too, it seems, were changes in dress that under other circumstances might have been expected if only as imitation of the fashion of

other Arab capitals. Be this as it may, in the beginning of the 1962 Revolution the dress of the Imāms and with them that of the ulema in general became a symbol of the old order. Radio broadcasts for a time, decried the unclean *imāmāhs* (*al-ʿamā'im al-najisah*)⁸¹ and it was not uncommon for men in the beginning of the conflict to change their costume just to pass unnoticed by the crowd.

Underlying changes in patterns of dress are several related factors—the breaking down of the Yemen's isolation, increasing emigration of Yemeni labour to work abroad, penetration of the Yemeni economy by foreign food stuffs and consumer goods, and a political change whereby the government espoused a formally egalitarian and ameliorative language. Government statements now no longer began only 'In the name of God' (*Bismillāh*) but 'In the name of God and the people' (*Bismillāh wa-bism al-sha'b*). The most pronounced of the old status symbols have been abandoned by almost everyone who yet has a life to carve. So the traditional headgear—*imāmāh* or black turban of the tribes—is seen only on older men, those on whom their parents set the marks of manhood long before 1962. The *jambiyyah* has not vanished though younger men who wear one tend to adopt some sort of *ʿasib* whatever their background. Certain patterns do remain, since change follows divisions of class as well as differences of generation. Those who come from the old élite remain meticulous in their public dress. If it is now a European business suit that he has adopted, the man of the government will be quite as deliberate about wearing it to work as his father was in donning his outfit (*qiyāfah*) before appearing to the public eye.

For the mass, however, change is still more gradual and contact with the outside world is largely with the rest of the Peninsula. A plethora of headgear is about, and only men of explicitly modernist or government and trading circles regularly go bareheaded. A robe or *fuṭah*⁸²—though not the *qamiş*—is still the dominant garment. A young man who cannot afford to take over another tradition wholesale must choose from what is at hand. The result can be strange: Palestinian *kafiyeh*, European shirt, plastic belt, nylon pastel coloured *fuṭah* and peculiarly outsized basketball shoes without laces, looking rather like galoshes. The Saudi *zinnah* appears an aesthetic haven in such a jumble—but that too has implications.

If the ideology of dress is now formally egalitarian, the heterogeneity about on the streets suggests a reality far more complex.

Changes in women's dress have been more gradual and more uniform than those in men's dress. There are several reasons why this should be so. Women's society remains more isolated from outside influence than men's. In a sense, women and domestic life represent for a man his foothold in the old order while he steps tentatively into a changing and troubling world. The position of a woman means that she may diverge very little from dress acceptable to her family and to the wider society. Lastly, the way in which the sewing of women's garments was done played a part. Many women sewed in order to make a supplementary income, but with the most informal training and with a basically uniform pattern. To date there has been little competition from specialized tailors or seamstresses which might encourage diversity or higher standards of sewing. These facts are only beginning to change today when, within a decade, the old

74 *Lāz* said to be incised black metal decoration worked on silver.

75 *Bindārah*: what this means is not known exactly to me. Perhaps they were the open-backed pointed slipper-shoes.

76 *Min biddat* said to mean *min mithl*.

77 *Fi'rārah*: said to mean smiling, shy and laughing.

78 *Şāhīhāt*: see n. 66.

79 *Jaylāni*: Aleppo striped cloth.

80 The third and seventh day after the consummation of the marriage are the most important days for women's gatherings in honour of the bride. These are held in her marital home. The *shikmah* is the final gathering when the bride visits her parental home thus closing the marriage ceremonies.

81 Apparently Şallāl, the first president of the Republic, later corrected himself

when some of the *imāmāhs* rallied to the Republic. He made clear that he had meant only the Ḥamid al-Dīn and their supporters.

82 Formerly a Şan'āni would mean by a *fuṭah* the wrap of coloured cotton cloth, usually of S. E. Asian manufacture, worn so widely by men in the Shāfi'i areas of the Yemen. *Maqtab*, which like *fuṭah* basically means simply a length of cloth, and which R.B. Serjeant states is used for a type of headgear in other parts of S. Arabia, is the word traditionally used to describe an unsewn male wrap in the Şan'ā' area. The brighter S. E. Asian cloths (and their mass produced equivalents) have been adopted for wear at home by many Şan'anīs but rarely for public wear. The modern Şan'āni *fuṭah*, however, is a peculiar hybrid—a length of white or pastel coloured synthetic cloth hung on an elastic band. It is puffy and does not fall in deep folds as do the older wraps.



25.3 Weaving in the street in the old city.

city of Şan'ā' has become a small enclave in the midst of Adenis, Europeans, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Americans, Arabs from various countries, and Yemenis from every district. Contact with different styles does not lead directly to their adoption by the women of old Şan'ā'. Changes have come largely through imitation of the younger women of the élite, who, following the careers of their fathers or husbands, have lived long outside Şan'ā', most often in Saudi Arabia, Beirut or Cairo.

This appears also to have been the path of change before the revolution. A number of important changes is said to have been introduced to Şan'ā' by some of the younger women of the Imām's family in the 1940s. Among these changes were a shift in dress style from the full-length, waistless, long-sleeved dress to a shorter dress with a waist, very full pleated skirt and three-quarter length sleeves, and the replacement of the *'uṣbah* by a simpler headdress. The latter consists of a single scarf tied under the chin, a *lithmah*, and a *maṣar(r)*, a piece of Indian brocade or cheaper Japanese metallic synthetic which, wrapped about some paper, is tied stiff and crown-like around the brow.⁸³ Previously the *ṣumāṭah* was sometimes also worn over such a paper crown with the tassels arranged about the face, the ensemble then being called *'azjah*. A change in the marriage headdress was also said to have been introduced about the same time—from *tashbik* or full

'uṣbah to *tāj*. The *tāj* is a gold crown of jewelry set on gauze netting, resembling a headdress of a Carnival Queen. This, along with other gold jewelry, all of crude workmanship, replaced the older silverwork, when, following the departure of the Jewish silversmiths, gold workers, who had learned their trade as apprentices to Indian jewellers in Aden, came in greater numbers to Şan'ā'. Several older women attribute the adoption of these styles to the looting of their older jewelry and garments by tribesmen in 1948. How true this was is a matter for speculation, though it stands to reason that the sudden loss of much of the old stock of clothing must have accelerated the adoption of new styles.

The black *sharshaf*, which was the garment of the Turkish women in Şan'ā', was not worn at all until the days of Imām Aḥmad, and then only by some women of the Imām's family and other families in close relation with them.⁸⁴ Only after 1962 did it become the uniform of younger urban women and even of many older women. It has rather unkindly been called the Republican flag of the Yemen,⁸⁵ and in fact it is a kind of national urban outer garment similar in the towns of lower and upper Yemen in a way that the various traditional cloaks never were. In more general terms, although a handful of the educated women of Şan'ā' families have abandoned veiling, in many areas of the surrounding countryside women have adopted Şan'ānī dress and

83 In a woman's gathering a young woman from al-Bayḍā', who did not wear such a *maṣar(r)*, annoyed by the coolness of some of the Şan'ānis there, remarked, 'Stop looking down on me, when you are still wearing *'imamahs*.' However conventional this headdress now seems, it too once met with a cool reception from older women who likened the woman who wore it to a Jew with a bandaged head, *'Sā' al-Yahūdī al-maftūj*.'

84 It is formed of three pieces, a skirt, a triangular cover for the upper torso, and a chiffon scarf as face-veil. It is not like the one piece *'abāyah* or *shaydar* worn in Arabian towns and in Aden.

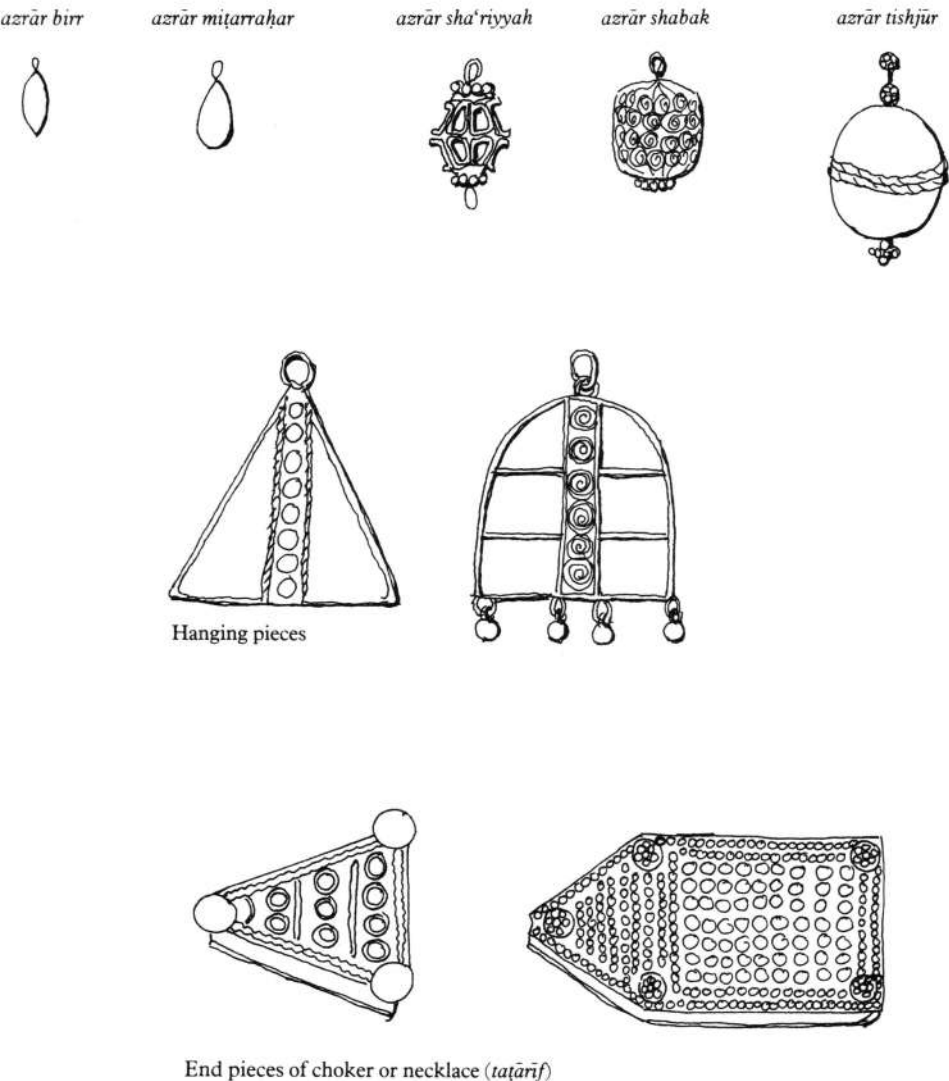
85 For those who have been educated in a modern, particularly the Egyptian educational system, the veil is often taken as a symbol of the Yemen's 'backwardness' (*takhalluf*). As this backwardness is attributed to the perverting hand of 'colonialism' (*al-isti'mār*) so too is the veil. Such modernists therefore call for a return to the pure traditions of the village where women went unveiled. 'If the tragedy of some peoples is to suffer a backwardness that grew up in their own land and woven by its traditions and conditions, our tragedy is yet more despicable and shameful, for with us the guardians of superstitions (*al-mutasha'baṭin*) persist in a backwardness

with it the *lithmah* face-veil and, in town, the *sharshaf*. Such a development where the veil falls from the women of the ‘Westernizing’ upper classes (and often of families with an old urban tradition) and rises among the woman of rural origins and newcomers in the process of modern urbanization has occurred in many Islamic countries and, in so far as one can tell, is now occurring in the Yemen. As men enter the labour force of the oil economies, women assume the garb of urban housewives.

In the past the types of cloth available on the market were few and relatively costly.⁸⁶ The poor wore dark utilitarian cottons. For those who could afford them the cloths of choice were the velvets and fine cottons of Syria, the silks of France, and the cottons, silks and brocades of South Asia. Today the old routes to Asia have not been cut, nor has the taste for brilliant

colour and for gold and silver thread work died. Thanks to the genius of Japanese and, more recently, of Korean industry, cloths of bright colours and flashing metallic thread are now within reach of all. The old custom of *tabdul* where a limited collection of clothing was shared back and forth has more or less died; mass-produced fabrics and growth in cash income allow more women far more dresses. Girls of wealthy families are now happy to invite attention by being the first to wear a dress of the latest fabric to appear on the Şan‘ā’ market, or by exhibiting some more exotic variety of the Japanese spectrum of fabrics purchased in Jeddah by an obliging male. Increasingly, such women wear, under the maxi-*sharshaf*, the styles of Europe. Largely restricted from competing in the open labour market, women now provide a showcase for imported goods in a growing consumer society.

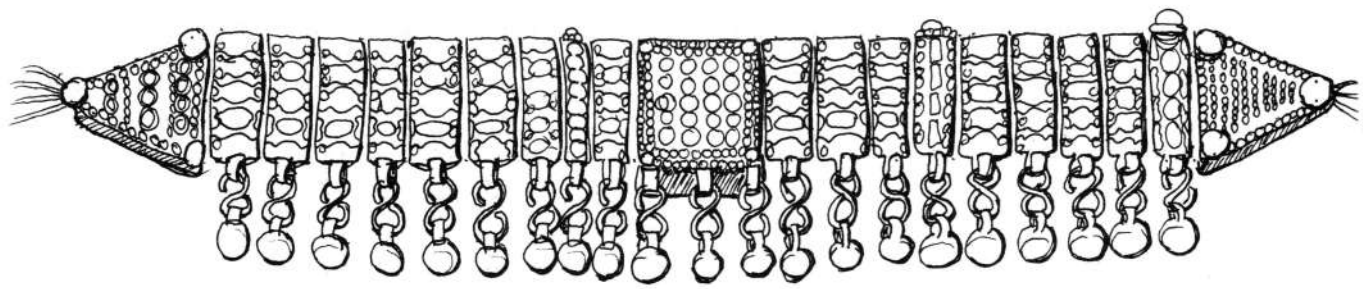
Fig. 25.1 Various types of silver jewellery (drawn by Barbara Sansoni).



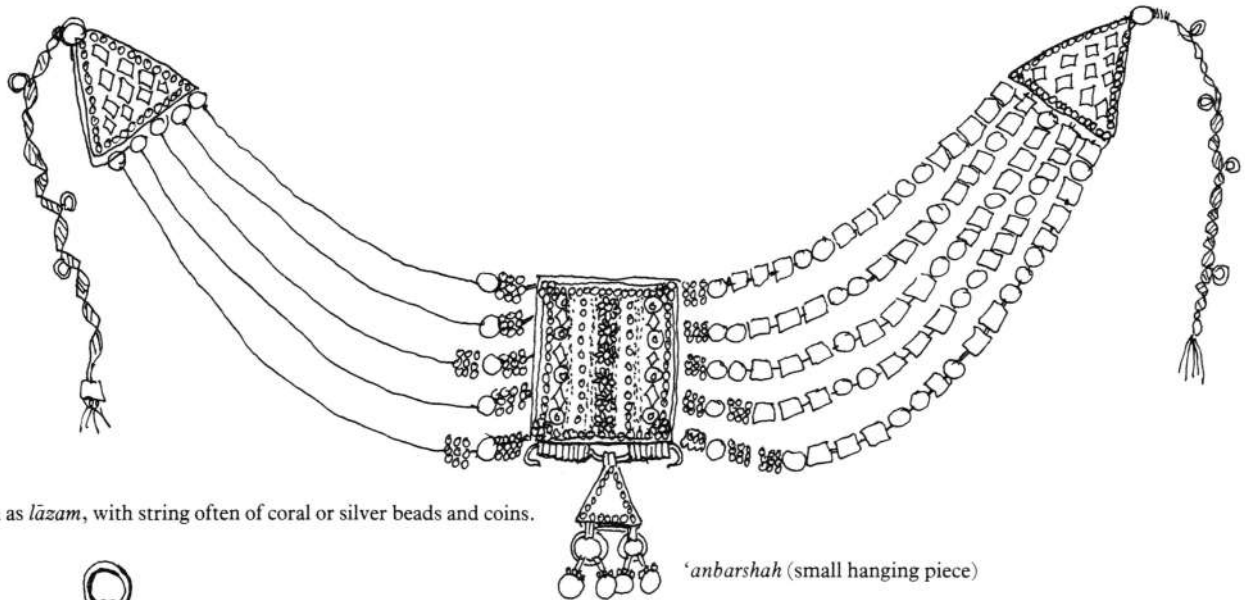
which colonialism has formed and which the Persian and Turkish invaders brought into our good and civilized land. As they wished to distinguish their protected women from the women of the despised populace, they kept them sitting at home and dressed them in the *sharshaf* and the *burqu'* to guard them from the eyes of the despised native.'

From the introduction by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik al-Mutawakkil to Muḥammad al-Sharafī, *Dumū' al-Sharāshif*, Şan‘ā', 1971, pp. 7-8 (my translation)

86 An important and detailed description of stitches and patters of textiles with numerous sketches, embroidery, threads, is provided by Aviva Müller-Lancet, *The Jews of Yemen*, Chicago, 1976, 21-27. It also contains photographs of certain items of costume. The Arabic technical terms are given in all cases. The editors are indebted to Mr Burt Blechman on the New York University Medical Library for a copy of this work.



Types of chain (*duqqah*), worn by a man on the *jambiyyah* without the dangles.
The dangles (*namānim*) are worn by women on the forehead.

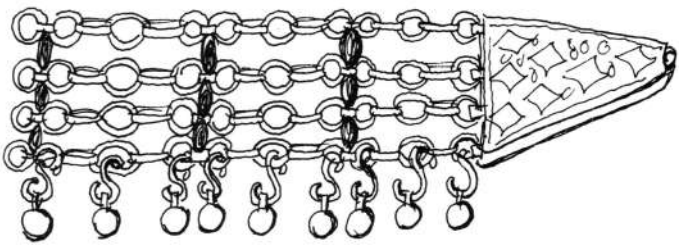


Type known as *lāzam*, with string often of coral or silver beads and coins.

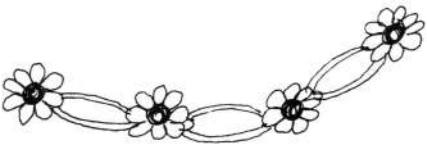
'anbarshah (small hanging piece)



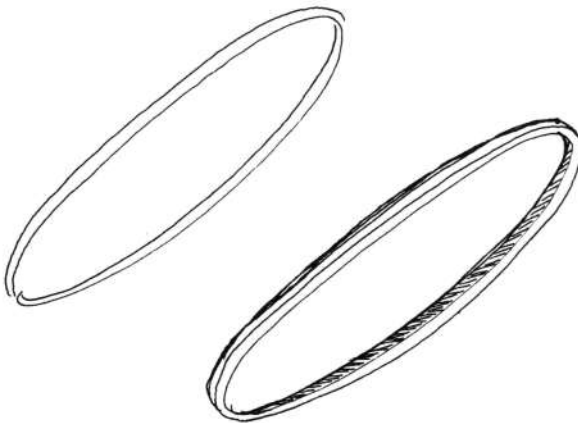
qublah, as big as 75mm in diameter.



Half of *lāzam*.



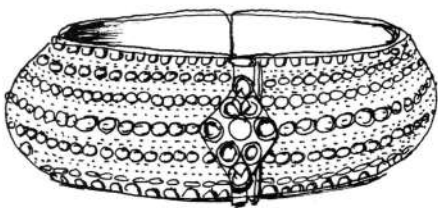
salsah mufaṣṣaṣah, with precious stones.



Silver bracelets (*ḥadwād*, plur., *ḥadāwid*)



zanābil, filigree basket-like ornament.



shumaylāt, wide silver bracelet.

Chapter 26

Ṣan'ā' Food and Cookery

Introduction

The Ṣan'ānīs, says al-Hamdānī,¹ 'have arts in [the preparation of] foods which the foods of no other town can attain.' Elsewhere² he supplies a list of comestibles available in Ṣan'ā' which includes fruits, vegetables—not very many, varieties of wheat—the Bawnī wheat of Qā' al-Bawn north of Ṣan'ā' is specially renowned, grains, bread, and animal products such as milk, curds and ghee (*samn*). Though the medieval Rasūlid treatise, *Bughyat al-fallāḥīn*³ is mainly concerned with the Lower Yemen and the Tihāmāh, much of what it has to say about grain, fruit and vegetables applies also to Ṣan'ā' and the north. By way of comparison with present-day Ṣan'ānī food may be considered the rations required for the men working on the Mārib Dam, as set forth in two of the pre-Islamic Dam inscriptions, that of Shuraḥbīl and that of Abrahah,⁴ separated chronologically by 93 years. Professor Beeston writes:

'Each list has three main sections: cereals and dates; meat; liquor. Under the first of these headings the Shuraḥbīl text lists, besides dates, 'fine flour (*s¹dl*) and meal (*tḥn*) [Ar. *ṭaḥīn*] of wheat (*br*) [Ar. *burr*], barley (*s²r*) [Ar. *sha'ir*] and *gddt* [which is probably *dhurah*].' Abrahah subsumes all the cereals under the generic description *dqq* (*daqīq*), "flour", without further specification. Under the second heading we have in Shuraḥbīl, *ḍbyḥm/wqršm/wbqrm*, and in Abrahah, *ḍbyḥm/wbqrm/wqṭntm*; from which one would infer that *qrš* and *qṭnt* both mean small cattle, i.e. sheep and goats. It would also be a possible suggestion that *ḍbyḥ* was contrasted with both the oxen and small cattle, and hence probably camels. But the *Corpus* editor has taken *ḍbyḥ* as "sheep" and *qrš* as "goats". One reason for the *Corpus* proposal is clearly the fact that in between this item and the liquor item Shuraḥbīl, (but not Abrahah), inserts a separately enumerated group of '*ḍḥm/w'ḍwdm*', taken by the *Corpus* as "full grown camels and young camels", which seems to me etymologically very speculative. Still, in terms of general sense it has something to recommend it, inasmuch as one would quite expect camels to be separately enumerated.'

'The liquor section is again fairly straightforward. It lists

"(fermented) liquor (*s¹qy*) of *grbb* and *fṣy*", probably fresh grapes and raisins. Shuraḥbīl then adds "liquor (*s¹qy*) of dates", and Abrahah "*mzr* of dates". According to the classical Arabic lexicographers *mizr* is specifically *nabīdh* made from *dhurah*; but in Sabaic it evidently had a wider sense. Shuraḥbīl, (but not Abrahah) finally adds *dbs¹* (obviously the modern *dibs*) and *ḥm't*, the latter rendered by the *Corpus* and Conti-Rossini as "butter" which is certainly wrong if taken in the strict sense.'

Food in Ṣan'ā' is known as *ukāl* and the traveller's provisions are called *rashād* or *zād*⁵—while Hamdānī uses the term *sufrah*.

Writing in the late 11th/17th century, Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Saḥūlī tells us, of Ṣan'ā',

<i>Hādḥā, wa-fi 'l-aswāqī,</i>	<i>'ajā'ibu 'l-arzāqī,</i>
<i>Kam mushtar-in wa-bāyi'ī,</i>	<i>li-nukhabī 'l-baqā'ī.</i>
<i>Lam takhlu min fawākiḥī,</i>	<i>wa-min ṣiyāḥ 'l-fākiḥī</i>
<i>Illā mada-n yasīrā,</i>	<i>muqaddar-an taqdīrā,</i>
<i>Ka-'l-shahri aw shahraynī,</i>	<i>ṣīdq-un bi-ghayri maynī.</i>
<i>Wa-kam bi-hā dhī ḥirfat-in,</i>	<i>wa-nusuk-in wa-'iffat-in.</i>

So it is—and the markets are full of fine victuals,
How many a merchant there is of choice wares.
Never does it lack in fruits, or the cries of the merry jesting
Except for a short season, fixed and determined,
About a month or two—this is true and no lying.
How many a craftsman it has, devout and decorous.

Hamdānī⁶ makes reference to books on cookery, though the text seems to indicate that he does not mean Yemeni books, but among Rasūlid writings still extant in Ms. it is more than likely we shall come upon some treatise on the culinary art. Some notion of the range of dishes about the mid 12th/18th century may be gained from a poem cited by Zabārah,⁷ and how different these were from the traditional diet of Ḥaḍramawt can be seen from 'Alī Bā Gharīb's poem⁸ written in Indonesia, expressing his yearning to taste again the simple foods of his native land. Since

GLEHS, Paris, 1963, IX, 103-7, discusses food apparently in a temple's store, *shnn/m*, *dbs/m*, *lbb/m*, the first probably equivalent to *shanīn* (milk fresh or collected in a skin (Lane), *dibs*, date-honey, grape-juice or bee-honey, though date-honey seems most likely. *Lbb*, for which he suggests the *qulb* or soft heart of the palm-tree, is more likely to be something like *lubb al-burr* (see n. 64), heart of wheat. This would keep whereas the *qulb* would go bad.

5 E. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato a Ṣan'ā'*, Roma, 1939, 160. For diet in 19th century Aden see F. M. Hunter, *An account of the British Settlement in Aden in Arabia*, London, 1877, 47, and spices 122 seq.

6 Ibid, 198.

7 *Nashr al-'arf*, Cairo, 1359-77, I, 427 and cf. 588-89.

8 *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, London, 1951, 116 ff, no. 32.

1 *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884-91, 56, *La-hum ṣanā'i' fi 'l-at'imah allatī lā yalḥaq bi-hā at'imat balad-in*.

2 Ibid, 196-99.

3 See n. 38 infra.

4 Numbered CIH 540, lines 37-50, 84-97, and CIH 541, lines 118-30, respectively. See J. M. Solá Solé, *Las dos grandes inscripciones sudarabígas del dique de Mārib*, Barcelona-Tübingen, 1960, not altogether reliable, containing both misprints and mis-readings in addition to the usual lexical uncertainties.

Wqršm suggests to me *qurāsh*, cattle in general, and in connection with *fṣy* it may be remarked that *faṣ-an* means date-stones in at least the Lower Yemen today (RBS). *Mzr* can mean other liquors besides that of dates in the lexica.

M. Rodinson, 'Notes de vocabulaire alimentaire sudarabique et arabe',

the *qūzī* roast lamb figures in the poem in the *Nashr al-'arf*,⁹ it is possible that this method of preparation was introduced during the first Ottoman occupation, and during the second Ottoman occupation, such items as *baqlāwah*, *bālūzah* etc. *Basis*¹⁰ and *zalābiyā* could perhaps also have been introduced during the first Ottoman period.

The large temporary labour force in Aden, especially after World War II cannot but have introduced new foreign items of diet for at least occasional use in parts of the Yemen and in Ṣan'ā' itself. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me that in his youth vegetables were not much eaten in Ṣan'ā' but now their use has greatly expanded. I can confirm this was also the case in the Aden Protectorates where the potato (as apart from the sweet potato in Ḥaḍramawt) became a common article of diet only after World War II, along with other vegetables introduced by the British. After 1962, the occupying UAR forces introduced new Egyptian tinned foods, and the million and more Yemenis now working as temporary labour in Sa'ūdī Arabia are able to buy and familiarize their country with many foreign foods—this has made a marked difference to the diet of both town and countryside.

Over twenty years ago I was told that *al-Zuyūd mā ya'kulūn al-samak*¹¹ *abad-an*, the Zaydīs never eat fish; it is said also that the mountain tribes called fish *dūd*, worms. Hamdānī himself makes no allusion to fish as part of the diet. The Jews used however to sell fresh water fish in Ṣan'ā'.¹² Formerly only fish preserved in some sort of way would be eaten in Ṣan'ā' and probably not very much, but in the Mashriq, I remember well, tinned Japanese tunny was being eaten some fifteen years ago. Now fish is brought in refrigerated vans or ice from Hodeidah to Ṣan'ā' where it finds a ready market.

As already seen¹³ sheep-or-goat mutton is preferred to beef. Ṣan'ānīs had no tabu on eggs, but in 1972 they were small, often bad, and hard to find—large imported eggs are now widely sold in Ṣan'ā' sūqs, and frozen broiler fowls. A round *qurṣ* of white cheese smoked brown on the outside is imported to Ṣan'ā' from the Lower Yemen. Dates are not grown in the Ṣan'ā' district but imported from Najrān or the Tihāmah—dry dates sold by the basket (*zambīl*) go to Ṣan'ā' from, for example, the village of Mijaylis near Zabīd, the best type being *munāṣif* which lasts about a year.

Grapes¹⁴ are important in the Ṣan'ā' region and viniculture in general is described by the *Bughyat al-fallāḥīn*. Raisins are made from them. Wine is still made secretly in the Yemen, and vinegar is on sale. The Jews used to distill 'araq but this may have ceased with their departure.

The basis of any meal in the Yemen is bread and a relish or porridge, and *qishr*-coffee. Except for the well-to-do meat and fowl were occasional. The order of more elaborate meals would be *shafūt*, *ḥamiḍah*, *bint al-ṣaḥn/sūsi*, *ḥilbah*. Last of all, when the first hunger pangs are blunted, comes meat which is divided out by the host.

'Table-manners' are more or less those common to Arabia as a whole. The host says to his guest, 'Ḥayya 'ala 'l-ḥāṣil, Come and have what there is', even if the meal be sumptuous. To this the reply is made, 'Al-bayt bayt-nā mā bish takalluf, (We are) at home here and without formalities.' At the end of the meal the guest would say, 'Kaththar Allāh khayra-kum wa-wassa' na'im-kum, Thank you (lit. May God give you abundance), and widen your happiness/well-being.' The host replies, 'Ashshar Allāh khuḍā-kum/khuḍā-kum, May God make your steps (i.e. visits) tenfold.'

'Al-khayr khayru-kum, khayr Allāh ma'ā-kum, All good be yours, God's benevolence be with you.' At the time of a funeral (*mawt*), the repast, a *ghadā kāmīl*, is provided not by the bereaved family, but by friends and relations come to mourn with them. The mourner-guest departing says, 'Raḥim Allāh mayyit-kum, May God have mercy on your departed.' To this a reply would be, 'Aṣam Allāh qulūba-kum, May God preserve your hearts', 'Kaththar Allāh khayra-kum, lā ji'il fī dhālika jazā', God give you abundance (i.e. Thank you). May He not do the like of that,' i.e., take away one of you. This is a women's formula, men using 'Ashshar Allāh . . .'

In Yemeni eyes rose-water completes the entertainment—it is sprinkled on the head, down the back of the neck, and up the wide sleeves (*ardān*) of traditional Yemeni costume among the ulema.

Yemeni chronicles record periodic famines and plagues of locusts—locusts are of course eaten. At famine times the people look to the Government to distribute grain from the silos (*madāfin*). Hoarding of grain to raise prices is prohibited by the *sharī'ah*. A rather unusual type of distribution was made by the Imām al-Mutawakkil Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn in the 1136/1723-4 famine in Ṣan'ā' and most of the mountains during which many died of starvation, and the *qadaḥ* of grain rose to eight *qurūsh*. He brought out all the sugar, honey, dates and sweet-stuffs (*ḥalawīyyāt*) from his stores (*makhāzin*) and distributed them to the needy (*fuqarā'*) in the lanes of Ṣan'ā'. The next year was one of good harvests and prices dropped till four *qadaḥs* of wheat fetched a *qirsh*, which was also the price paid for six *qadaḥs* of *dhurah* or eight *qadaḥs* of barley.¹⁵

Kitchen Utensils and Gear

The kitchen (*daymah*)¹⁶ contains at least one *tannūr*-oven.¹⁷ This is a large pottery jar set in a sort of bench (*dakkah*) made of clay. There are three sizes of *tannūr*, *kabīrah*, *ṣaghīrah* and a very small one known as *ṣa'dah*, used in the morning (*ṣabāḥ*) to avoid lighting one of the larger *tannūrs*. Girls used to be taught how to use the *tannūr* in general, by practice with the *ṣa'dah*. The *tannūr* has an opening at the foot called (*bāb*) *al-manāq*,¹⁸ for the insertion of fuel, little pieces of kindling wood (*al-luṣwah min al-khashab*). The open top is called *luqf al-tannūr* but this does not seem to be a precise term, and an iron cross-piece (*sikh*) can be placed on top of this opening, or, if desired, a clay cover (*kisāwah/kiswah*). The interior sides of the *tannūr* are known as 'arḍ al-tannūr, and bread is baked inside it by slapping the flat rounds against the 'arḍ—to which they stick and cook. One says, 'Ib'id al-khubzah min 'arḍ al-tannūr lā tiḥriq/'a-tiḥriq, Remove the bread from the side of the oven lest it burn/it's going to burn.'¹⁹ A certain skill is required to render the *tannūr* right for baking—to break it in. A woman will 'tudarris-hā' (lit. teach/train it), as is done in the case of the stone *maqlā* casserole. The *furn/firn* (pl., *afrān*) is quite a different oven, being made of masonry (see p. 550a, n. 95).

The *mawqad* of metal or other material is a sort of brazier holding hot coals on top of which food dishes or coffee-pots are placed to keep them warm before serving. The writer has seen a sort of three-legged rest to hold a hot dish made of carved wood and called *rifā'ah* in the tribal areas.

Most typically Yemeni is the *maqlā/maqlah* made of *ḥaraḍ*, a steatite stone, grey in colour. Nowadays they mostly seem to be

'Arabi/tin), prickly pear (*balas Turki*), mango (*'ambā*), apple (*tuffāḥ*), pear (*'ambarūd*), pomegranate (*rummān*), melon (*baḥḥik*), peach (*firsik*), plum (*injāṣ/ijjāṣ*), orange (*burtuqān*—in Aden *lim ḥālī*), lemon (*laymun*), etc.

15 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 588.

16 For this word see Ismā'il al-Akwa', *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, Cairo, 1388/1968, I, 14, no. 37.

17 For illustrations of the *tannūr*, see pls. 26.7 and 8. The *tannūr* is feminine in gender though masculine in form.

18 Explained as *bāb al-tannūr al-nāzīlī*.

19 Qāḍī Ismā'il, unpublished. The *malas* is a *birmah* used for *lasīs* and *dijrah*.

9 *Nashr al-'arf*, loc. cit.

10 Dozy, *Supplément*, gives various senses, perhaps a sort of date cake or biscuit.

11 South Arabians always call fish *ḥūt* but *samak* might be used by those hearing the term from outside the country.

12 E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der Jemenitischen Juden*, Heidelberg, 1934, 108.

13 Cf. pp. 128b, 235a.

14 Varieties of grapes are listed in Hamdānī's *Ṣifah*, 196. Cf. p. 271b, and other sources. The commonest fruits are the apricot (*barqūq*), banana (*mawz*) from the Tihāmah, cedrat (*tranj*), quince (*safarjal*), fig (*balas*

made in Şa'dah—one speaks of a *maqlā Şa'diyyah*, but they are, or were, made in other places. In Baraţ in 1973 a large *maqlā* cost forty *riyāls*. There are various shapes and sizes. Pieces of *ḥaraḍ* are found on medieval, perhaps pre-Islamic sites so stoneware must have been manufactured for many centuries. The *madhalah/mathalah* made of *ḥaraḍ* is deeper than a *maqlā*—it was compared, very neatly, with the shape of the Egyptian tarbush, and it is used for baking dishes directly over the fire, as for instance the *mathalah ḥaqq al-kubānah* for maize-cake. The *maqlā ḥaraḍ* is used for *saltah/ḥilbah*, and a bigger open pot for sauces and bread dishes. These stone dishes always have a pleasing coal-black colour as a result of the process known as *tadris*. When they 'train' (*yidarrisū*) or 'break in' the *maqlā* they rub it with oil (*zayt*) or fatty things (*ḥājāt dasimah*) so that it drinks up the fatness (*yishrab al-dusūmah*). The *maqlā* is then laid in the sun and onions put in it. Presumably the black colour comes from the burning of the oil into the stone when cooking. Like so many other things it figures in a Şan'ānī proverbial saying, 'Lā *maqlā wa-lā malas wa-lā washsh li-'l-samrah*, No stone bowl or clay pot, nor yet a (pretty) face to talk to in the evening!' This is said of a useless person.

Two rounded medium sized clay (*madar*) pots are used for boiling meat and porridge (*aşid*), called *jafnah*²⁰ and *birmah*. The *birmah* used particularly for meat has a basket or clay cover called *kiswah al-birmah*.²¹ The *jafnah* is used for *ḥilbah*.

Other cooking vessels are the cooking pot (*qidr*, pl., *quḍūr*) a general term, *şahn* (pl., *şuhūn*) a shallow bowl, platter, *tanjarah* (pl., *tanājir*) a Turkish word for saucepan. The *tast/dust*²² is probably of aluminium (*ma'dan*), and in Aden, Indian manufactured cooking utensils and containers have always been in use, one might say, in living memory. A *maṭyabah* or *wi'ā'* is a bowl, as is *ṭasah/ṭaşah* (pl., *ṭişān*) and a *ṭasah ḥaqq al-qāt* is the little bowl for drinking water at a *qāt* session. *Lajan* (pl., *-āt*) is a pot or bowl also.

The *şullā/şullā'/şullah*, girdle, is said to be the same as the *tāwah* (*poêle à frire*) and *sāj*, the latter a word of Turkish provenance. The *şullā* has a cover (*ghuṭāyah*) of basket or clay manufacture. It is flat like a *şahn* (in the sense of platter) and is the size of the top of the *tannūr*-oven upon which it sits. They 'hansel' it (*yidarris-ah*) by rubbing oil onto it and light a fire under it in the *bāb al-manāq* hole of the *tannūr*-oven. The *şullā* is used for *lahūḥ*-pancakes, and each time one is cooked the *şullā* is rubbed over with oil to clean off the bits of the pancake still adhering to it, and present a clear surface for the next *lahūḥah*.

Every kitchen will have a flat stone *maşhaqah* (pl., *mazāḥiq*) and a rolling pin (*ja'ar/ji'ar/ja'ar* ?) for crushing spices and herbs. A *maṭhan(ah)* quern is, or was, also an essential in a house. An item which might be found is a *mawḥiz*, a pestle for crushing 'alas-wheat. Rossi²³ speaks of a mortar (*ḥāwan*, pl., *-āt*) and pestle (*al-yad*) for pounding spices. An essential is a *makhbazah*, a round mushroom-shaped pillow with a handle underneath for applying the flat round of bread to the side of the *tannūr*-oven. A *maşjanah* bowl (pottery, copper, etc.)²⁴ is used for laying down dough and sprinkling it with flour and a *ma'janah*, formerly of *naḥās* but now aluminium, is a kneading bowl.

Kitchen implements include knives (*sikkīn*) and shears (*maqass*); for stirring food such as *dhurah* and wheat porridges there is the *maṭ'am/maḍ'am* (*maṭ'am tuḥarrik bi-hi 'l-aşid wa-'l-harish*), called in Scotland a spurtle, also the *mal'aq* for *aşid*, the *mamhad* for chickpeas and *fūl*; for serving food spoons, sometimes wooden spoons (*mal'aqah al-khashab*), are of course used, and in cooking

the skewer (*sinnārah*) and *makhḍā*-iron. The scoop (*madharr*) for sprinkling and *shaqfah* spoon are made of gourd (*dubbā*)—the *dawbalt*²⁵ a large clay or gourd vessel is perhaps not a Şan'ānī word. Cups used are *barda* (pl., *barādiq*) and the universal *ḥaysī* from Ḥays village. A water jar is *madall(ah)*, a smaller one is *qillah/gullah* or *kūz*, a narrow-necked jar is *ku'dah* (pl., *ku'ad*). Rossi²⁶ adds *khashūqah* a ladle, and *maghrāf* a scoop. Metal trays are *tabṣī* and *ma'sharah* (*ma'āshir*), a basket tray is *ghuṭā/ghuḍā*, but there are many types, some imported from the Tihāmah. The smooth sheep skin (*jild alghanam al-ṭāṣī*) upon which a meal used to be set is called *naṭa'*,²⁷ the basket for bread is *tawrah*.

The clay coffee-pot *jabanah/jamanah* 'hansels (*tudarris*)' itself. The small metal *jazwah* (= *kanakah*) is also used. The *jamanah/jabanah* has a handle (*mazqam*), neck (*raqabah*) and *dhannābah*, a little projection for the finger on top of the handle.

Water for culinary or other purposes in Şan'ā' had to be drawn from a well in or near the house. She might say, 'Ana *anza' mā*, I am drawing water', or 'Ana *aḍrub al-daḷū ila 'l-bīr*, I let down the bucket into the water.' A bucket/glass etc., full of water would be a *dafrah mā*.

Some Cookery Terms

Without, or with too little salt (*tāfil*) One says, 'ād-uh *tāfil*, it is still not salted enough. Give me a pinch of salt—Iddī *li dhirriḥ*²⁸ *milḥ*. A piece of salt is *iksīr milḥ* (archaic ?). Tough, of meat, is 'ariz. Şan'ānis say, 'Fulān 'ariz *al-tafāhum ma'-āh*, It is hard work coming to an understanding with so and so.' Of something hot to the taste such as chillies, one says, 'Qadī/qad-hī *fahḥ qawīyy*.' To shrink (in cooking) is *tamzar* or *tibqī zāmīrah* or *tala'waz*. A crumb is *ḥathrah*. Rossi²⁹ supplies some terms that do not figure in the recipes infra, *maqliyy* roasted, *muqalqal* fried, *nādi* boiled.

The only fat Annika Bornstein mentions is *samn* which she translates as 'butter-fat', and this has not been altered where her text is quoted. When local *samn* (*balādī*) is prepared fenugreek (*ḥilbah*) and black cummin (*quḥṭah*) are added to it. It is very expensive, but, as she says, the preferred fat. In English *samn* is sometimes rendered as 'clarified butter', but the more convenient Anglo-Indian term 'ghee' is used here everywhere else. It is often replaced by imported tinned margarine (*saman shajari*), locally produced sesame oils or other imported oils. *Shajari* is usually boiled and *ḥilbah* added to it, possibly also other ingredients—it is then called *saman maqlūb*.

Laban is butter-milk, *ḥalīb* is fresh (*tāziḥ*) milk of cows or sheep-and-goats. *Tharīb* or *yūrt*, the latter word from Turkish, is curds (yoghourt) made by adding *rāyib*, curdled milk, to fresh milk.

Aḥmad Qaryah in 1973, composed for me in colloquial Arabic in consultation with his sister in Şan'ā' a description³⁰ of the various dishes in common use there. The following year Annika Bornstein sent me her informative paper³¹ dealing scientifically with Yemeni food. Broadly speaking Annika Bornstein's classification has been followed in the dishes listed below, but Aḥmad Qaryah is quoted first and her description second. To this much addition has been made but further enquiry will of course produce yet more.

20 A *jafnah* in tribal South Yemen is usually a wooden bowl.

21 'Abdullāh Ya'qūb Khān, *Qāmūs al-amthāl al-'Adaniyyah*, Cairo, 1933, 38, no. 441, has a proverb, 'Ghiṭā' *al-burmah shaqaf*, The cover of the cookpot is earthen-ware.'

22 This Persian word which came early into Arabic has a variety of forms.

23 *L'Arabo parlato*, 155.

24 See p. 545b, *ishniṭi*, et passim.

25 Wolf Leslau, 'Texts on Yemenite folklore', *Proc. of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Philadelphia, 1944, XIV, 248.

26 Rossi, op. cit., 155, 153.

27 Ibid, 159 seq.

28 *Dhirriḥ*, from *dharra*, to scatter, is used of other substances also.

29 Op. cit., 159.

30 *Ajmal al-tabrikāt bi-munāsabat 'id-kum al-muḥaḍḍal*, so named because presented to me at Christmas!

31 *Food and society in the Yemen Arab Republic*, FAO, Rome, 1974, with a bibliography.

Bread

Introduction

As in other agrarian societies the staple food (*ukāl*) of the Yemen is bread (*luqmah*, *khubz*), eaten dipped in a relish (*idām*),³² varying according to circumstances from a vegetable stew, broth, fenugreek (*hīlbah*) to milk, ghee, etc. A piece of bread eaten after a meal without dipping (*laysa bi-ma'dūm*) is called *maḥramat al-ḥalq*³³ in colloquial parlance. After a meal the host must give *malūj*-bread toasted (*qāmiz* = *muḥammad*), with coffee, in wealthier houses richer fare. A proverb says, 'Dip the edge of the bread in the relish, my children, but you, 'Āmir, press [it] down deep, *Zaqqirū yā 'iyālī, wa-'nt, yā 'Āmir, ihmish.*'³⁴ It is used of a person who permits to himself what he prohibits to others.

Yemeni bread is mostly prepared in the form of flat rounds—the *qurṣ*. (If you say, 'So and so's round of bread is finished, *Filān kīmīl qurṣ-ah*,'³⁵ it means that it is all up with him!) According to Annika Bornstein the ordinary *qurṣ* is only slightly leavened. Baps (*kidmah* see no. 6 infra), which Rossi³⁶ calls soldiers' bread since this is what they usually have, are also common. Some kinds of bread are prepared from a mixture of grains (cf. nos. 5, 7) but bread made from a single kind of flour without admixture is called *daqīq farṣ*. Small oblong loaves of imported refined wheat flour baked in modern bakeries are now commonly sold in Šan'ā', but they are naturally less nutritious than bread prepared in Yemeni fashion from native cereals.³⁷ These loaves are known as *rōti* an Indian word long in use in Aden.

'The people of Šan'ā', says al-Hamdānī,³⁸ 'have *ruqāq* (thin rounds of bread) which is in no (other) town, so thin, wide, and white, because of the way in which the firm consistency of wheat comes into play.... In Šan'ā' the round (*raghīf*) of bread is not broken, but folded over and rolled up like a scroll.' He names the various types of cereal, but a detailed account of these is given by the Rasūlid Sultan, al-Malik al-Afḍal,³⁸ circa 1370 A.D.; most are still known today.

For some reason people appear not to care for barley bread but they eat it all the same, as may be perceived from the proverb, *Khubz al-sha'ir mākul madhmūm*, or *Sha'ir al-Ḥaql mākul madhmūm*. As well as al-Ḥaql barley, wheat (*birr*) of Ḥaḍūr is said to be eaten '*madhmūm*', disliked, but al-Malik al-Afḍal lists it among the varieties of wheat known to Šan'ā' folk without disapproval.³⁹ One of Qāḍī Ismā'īl's proverbs shows that *kadīr*, Tihāmah *dhurah*-bread, is not highly esteemed.⁴⁰

Some houses, according to al-Wāsi'⁴¹ bake two or three times a day, but Annika Bornstein found it was usually baked at the present time at midday in quantities sufficient to do for lunch, supper and the next day's breakfast, but sometimes it is also baked fresh for breakfast early in the morning.

A piece of dough left over from the preceding batch of bread is

dissolved in salted water and mixed with flour, salt and water, to make a soft dough which is left to rise overnight. Next morning the dough is re-kneaded, adding more flour and water, and left to rise for another hour. Town housewives however now use dry yeast which reduces the time for rising to one hour only. This is linked with a proverb, 'The beginning of yeast is water, *Awwal al-khamīrah mā*'⁴² (this apparently means that one cannot stay out of a thing). When the dough (*'ajīn*)⁴³ has been baked into bread there is left in the bowl (*fāsah*) *al-salāwit*⁴⁴ (a residue). They rinse the bowl with a little water called (*ghasāyil*) among which they put a little ground flour (*ṭaḥīn*) and next day it is yeast (*khamīrah*).

The actions in the making of bread are (imperative feminine):

- 1 *'Ajjiṇi u-khammīri u-mallihi*, knead, adding yeast and salt,
- 2 *Iftaqidi (al-'ajīn)*, inspect the dough,
- 3 (When *khamīr*, risen) *uṣay/ūqadi*, light (the *tannūr*),
- 4 *Kharrijī*, take out the pieces of dough,
- 5 *Ika'atī (tibrim-hā)*, work in the two hands,
- 6 *Iftahī*, work between the *makhbazah*-pillow and the hand, or, *ishniḥi*, work between the edge of the hand and the palm,
- 7 *Duqqī* or *ikhibzi*, put on side of the *tannūr*,
- 8 *Ikhday*, remove.

Yemenis naturally prefer their bread oven-fresh and it is brought direct to the diners who eat it very hot (*ya'kulū dāfi dāfi*). So the proverb runs, 'What comes quickly is hotter, *'Ad al-mughazzir aḥmā*.'⁴⁵ The basket used for carrying bread is known as *tawrah*; this is also used of big baskets for carrying grain on the head.

Kinds of Bread

1 Bread Made from Imported Flour (*al-khubz min al-daḡiq*)

a We take (*najurr*) a little wheat flour (*ṭaḥīn*) and a little refined⁴⁶ (*sāfi*) flour, mixing it all up and kneading yeast and salt with it until⁴⁷ the dough is ready. We then put small pieces into the pot (*lajan*, pl., *-āt*), along with a little ground flour, into the bottom (*qā'ah*) of the pot. Then we take the round pillow (*makhbazah*)⁴⁸ and bake with it (*nikhbiz-ah*) until it is cooked (*nādiḡah*). We never take it out with the *makhdā*-iron (*nib'id-ah bi-'l-makhdā*)⁴⁹—we take it out from inside the oven (*tannūr*) to the baskets (*ghuḡā*).⁵⁰

b When the dough has risen it is divided into pieces and shaped into rounded balls, which are taken between the palms of the hand, pressed, shifted quickly from one hand to the other and pushed into a widening circular shape. When the dough is thin it is whipped on to a round pillow (*makhbazah*) and stretched out to an even circular shape. It is then flipped quickly onto the inside wall of the earthen oven (*tannūr*) and baked for one minute until it is slightly brown. Other breads are prepared in the same way, except that instead of using the *makhbazah* the ball is struck directly on to the side of the *tannūr* and flattened there by hand.

Arabian Studies, London-Cambridge, I, 1974, 33.

39 'The cultivation of cereals...', 43.

40 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 103, no. 291 and unpublished proverbs.

41 *Tārikh al-Yaman*, Cairo, 1928, 299.

42 D. S. Goitein, *Jemenica*, Leipzig, 1934, 36, no. 187, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 260, no. 732. *Shābiy(ah)* rising, of flour, *khāmīr*, risen, of dough, *fajir*, without yeast.

43 Al-Rāzi, *Tārikh madīnat Šan'ā'*, Damascus, 1974, 239, gives a word, presumably Persian, *kardī* = '*ajīn*, dough.

44 From *salata* to dip one's bread, cf. p. 553b.

45 *Jemenica*, 107, no. 175, says *mughazzir* means someone who comes from afar or unexpectedly.

46 The term *khubz* is only applied specifically to this kind of bread. The refined flour is called *daqīq Miṣri* though it is not actually Egyptian (*Miṣri*); it is imported.

Imported wheat flour is called *daqīq bābūrī*.

47 Until, *law mā* = *hattā*, explained as *ba'd an*. For this usage cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ikhlī X*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, 1368 H., 14. The Arabic runs, *Lawmā qad al-'ajīn ḥāsīl*.

48 A *makhbazah* has a handle (*mazqam*).

49 The *makhdā*-iron is a flat piece of iron with sharp edges and a hole in the round handle for hanging on a peg. *Khaddā* = to separate from the side of the *tannūr*-oven.

50 The *ghuḡā/ghuḡā* was said to be a tray made of banana-leaf and the head of *dhurah*-cane (*mawz wa-sabūl al-qasab*), but this is queried by others.

32 Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bukhālā'*, ed. Ṭahā al-Hājirī, Cairo, 1948, 119 passim, has many anecdotes involving *idām*.

33 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 590. There is a saying, *Maḥramat al-ḥalq tis'in liḡ'ah*, Dry bread is ninety mouthfuls. (*Liḡ'ah* = *luqmah*). This would be said of a meal that was inadequate to satisfy—so that one would take a lot of dry bread that comes after the real meal in order to make up the deficiency.

34 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished. *Zqār* is *ghams ṭaraf al-luqmah fi 'l-idām*.

35 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anisī, *Tarḡī' al-aṭyār*, ed. al-Iryānī and al-Fā'ishī, Cairo, 1369 H., 412. Explained as *idhā intahā ḥazzu-hu*.

36 *L'Arabo parlato*, 159.

37 E. Brauer, op. cit., 100-2, lists the types of bread used by the Yemeni Jews, most of which appear below. Not mentioned are:

Rūs, bread made of bran (*Kleie*). This was unknown to informants.

Ṣalūf, described as like *malūj*, mixed with *hīlbah*, unknown to my Yemeni informants. Cf. Bread, no. 3, infra.

Fḡūq, Yemenis described this as like *kidām* (Bread, no. 7), like *qafū'ah* of several kinds of flour mixed together and *bisbās*.

Mthannā, like *ṣalūf*, of wheat or barley, but without *hīlbah*. Šan'ānis still use this with powdered sugar (*bathth*); its plural is *mathānī*.

Qalūb, like *zalābiyā* but thick and without ghee.

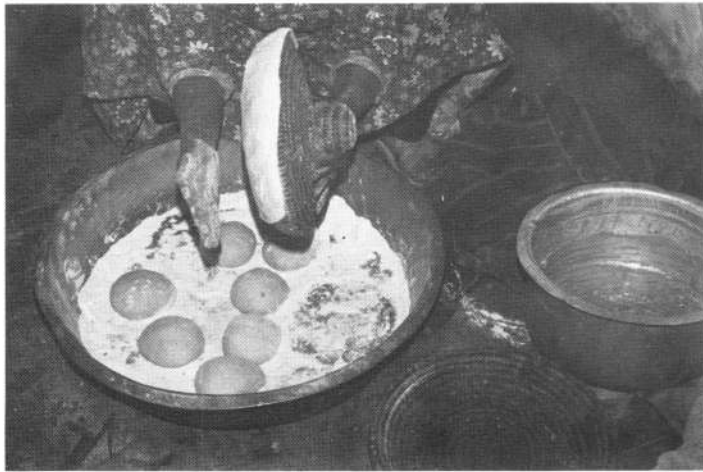
Nāḡulah/nāḡulah, a morsel of dough fallen into the fire, taken out with tongs by women and eaten.

Also mentioned is *ruqāqah* (Hamdānī's *ruqāq* ?) wheaten bread usually eaten hot with ghee.

38 *Šifah*, 198, quoted in my 'The cultivation of cereals in mediaeval Yemen',



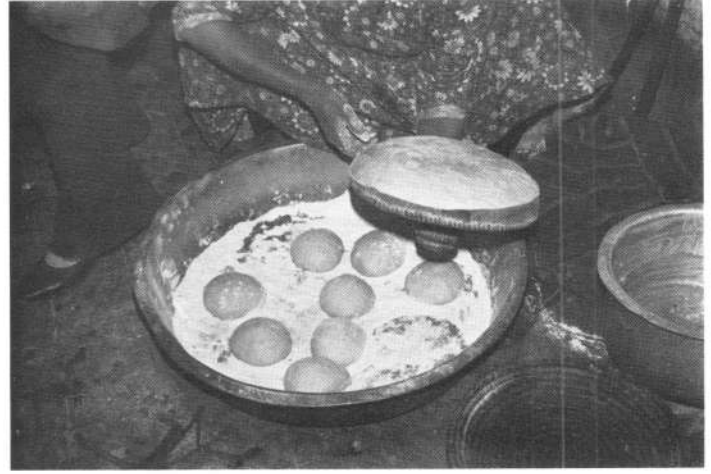
26.1 Kneading wheat-bread.



26.2 Spreading the dough in a bowl.



26.3 Beating the dough with a makhbazah and the hand.



26.4 Trimming the dough on the makhbazah.



26.5 Sticking the dough to the side of the tannūr.

c The pre-eminence of bread in Yemeni eyes is expressed in the saying, ‘Everything a man ordinarily eats, drinks or smokes, says to the round (of bread), “My master” (*Kull al-tawālī*⁵¹ *taqūl li-’l-qurṣ*, “*Yā sīdī*”).’ Nothing a man consumes can replace bread. About a person you know intimately you say, ‘Bread and dough made by my own hand, (*khubz yaḍī wa-‘ajīnī*).’ Of a person

garrulous to no purpose one says, ‘He (keeps on) adding water and kneading (*bīlitt wi-yi’jīn*).’⁵² Talking of a person who attempts to separate two complementary things, one says, ‘Bread in Ṣan‘ā’ and fenugreek in Dhamār (*khubbz fī Ṣan‘ā’ wa-ḥilbah fī Dhamār*).’

‘The baker recognizes the face of the man who has had lunch (*Al-khabbāz yi’rif wajh al-mitghaddī*).’ He knows who has eaten and who has not. Bakeresses have a bad reputation. Ṣan‘ānīs say, ‘One bakeress doesn’t like another (*Khabbāzah mā tihibb khabbāzah*).’ i.e., people of the same craft hate and envy one another.

2 *Malūj*⁵³ *al-birr/burr*, Wheat-bread

We take wheat flour, adding yeast to it, then we add water and knead (it). After kneading it we leave it till it has risen (*law-mā qadūh khāmir*). We light the oven until it is hot (*nlaṣṣi ’l-tannūr law mā qadiyah ḥāmiyah*) and, taking a little dough (*ṣughayrah ‘ajīn*)⁵⁴ in our hands, we bake them in the tannūr-oven until they are cooked (*tundaj*), separate them (*nkhaddī-hā*) with the *makhdā*-iron [from the side of the tannūr] and remove them to the basket.

3 *Malūj al-sha‘īr*, Barley-bread

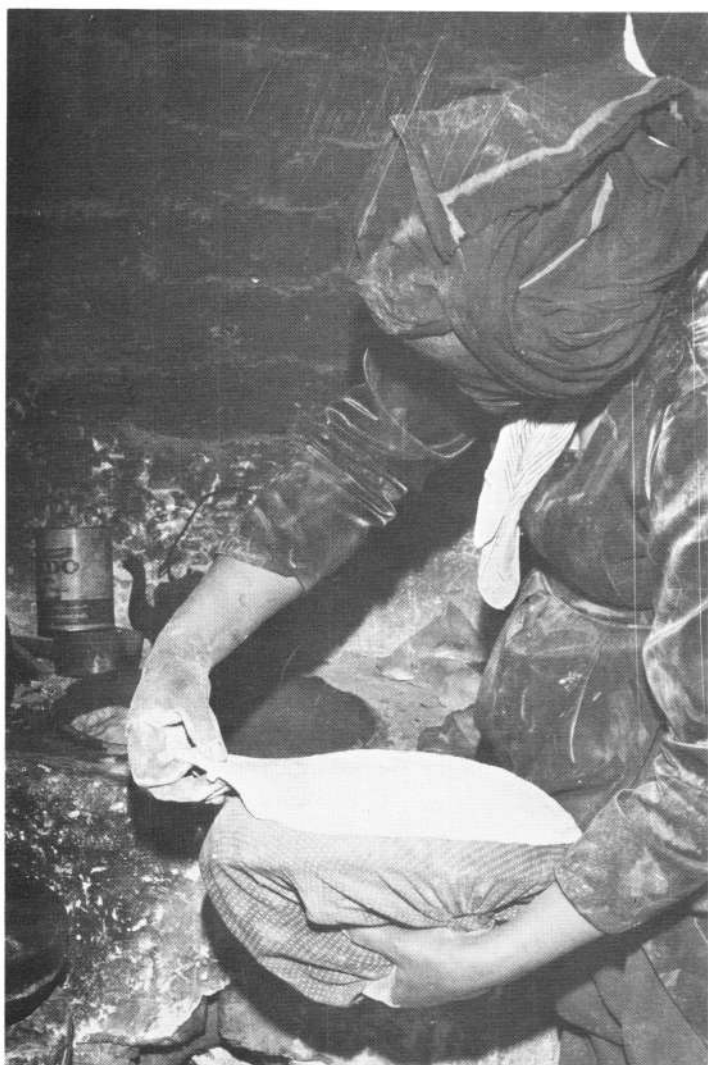
a We clean (*nunaqqī*), grind and sieve the barley and, taking a little yeast and salt, knead it with water and let it stiffen a little (*nkhallī-h qāsi shuwayyah*). We heat the tannūr-oven and bake it with a little fenugreek (*ḥilbah*). We bake it (*nimlij-ah*) in the tannūr until it is ready, removing it with the *makhdā*-iron.

51 Sing., *tawli’ah*. Cf. *marwla’i*, addict, habitué.

52 Qāḍī Ismā‘īl al-Akwa’, *al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 343, no. 1006. The other proverbs are from his unpublished second volume.

53 Pl. *malālij*, but Rossi, *L’Arabo parlato*, 159, gives a (collective) pl., *malūj*, sing., *malūjah*.

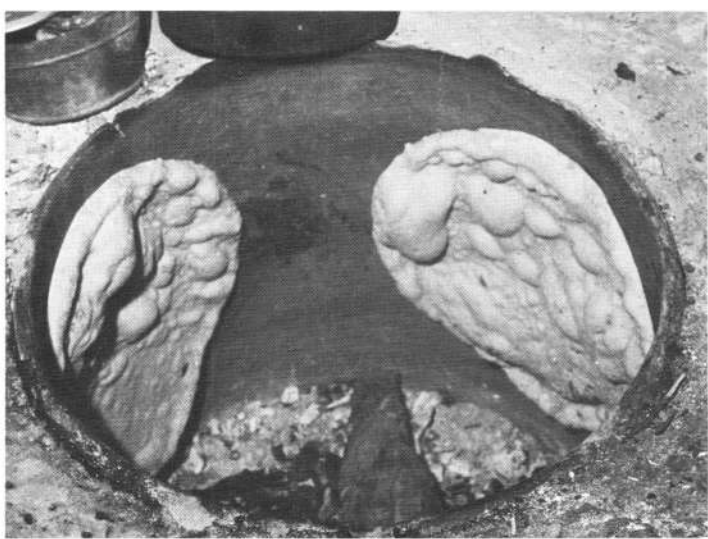
54 A piece of dough is ‘*ajīnah*’.



26.6 The dough spread on the *makhbazah*.



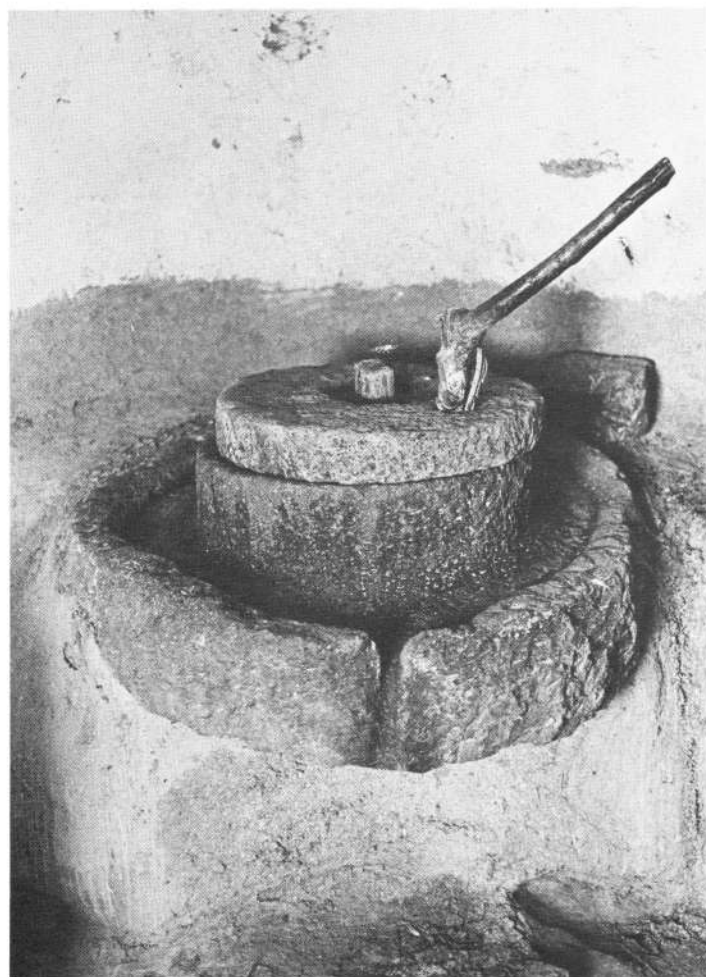
26.7 The dough being placed in the *tannūr*.



26.8 Dough sticking to the sides of the *tannūr*.



26.9 The making of *malūjah*, an unkneced bread, worked only by hand.



26.10 A hand-quern (*maṭhanat al-yad*).

b 1,000 gms of barley-flour (or wheat [usually as in no. 2 supra, RBS], or barley and wheat mixed); yeast, salt, water, 5 gms of ground fenugreek seeds soaked in water for some hours (cf. p. 553a).

The risen dough is divided into five balls, each ball smeared with the fenugreek seeds and flipped onto the side of the *tannūr* where it is flattened by hand and baked for three minutes. *Malūj* is eaten, as *khubz*, with any food.

One piece of *malūj*: weight of flour, 200 gms: weight baked 400 gms.

c Yemenis say, 'Fenugreek is the fretted knife of bread (*al-ḥilbah sharīm al-'aysh*).' This is said to mean that fenugreek does to bread what the peasant's fretted knife does to the crop (*al-zar'*), i.e., it cuts, as it were, bread of thick consistency and renders it easier to eat.

A good type of barley used for *malūj* is *saqlah*.

4 *Jaḥīn*⁵⁵ of Ground *Dhirah*/*dhurah*-flour

a We scald it with boiling water (*naṣmuṭ/naṣmuḍ-hā*⁵⁶ *bi-'l-fā'ir*) and knead it with a little yeast and salt. After the kneaded flour has risen (*yikhmar*) we take a little ground flour on a plate and cut it into very small pieces (*niqaṭṭi'-ah ṣaghīrah ṣaghīrah*). We then wet our hands with water (*nibill aydi-nā bi-'l-mā*) and, taking a little ground flour, we work on the pieces of dough (*naḥ'al li-'l-quṭa' al-'ajīn*). Then we bake them in the *tannūr*-oven until⁵⁷ the *jaḥīn*

is toasted (*miḥammar*) in the *tannūr*. Then we take them all out (*nibi'id-hin*).

b 850 gms of sorghum flour, some yeast, salt, water. The risen dough is divided into ten balls which are flattened by hand in the *tannūr* and baked for three minutes. The *jaḥīn* is smaller and thicker than *khubz*.

One piece of *jaḥīn*: weight of flour 85 gms; weight baked 170 gms.

c Goitein⁵⁸ reports the proverb, 'No dog runs away from a piece of *jaḥīn*-bread (*Mā kalb yihrub min jaḥīnah*).' It seems to mean that if you invite a poor person to eat he will come—he will not turn up his nose at something good. *Jaḥīn* also figures in a common style of proverbial saying, in this instance used in Dhamār and Yarīm.⁵⁹ 'A *jihīnah* all to myself, not bread-and-honey for me [shared with] others (*Jihīnah lī waḥdī, wa-lā sabāyā lī wa-'l-nās*).' *Sabāyā*⁶⁰ is a luxury (*min al-ma'kulāt al-fakhrīyah*) whereas *jaḥīn* is eaten by most ordinary folk. The tale behind the saying is that a man was married to a pretty woman, but, as Qāḍī Ismā'il discreetly puts it, discovered that she was not exclusively his own (*khālīṣah lahu*) and so divorced her. Then he married another woman who was not pretty!

5 *Qafū*⁶¹ Bread of *Dhura*/*dhira*

a We take a little *dhurah*-flour (*ṭaḥīn*) and, using boiling water, we sprinkle it with it (*naṣmuṭ-ah bah*), knead it, make dough and let it stiffen a little. Then we take a piece [small enough] for our hands [to hold] and bake it (*nidbij*)⁶² in the *tannūr*-oven until the latter is full of *qafū*-bread, in such a way that there is not a strong flame in it (*bi-ḥayth takūn al-tannūr mā bish fi-hā lahbah qawīyyah*), scattering the fire coals (*nifazṣ*⁶³ *al-nār*) until it gets toasted (*law-mā yihammīrayn*). Then we separate it [from the *tannūr*] with the *makhḍā*-iron into the basket (*ghuṭā*).

b 1300 gms of lentil flour (or sorghum and lentil flour mixed), 8 gms yeast, salt, water, 10 gms of ground fenugreek seeds soaked in water.

The lentils are first ground in the quern (*maṭhan(ah)*) to remove the peel, then ground into a fine flour in the grinding mill. The risen dough is divided into ten balls, each ball is smeared with fenugreek seed and flattened by hand in the *tannūr*, where it is baked for about two minutes. *Qafū* is a popular bread but less common than the others, since lentils are not always available and the lentil flour requires a long time to prepare. *Qafū* is eaten with tea or *qishr*-coffee, but not usually with other foods.

One piece of *qafū*: weight of lentil flour 130 gms; weight when baked 280 gms.

c A proverb in similar style to that on *jaḥīnah*, supra, runs, 'A *qafū*'ah of lentils all to myself, not husked wheat bread for me and others (*Qafū'ah bilsin lī waḥdī, wa-lā khubzah naqīyy lī wa-'l-nās*).'⁶⁴

6 *Laḥūḥ*⁶⁵ of Fermented *Dhirah*/*dhurah*, Pancake Bread

a We grind the *dhira* and boil a small piece⁶⁶ of 'aṣīd-porridge (*ṣaghīrah 'aṣīd jāhizah*) which is to hand, in water. We take the ground *dhira*-flour, sieve it and pour it into the kneading-bowl (*niskub-ah li-'l-ma'janah*). We add the 'aṣīd-porridge and salt to the ground *dhira*-flour, kneading it with the yeast and adding water to it a little. We knead it until it is runny like water (*law-mā qadūh rākhi sā' al-mā*) and we leave it to work (*yiqlib = yikhmar*)

55 Sing., *jaḥīnah/jihīnah*. Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 159.

56 *Ṣamaṭ* explained as 'to burn with boiling water'. One says, *iṣṭamīṭaṭ*, she scalded herself. *Ṣamaṭ* is also explained as *rashish* to pour, v.n. *ṣamṭ*.

57 *Law-mā = ilā mā*.

58 *Jemenica*, 181, no. 1423, translating *jaḥīnah* as *gesäurtes Dura*.

59 *Al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 404, no. 1202.

60 See Bread dishes, no. 3, infra.

61 Sing. *qafū'ah*, defined by Qāḍī Ismā'il as *khubz dhura wa-'adas*, and my notes say, bread of lentils, wheat (*qamḥ*) and *quṭṭah sawdā*, black cummin. A

solid local bread of *khamīr* (yeast) called *qurmah* (pl., *quram*) was stated to be the same as *qafū'ah*. Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 159.

62 Syn. *nikhbiz*.

63 Explained as *nifarriq*. Class., *faḍḍa*, break asunder, scatter.

64 Qāḍī Ismā'il, unpublished volume, defines *khubzah al-burr* as *al-naqīyy lubb al-burr ba'd izālat qishri-hi*.

65 Sing., *laḥūḥah*.

66 This was explained as 'we take small *naḥar*-measures of 'aṣīd (*nufūr ṣaghīrah*). The *naḥar* is a sixty-fourth part of a *qadah* (cf. pp. 156-57, n. 141).

with the yeast. We set up the girdle (*nirakkib al-ṣullā*)⁶⁷ on the *tannūr*-oven and, taking a little firewood, dung-cakes (*kibā'*) and kindling twigs (*luṣwah*),⁶⁸ light (*nish'al*) the *tannūr* so that the girdle may heat up. Taking a little oil (*ṣalīṭ*), we dip the rag in it and grease (*nidsim*) the girdle with it (*nughṭus al-khirqah fih wa-nidihhin bi-ha 'l-ṣullā*) once it has become hot. We now take a gourd-scoop (*madharr*)⁶⁹ with holes, a place for two fingers below and for one finger above,⁷⁰ into which the big (middle) finger⁷¹ enters. We sprinkle (*nidharr*) the *laḥūḥ*-pancake [batter] from the gourd-ladle on to the middle (*lā wasaṭ*) of the girdle, covering the top (lit. mouth, *fum* = *laqf*) of the girdle so that the *laḥūḥ*-pancake will cook, and (then) do another one (*niddī thāniyah*).

b 425 gms of sorghum flour, salt, water, 5 gms yeast. The fluid dough is left to rise for about one hour. It is then put in a small can,⁷² poured onto a flat disc, and baked for about one minute. *Laḥūḥ* has the shape and consistency of a pancake. It is not baked in every home but only by certain families who sell the bread in the market. *Laḥūḥ* is usually used for making the dish *shafūt*.⁷³

One piece of *laḥūḥ*: weight of sorghum flour 85 gms; weight baked 140 gms.

c Al-Hamdānī⁷⁴ says of *laḥūḥ*-pancake, 'It is called *al-ṣalīḥ*, bread of *dhurah* on the girdle (*khubbz al-dhurah 'ala 'l-ṭābaq*).' So then it was not a new dish in the 4th/10th century. The writer has eaten similar pancake-bread in Addis Ababa. A Yemeni proverb runs, 'If there is no grain, make pancakes (*Idhā mā fīsh ḥabb liḥḥi*).'⁷⁵ It is like the saying attributed to Marie Antoinette—why don't they eat cake? Of a rich man asking someone to make a thing which the latter has not the means to do, they say, 'Make *'aṣid*-porridge.' She said, 'There is no *dhirah*.' He said, 'Make pancakes.' (*Qāl, 'Sabbirī 'aṣid.* Qālat, 'Mā bish dhirah.' Qāl, 'Sabbirī *laḥūḥ*.)'⁷⁶ One says, 'Ibrīd yā maraq lammā yigī-k al-luḥūḥ,'⁷⁷ Wait, Broth, until the Pancakes come to you.' This is an Aden proverb, an injunction not to be too hasty in doing something. It could mean for example—wait till all the bits are assembled here. In all these proverbs it is a woman who is addressed.

Goitein⁷⁸ has a Jewish saying, 'Make pancakes for me while I saddle the donkey (*Liḥḥū lī amād mā 'shidd 'ala 'l-ḥimār*).' This is said in mockery rather after the fashion of the previous proverb, for it takes a night and part of the following day to prepare *laḥūḥ*-pancakes. His description of the process of preparing the batter seems to differ slightly from the above.⁷⁹

7 Baps (*kidam*)⁸⁰

Baps (*kidmah*, pl., *kidam*) are made of one of several kinds of flour. They may be of wheat or *dhurah*. There are large bread-ovens (*afrān*)⁸¹ at the Qaṣr al-Silāḥ where they are baked. They are made from the *zakāt*-tax corn that the tribes bring in, for the soldiers, and are distributed to them. One sees them distributed in Ṣan'ā' from a military lorry to 'poor' persons who come and ask

for them. *Kidam* are also on sale in the small square in the Sūq north of Masjid al-Madhhab. Annika Bornstein says they are made from a mixture of cereals, depending on the season and the *kidmah* is the typical 'poor man's bread' as it is very cheap.

8 *Fattīr*/*faḍīr*⁸²

a This is bread of *dhurah*, unleavened (*faḍīr*) as contrasted with *khāmīr*, leavened with yeast. Perhaps it is hardly a category on its own.

b Sayings about *faḍīr* include, 'Faḍīr is better than the Sultan's table (*Faḍīr khayr min simāṭ al-Sulṭān*).' The *simāṭ* is properly the mat or cover upon which food is laid. 'Take a small piece of your unleavened bread (*Khudh min faḍīr-ak 'ās*),'⁸³ means be content with a little of your provision.

9 *Qurmah* = *qafū'ah* (no. 5 supra and n. 61)

Goitein⁸⁴ reports two sayings about the *qurmah*, *Al-quram al-mraddam yiridd al-damm*, Thick *dhurah* bread produces blood. Behind the other saying, *Al-quram aḍḍal min al-Qur'ān*, *Dhurah* bread is more important than the Qur'ān, is the story of a *faqīh* who piled up Qur'āns one on top of the other to get at a basket containing the breakfast bread, that was hanging from the ceiling.

Bread Dishes

1 *Al-Fattah* Shredded Bread with Ghee, etc.

a It is [prepared] from bread (*khubbz*) itself. We heat the stone bowl (*niḥammī 'l-maqlā*) on the top (lit., *lā wasaṭ*) of the *tannūr*-oven and put a little ghee (*saman*) to it. We now take the piece of bread (*khubbzah*) which we put in (*wasat*) the stone bowl and, taking a spoon (*ma'laqah*), we rub it (*naḥḥas-hā*)⁸⁵ along with the ghee until it is broken up into very small pieces (*tuqaṭṭa' quṭa' ṣughayyirah*). [It is eaten hot.]

b *Fatūt*⁸⁶—2 pieces of *khubbz* (170 gms), 100 gms of butter fat, salt, water.

The bread is broken into pieces and heated in a pan with the butter fat, water and salt. *Fatūt* is the common name for any dish prepared with pieces of bread. It may be prepared with butter fat only, eaten with meat soup, or mixed with some other ingredients to make it tasty, e.g., bananas or honey.

c *Fattah*⁸⁷ is the same as class. Arabic *tharīd*, a dish that is well known to Tradition. It is the method of using up left-over bread which quickly goes hard in hot countries, or the bread may be kept for use later, and this treatment makes it more palatable.

2 *Al-Shafūt*

a We take *laḥūḥ*-pancakes and put them into shallow bowls (*ṣaḥn*). We crush leeks, mint and a few spices with a rolling-pin (*najurr nizahwiq*)⁸⁸ *al-bay'ah wa-'l-na'na'ah wa-qālīl al-bahārāt*. After crushing this we put it into butter-milk (*naḥ'al-ah bayn al-laban*), pouring it on top of the *laḥūḥ* in the middle of the bowls.

67 The *ṣullā*, explained as *fāwah*, frying pan, is a clay platter with a rim about 10cms high, and has a basket cover with a kind of handle. This is called *ghuṭayyat al-ṣullā*.

68 A piece of firewood of large size is *maḍwā*.

69 Goitein, op. cit., 136, no. 1004, calls it a *ḍarf* also. It was explained as a gourd (*dubbah*) halved, and made into a sort of scoop with holes in the bottom—the cook keeps her fingers stopping these holes till she moves them to release the batter on to the girdle.

70 *Wa-hū mukhazzāq min nāzil, buq'ah thintayn aṣābi', wa-buq'ah iṣba' min 'alawah allatī tadhul fih al-iṣba' al-kabirah*.

71 The middle finger is called *al-maḥqūr*.

72 The *naḥar* measure.

73 No. 2 infra, of Bread dishes.

74 This statement was found in an Egyptian edition no longer available to me, of the *Ṣifāh*, but it has not been traced in the Leiden or al-Akwa' editions. *Al-Ṣalīḥ* could be read *al-Ṣulayḥ*.

75 *Al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 128, no. 353. To make pancakes, *laḥḥ, yiliḥḥ*. In Shahārāh and al-Ahnum they say *liḥḥ*.

The *milāḥḥah* in Dathinah is a thin round stone platter brought from al-Zāhir (*Gloss. dat.*, 2619), for cooking *luḥūḥ*.

76 Qāḍī Ismā'il, unpublished.

77 *Al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 10, no. 30. *Luḥūḥ* is Aden pronunciation.

78 Op. cit., 136, no. 1004.

79 The recipe calls for 1/8 (*thumānī*) of a *qadaḥ* of *dhirah*. Half of this is crushed and half ground. The half that is crushed (*jashūsh*) is put in water in the evening and ground wet next day in a special small quern. The *dhirah* flour is called *zu'ūf* and the runny dough is called *wulisah* in Ṣan'ā'.

80 Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 159.

81 The *furn* is a proper masonry baker's oven, quite distinct from the *tannūr*.

82 Sing., *faḍīrah*. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, *faḍīrah*, pain sans levain, etc.

83 Both come from Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished proverbs. 'As is explained as *kasirah*.

84 *Jemenica*, 119, no. 867, & 120, no. 868.

85 Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2400, *faḥḥ*.

86 For *fatūt*, see *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 427; *al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 11, no. 33; Dozy, *Supplément*.

87 Cf. *Gloss. dat.*, 2394.

88 The *ja'ār* (possibly *jī'ar/ia'ār*?) and *maḥḥaqah* are the round rolling pin and the small flat grinding stone upon which one crushes spices and herbs. One says *maḥḥaqah* to include both the rolling pin (which is sometimes called *yad al-maḥḥaqah*) and the *maḥḥaqah* itself. Rossi, op. cit., 155, gives the latter a plural *mazāḥiq* and the crushing or pounding, *zaḥaq, yishaq*.

b 3 pieces of *laḥūh*, 350 gms of soured skimmed milk (*laban*), 60 gms leeks, garlic, chillies, thyme.

The spices and herbs are ground together on the *maṣḥaqah*⁸⁹ and mixed with the milk. The pieces of *laḥūh* are put in the flat dish and the milk is poured on it. *Shafūṭ* is a popular dish all over the country and a common Ramaḍān food.

3 *Al-Sabāyā*, Wheat Pastry with Ghee and Honey

a We put dough of wheat in the shallow bowl (*ṣaḥn*) and clap it between the hands (*nishnij-ah*). Then we take the ghee and add to it (*naf'al lah*) a little of the dough (in the shape of) long strips (*dhabāyil*)⁹⁰ (which we put) onto the round of bread (*'ilāwa 'l-qurṣ*) consisting of pieces of the same dough. We bake it, using the round pillow (*makhbazah*). We remove it with our hands from the middle of the *tannūr*-oven.

b 300 gms of wheat flour, 150 gms butter fat, 170 gms honey, salt, water, yeast.

The risen dough of flour, yeast, salt and water is divided into halves. One half is made into long strips onto which butter fat is poured. The strips are pinched together and put in circles on the breads, which are then flattened on the *makhbazah* and baked in the *tannūr* for about one minute. The baked breads are put in a pan with melted butter fat in between and served with honey.

c Qāḍī Ismā'il⁹¹ says *sabāyā* is made of heart of wheat (*lubāb al-burr*) mixed with honey and ghee. He considers it one of the choice dishes of the Yemen, as in fact the proverb on p. 548b would indicate. It may be in allusion to this kind of dish that when a marriage agreement has been concluded between two houses nearly related in descent (*nasab*), it is sometimes said, 'We have added honey to the ghee (*Zidnā 'ala 'l-samn 'asal*).' We have added one good thing to another.

4 *Al-Sūsī*,⁹² Wheat Bread with Eggs

a We bring the bread to the stone bowl (*maqālā*) when heated, adding to it a little ghee. We mix up (*nukhḥub*) the eggs⁹³ and sprinkle them little by little on each bread round (*nirishsh-ah 'alā qalil qalil li-kull qurṣ*).

b 5 small pieces of *khubz* (200 gms wheat flour), 3 eggs (150 gms), 150 gms butter fat, salt, water.

Two eggs, some of the butter fat, water and salt are mixed and poured between the layers of *khubz* put in a pot (*mathalah*). One egg, black cummin (*quḥṭah*)⁹⁴ seeds and the remaining butter fat are put on top of the dish which is heated on the coal in the *tannūr* for some minutes.

5 *Bint al-ṣaḥn* (Daughter of the Bowl), Wheat Flour, Pastry, Eggs and Honey

a A little wheat and ghee, and a little flour (*daqīq*). We mix the eggs, pouring them among the flour (*bayn al-ṭaḥīn*), kneading it with yeast (*khamīrah*) and salt. We take (it), cutting it up into small pieces in the bowl (*lajan*) with a little flour (*ṭaḥīn*), working it (*nishnij-ah*) by clapping it in our hands in the shallow bowls (*ṣuḥūn*). We take the first round (*qurṣ*) and sprinkle it with ghee, and the second, sprinkling it with ghee, and add black cummin to

it. We take it to the oven (*fīrn*)⁹⁵ for it to toast and cook (*yiḥammir wa-yunḍaj*). We sprinkle the bowl with honey and ghee.

b 900 gms of white wheat flour, 200 gms of butter fat, 3 eggs (150 gms), 150 gms honey, salt, water.

The ingredients are mixed, using about half the amount of butter fat, and working into a smooth dough. The dough is divided into twenty small balls which are flattened by hand and put in layers in a pan with melted butter fat between the layers. The dish is left to rise for about one hour and then baked on the coal in the *tannūr* for about ten minutes. *Bint al-ṣaḥn* is served with melted butter fat and honey.

6 *Al-Dhamūl*, Fancy Bread made with Eggs

A little wheat flour (*daqīq*) and a little Miṣrī⁹⁶ (refined) flour. We take ghee, eggs, black cummin, yeast and salt, kneading the flour and eggs together. We heat the *tannūr*-oven and when it gets red (*wa-law mā yiḥmirr*) we take the pieces of dough and bake them in the *tannūr* until they are ready (*yinḍajayn*) then separate them with the *makhḍā*-iron.

7 *Al-Kubānah*, Maize-cake

a We take (*nishill*) a little maize-flour (*al-daqīq al-Rūmī*), a little ghee, a little warm (*dāfi*) water, yeast and a little black cummin. Taking the stone bowl (*madhalah/maqālā*) we turn (*nunkut*)⁹⁷ the dough on to the ghee in the stone bowl, and put the eggs on top of the dough and black cummin. We heat (*niḥammī*) the *tannūr* and cover it after putting the stone bowl down below (*nihris*⁹⁸ *al-madhalah*) into it amongst the fire coals. We cover the *tannūr*, and stop up (*nisidd*) the gate of the hole [at the foot of the *tannūr*],⁹⁹ sealing them up (*nikhtim 'alay-hin*) until they are cooked. When they are ready we remove and turn them out from the stone bowls (*maqālī*) into baskets.

b 430 gms corn flour [*al-daqīq al-Rūmī*], 150 gms butter fat, 1 egg (50 gms), yeast, water.

The flour, yeast, water and some of the butter fat are kneaded together to a smooth dough which is left to rise for one hour. The risen dough is put in a pot smeared with fat. An egg is put on the top and the cake is baked for about thirty minutes on the coal in the *tannūr*. *Kubānah* is eaten as dessert with tea or *qishr*-coffee.

c *Kubānah* was also a dish favoured by the Yemeni Jews. At Najrān Halévy and Ḥabshūsh,¹⁰⁰ after the morning prayers, were served the *kubānah*, the traditional Sabbath food. 'It had been kept warm from Friday in a *madhalah*, a stone dish of the kind manufactured at Ṣa'dah, which lends a particularly agreeable flavour to the food preserved in it.' It is described as 'a Saturday dish consisting of dough kept warm from Friday and mixed with soup of melted butter when served.'

8 *Al-Zalābiyā/Zalābiyih*,¹⁰¹ Flap-jacks

We take wheat (flour) dough, letting it be a little runny (*rākhiyah*). Then, taking the pan (*ṭāwah*),¹⁰² we put into it some sesame oil (*ṣalīṭ al-jiljilān*). We heat it till the oil is boiling (*qad al-ṣalīṭ bifūr*) and put pieces of the dough into the pan until the

89 'I stir the spices into the butter-milk, *Akhbīsh/Akhḍub al-zaḥāwīq ma'a 'l-laban*', is the explanation of this sentence.

90 These *dhabāyil* (sing., *dhubālāh*), the literal sense being lamp-wick etc., are made when one *yishnij* (verb. noun, *shanūj*) rubs the dough between the hands.

91 *Al-Amṭhāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 404, no. 1202, and the unpublished section.

92 In Ṣa'dah and the northern districts, but not at Ṣan'ā', there is a dish like *sūsī* called *al-muṭabbāq abu 'l-bayḍ*.

93 Eggs (*bayḍ*) in the masculine gender.

94 Goitein, op. cit., 116, no. 833, has a proverb on *quḥṭah*.

95 A *fūrn*, colloquially *fīrn*, as supra, is probably a masonry bread oven and a modern bakery in Ṣan'ā' is also called *fīrn*, but here it would seem to be used (apparently incorrectly) of the inside of the *tannūr* on top of the coals—when indeed it would be something like an oven.

96 Miṣrī is also the name of a variety of wheat introduced into the Yemen and grown there. Australian white flour may be used instead. Before Miṣrī flour which they now use the *daqīq al-birr* was called *al-razūm*. They used to

yirzimū-h, i.e. *yibillū-h wa-yaghsilū-h*, wet and wash it, then *yīḡallī 'u-h al-jibā' fi 'l-shams*, take it up onto the roof-top in the sun. At the *maghrib*, sunset, they would wet it again, wetting in all three times and drying it. They then would grind it with *maṭḥanat al-yad*, the quern, and *yinjā 'u-h bi-'l-munkhul al-nā'imah* or fine sieve, also called *al-ṣaṭīṭah* or *al-manja'ah*.

97 Syn., *naskub*, Dozy, *Supplément*, *renverser*.

98 Syn., *ninazzil*.

99 This hole (*manāq*) is for inserting and poking the fuel, as well as making a draught to draw up the fire.

100 *Travels in the Yemen*, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem, 1941, 93. Cf. E. Brauer, *Jemenitische Juden*, Heidelberg, 1934, 103, passim, who says it was cooked in a *birmah*.

101 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 427, for a verse, *Wa-zalābiyā Sharafī 'l-Makārīmī inna-hu × waṣṭa 'l-ṣiḥāfi sabikat-un min 'asjādī*. The *zalābiyā* of Sharaf al-Makārīm (a *ḥāqih*), in the large bowl, is an ingot of gold. One says *nizawlab*, we flatter so as to get something. Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 160.

102 Syn., *ṣāj*.

first side (*waḡh*) cooks—when we turn it over with the skewer (*niqlib-ah bi-l-sinnārah*)¹⁰³ so that the other side can cook also. Then we move it on to a shallow bowl (*ṣaḡn*) with the skewer.

9 Ma'ṣūb(ah)

Ma'ṣūbah is a kind of the well-known dishes (*aṭ'imah*) with the people of Ṣan'ā'.¹⁰⁴ Ma'ṣūb is hot wheat (bread) shredded onto ghee (*al-burr al-sākhin yufatt 'ala 'l-samn*), or as Manzoni¹⁰⁵ describes it, *pezzi di panni messi a ricocere con burro e miele*. In Dathinah¹⁰⁶ ma'ṣūbah is a wheat-flour pancake cooked on a girdle and eaten with a relish (*khuṣār*) of ghee or milk.

A woman is given ma'ṣūbah to eat for forty days after she has given birth (see p. 557b).

Dough-porridges

'Aṣīd / 'aṣīt,¹⁰⁷ Dhurah Porridge

a First of all (*awwal mā bah*) we boil water, sieve the flour (*ṭaḡīn*), put salt in it and, taking a spurtle (*maṭ'am*),¹⁰⁸ stir (*na'ṣar*) (it), pouring the flour among the water, using the spurtle. They¹⁰⁹ thicken it (*yimattinū-hā*)¹¹⁰ (employing) the spurtle and pour it from the *birmah*-pot into the stone dish (*maqlā*). They pour ghee and broth [on it] after making a little pit (*fajwah*)¹¹¹ for the ghee in the middle of it.

b 500 gms sorghum flour (or maize flour), salt, water.

The water is heated in a clay pot (*birmah*), and the flour added under continuous stirring. Some more hot water is added as required until the porridge is thick and smooth. Cooking time is about twenty minutes. 'Aṣīd is, together with bread, the staple food in the mountain areas, and is eaten almost daily in the villages, less often in the towns.¹¹²

c 'Aṣīd is a dish that was common in Arabia from ancient times. Lane notes that it was made of wheat flour, as my notes confirm also for present-day Ṣan'ā', and in a Tradition it is known that it was made in a *birmah*-pot then as now. One says, 'Aṣīd cooked in a jug ('Aṣīd (*waṣaṭ*) *kūz*).'¹¹³ This is an impossibility on account of the narrow vase-like neck. The town of Ḥabbān of the former Wāḥidī Sultanate is also teased with cooking 'aṣīd in a *ku'dah*, a narrow-necked vessel.¹¹⁴ In the Yemen the saying is applied to an *impasse*, impossible to resolve. An Arab and Jewish saying,¹¹⁵ 'Aṣīd/'aṣīt-ak *mattin/mattini-hā*, Make (m. and f.) your 'aṣīd properly.' When you make 'aṣīd or *harīsh* you must mix the water with all of the 'aṣīdah and stir it thoroughly, or else it will either become lumpy or runny like *maṭīt* (see p. 552a). Various applications are given this saying.

Other sayings connected with it are, 'Mā ḡad yi'ādi 'l-'aṣṣādah, Nobody opposes the woman who makes the 'aṣīd.'¹¹⁶ The sense is that one should be careful about a person of whom one is in need. 'Aṣīd *al-dukhṇ tinfa' li-'l-muṣabbih*, Bulrush millet is good for a person going out in the morning.' This is because it is heavy in the stomach and keeps away hunger pangs. In Arḡab they say, 'Ammā 'aṣīd *am-bilād fa-mā bish mithla-hā*, There is nothing like the 'aṣīd of the country.' This is in allusion to those who boast of the customs of their own country even if these be bad.¹¹⁸ The

saying, 'Tibḡī lak min bayn al-'aṣīd, It will appear to you from amid the 'aṣīd', means that you may meet with harm from a quarter least expected.¹¹⁹

A Ṣan'ānī joke at the expense of the (alleged) ignorance of tribesfolk is embodied in the saying, 'Imḡigh-ih, imḡigh-ih, hū sabāyā, hū mā-sh 'aṣīd, Chew it, chew it, it's sabāyā not 'aṣīd!' The story runs that a villager (*qarawī*) went to Ṣan'ā', taking with him the share (*ḡiṣṣah*) of the crop due to the proprietor (*mālik*) of the land which the villager was cultivating for him, and was entertained by him as is the custom of land-owner and share-cropper (*sharīk/aṣīr*). The villager, in voraciousness (*sharāḡah*), was gulping down his food without chewing it, so the person next him addressed the above words to him—meaning chew this choice dish (wheat-flour, honey and ghee) slowly, so as to derive the full enjoyment from it, for it is not a little thought of dish like 'aṣīd. The latter would be the villager's ordinary everyday fare.

Al-Harīsh/harīs, Wheat Porridge

a We coarse grind wheat flour (*nijishsh ṭaḡīn al-birr*) in the quern (*maṭḡan*) of the house, not the machine-mill (*al-ṭāḡūn*) of the Sūq, until it turns into small pieces. (Then) we take boiling water with the coarse ground wheat (*jashūsh*), thickening it until it is cooked (*nimtin-hā*)¹²⁰ *law mā tunḡaj*, and pour it into the stone bowl (*nunkut-hā li-'l-maqlā*). They make a hole in it in the middle of the stone bowl into which we put ghee and broth and eat (it). Or else we put into the hole only honey and ghee.

b 570 gms of coarse wheat flour, 150 gms of butter fat, 150 gms of honey, salt, water.

The grains are coarsely ground in the *maṭḡanah* or in a machine mill. The porridge is prepared as 'aṣīd, and served with melted butter fat or honey. *Harīsh* is popular but is less common than 'aṣīd and often served as a feast food.¹²¹

Gruels and Broths

1 Nashūf, Wheat and Barley Gruel

a *Dhurah* or wheat is ground and cooked in butter-milk, to which salt, butter-milk and spices (*ḡawā'ij*) are added, and you have barley-broth that is never absent in the country at any midday meal. Old bread (*luḡmah bā'itah*) which cannot be eaten without a condiment (*ṣibḡh*)¹²² is broken into this broth.¹²³

b 350 gms skimmed sour milk, 100 gms of barley flour, 2 pieces of *khubz*, thyme, 100 gms of butter fat, 185 gms of coarse wheat flour, chillies, salt, water, garlic.

The milk, water, and coarse wheat flour¹²⁴ are boiled together for about fifteen minutes. The barley flour is then added and the gruel is boiled for another ten minutes. The spices and herbs are ground together on the *maṣḡaqah*, mixed with the gruel and boiled for another few minutes. The *khubz* is broken to pieces and heated in a pan with the gruel. *Nashūf* is served with melted butter fat.

c Aḡmad Qaryah's list of Ṣan'ā' dishes did not include *nashūf*—it is a dish of the *qabā'il*, uncommon in Ṣan'ā'. Those not well off eat it when unable to afford meat; it is not considered a high dish

103 *Sinnārah*, not a 'hook' here, but a long straight iron skewer.

104 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 588, 427.

105 *El Yémen*, Roma, 1884, 218.

106 C. de Landberg, *Etudes...*, *Datnah*, Leiden, 1905-09, I, 52, 211.

107 Rossi, op. cit., 160, *specie di polenta*.

108 *Maṭ'am* = 'aṣā *zaghirah*, small stick. A *ma'laṭ* is used for stirring/mixing 'aṣīd. One says, *Imsid/Imsit al-'aṣīd*.

109 The change of subject occurs several times in these accounts.

110 The 'aṣīdah.

111 Explained as *ḡurḡah*. In both 'aṣīd and *harīsh* you make a small *ḡufrah* (pit) in the middle—into this you pour warm ghee (*saman dāfi*) and dip into it the pieces you take from the rest of the dish.

112 Brauer, op. cit., 102, 188 seq., *passim*, has an account of how the Jews make 'aṣīd and the *Yawm al-'Aṣīd*, the third day after child-birth when there is a visitation of the mother of the new-born child. See for Ḥaḡramawt, *Prose and poetry...*, 25 seq., a *khubḡah* (*maḡāmah*) on 'aṣīd. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 100,

no. 705, notes 'aṣīt, *kūbah wa-laban*—which he calls *Dickbrei* of *kūbah*, i.e. cooked, then dried and milled grain of unripe *dhurah*.

113 Qāḡī Ismā'il, unpublished proverbs, says *kūz* = *qillah*.

114 *Prose and poetry...*, 29.

115 Qāḡī Ismā'il, unpublished, and Goitein, op. cit., 101, no. 706.

116 Ibid, unpublished.

117 Ibid, unpublished. *Dukhn* is planted in the hot Tihāmah districts so perhaps this proverb would not be current in Ṣan'ā'.

118 *Al-Amḡāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 225, no. 636.

119 Ibid, I, 350, no. 1025.

120 Syn. *na'ṣar*, we stir.

121 Brauer, op. cit., 103, says that it is prepared as a warm Sabbath dish by the Jews, like *kubānah*. It is mentioned in the food poem in *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 427.

122 For the text's *ṣibḡh* which seems incorrect.

123 *Jemenica*, 163, no. 1261.

124 Made with *jashūsh al-birr*, the ground grain that comes out of the *maṭḡan* (verb, *jashsh*, *yijishsh-ah*).

which one would offer to a guest. It can be eaten with 'aṣīd, fatūt or khubz. It is given to sick or ailing persons. Goitein quotes a saying, 'Al-nashūf yighaṭṭi 'l-makshūf. Nashūf covers over the uncovered.' The allusion is to an ugly woman who conceals her ill-favouredness with her dress and ornaments, as nashūf covers over stale bread.¹²⁵

2 Al-Maṭīṭ/maḍīd, Barley Gruel

a We pour butter milk (*laban*) (into a bowl), pound thyme (*sa'tar*), peppers, garlic (*thūmah*) and salt together, and mix in ground barley flour (*ṭaḥīn*). We let this boil, then remove it back from above the fire and pour it into the bowl (*li-'l-ṭāṣah*). We take spoons and sup (*nanshaf*)¹²⁶ (it) and take the barley (*luqmah*)¹²⁷ and eat it.

b 100 gms of barley flour, 250 gms of sour skimmed milk, salt, 50 gms butter fat, 10 gms thyme, 10 gms garlic, 5 gms chillies.

The milk and flour are boiled together for about twenty minutes. The herbs and spices are ground on the *maṣḥaqah* and mixed with the gruel just before it is ready. Melted butter fat may be added to the gruel. *Maḍīd* is often served with 'aṣīd by pouring it into a hole made in the porridge, or it is eaten with pieces of bread.

c Qāḍī Ismā'īl defines *maṭīṭ* as gruel (*al-ḥasā'*) which the poor use to season their bread, made generally of barley and ghee, and Rossi,¹²⁸ *latte allungato con acqua e bollito con semolino*. The Lower Yemen term for *maṭīṭ* is *zawm*¹²⁹ which is a relish/seasoning (*idām*) made of barley flour and butter-milk (*laban al-makhīd*). A Tihāmah¹³⁰ saying is *Zawmah 'amyā wa-ṭīḥīn majnūnah*, Gruel (made by) a blind woman and flour ground by a crazy one. It is used of bad unfinished work.

3 Al-Shurbah, Savoury Porridge

180 gms of coarsely ground wheat flour (or rice flour), 100 gms of butter fat, 350 gms of skimmed sour milk, 70 gms of spring onions, water, salt, pepper.

The flour is boiled with salt in water for about half an hour. The spring onions are finely cut and fried¹³¹ in some of the butter fat and then added to the porridge together with the milk and spices and left to boil for another twenty minutes. *Shurbah* is served with melted butter fat. In the Highland areas, *shurbah* is eaten daily during Ramaḍān instead of *fūl* (beans) which is not eaten during this time, seemingly because it is rather heavy to digest.

4 Al-Lasīs, Gruel

a Rossi¹³² calls *lasīs* flour of cereals seasoned with salt and parsley (*prezzemolo*) specially advised for children, and Qāḍī Ismā'īl simply calls it grain (*ḥabb*) boiled with water.

b A proverb runs, 'Idda lī wa-addī lak, wa-liss lī aqlī lak, Give me

and I'll give you; make me *lasīs* and I'll fry for you.'¹³³ This seems to mean—You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.

5 Maraḡ, Broth

Maraḡ is simply the water in which any flesh is boiled with the spices (*ḥawāyij*), fat and morsels of the flesh. A spoon of pumpkin (*dubbā*) called *shaḡfah* is used for ladling the *maraḡ*.

'Take the top of broth and the end of coffee, 'Alay-k bi-awwal al-maraḡ wa-ākhir al-qahwah,' runs a proverb.¹³⁴ The top of broth is better than the bottom of the pot because of the fatty bits of meat (*dusūmāt al-laḥm*) which collect on the top, but the end of *qishr al-bunn* is sweeter and tastes better than the first sips of it.

6 'Adasiyyah, Lentil Broth with Bread

a We take lentils (*bilsin*) and coarse grind them until they split in half (*wa-najishsh-ah*¹³⁵ *law mā yaqa' anṣāf*). In them we put all the spices (*bahārāt*) along with the leeks (*bay'ah*). They add the 'uluṭ¹³⁶ which consists of ground barley flour (*ṭaḥīn al-sha'īr*).

With a rolling pin they crush (*yizahwiqū*) the spices along with the leeks. They leave the coarsely ground [lentil] flour (*al-jashūsh*) until it boils and put the spices and leeks to boil along with it until cooked. It can either be eaten (*immā an yu'kal*) with bread (*luqmah*) such as *fatūt*, or without bread.

b Two pieces of *khubz* (170 gms wheat flour), 200 gms of husked lentils, 200 gms of barley flour, 50 gms of butter fat, 20 gms of leeks, 5 gms of garlic, salt, water, pepper.

The lentils are lightly ground in the *maḥṇah* to remove the husk. The barley flour and the lentils are boiled in water for about half an hour. The leeks are ground in the *maṣḥaqah* together with the spices, mixed with the gruel and boiled together for a short while. The gruel is then heated in a pan with the *khubz* broken into small pieces and served with [a little] melted butter fat.

7 Bir'ī,¹³⁷ Chick-pea Broth

We take a little of chick-peas ('atar),¹³⁸ potash (*ḥaṭum*),¹³⁹ thyme, chillies (*bisbās*)¹⁴⁰ and salt. To it we add a little black potash (*naḡ'al zughayyirah ḥaṭum aswad*). We boil it until it is cooked (*nāḍij*), (then) taking a little ground *dhurah* flour (*ṭaḥīn*), we mix it in with the chick-peas (*nu'allīḥ-hā ma'a 'l-'atar*) and taking the stirring spoon (*mamhad*)¹⁴¹ we stir it in with it (*nimhad/nimhat-hā bah*) in the pot (*wasṭ al-tast*)¹⁴² until the chick-peas thicken into a paste (*yitfarqaṣ*)—and so on.

8 Shabīsah, Pap

This should probably not really be considered as a dish! It can be pap of rice and butter.¹⁴³ It is for infants, a *Kinderbrei* of *Mehl und Samn*,¹⁴⁴ administered from a *manshūq/manshūqī*, and may be flour of any grain boiled with a little water and *samnah*.

125 *Jemenica*, loc. cit.

126 *Maṭīṭ* is drunk or eaten with a spoon like *nashūf*.

127 *Luqmah* means anything of the bread variety, barley or wheat, etc. Cf. Rossi, 159, Brauer, 101, it also being used by the Jews in this sense. One speaks of *luqmat al-qahwah*, crisp bread eaten with coffee.

128 Op. cit., 160.

129 Cf. 'The cultivation of cereals', 30, for *zawm*.

130 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished.

131 Aḥmad Qaryah commented, 'Ind mā tihimmir al-buṣālāh/burāṣah ma'a 'l-samn yuqāl lah al-kushin, When you brown (red) onions/spring onions with ghee, it is called *kushin*.

132 Loc. cit.

133 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 54, no. 157. *Lass*, *yiliss*, to make gruel.

134 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished.

135 To a girl would be said, *Sīrī jishshī lana 'l-bilsin*, Go and remove the husk (*qirshah*) of the lentils for us/me.

136 'Uluṭ seems to mean 'a mixture' as in the next following no. 6. 'allaṭ means 'to mix', cf. *mal'aṭ* supra.

137 Also *bira'ī/bara'ī* (Rossi, loc. cit.).

138 *Gloss. dat.* also gives the sense *petits pois* which is a common usage.

139 Also pronounced *ḥuḍum* and *ḥuṭum* as in E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic vocabulary*, London, 1893, 127, who states that it is made from burning the 'aṣal plant (v. *Gloss. dat.*, 2300) and used for washing clothes. Yemenis described it as a black stone crumbled up, put in a cloth (*khirqah*) and inserted for dye and taste, then taken out again.

140 It seems that the thyme and chillies are prepared in a separate pot and added according to taste.

141 A *mamhad* is used for mixing *fūl* and 'atar. A large type of copper spoon used for ghee is called *mallās ḥaqq al-saman*. *Nimhad* (= *naḡhas*) *al-fūl aw al-'atar*, we rub broad beans or chick-peas till they become *mufarqaṣah* (= *mufaḥṭatah*) like dough ('ajin).

142 Usually nowadays an aluminium pot, *ṭast*, *dust*, etc.

143 Rossi, loc. cit.

144 Brauer, 191, seq., where it is mentioned in a children's ditty. The *manshūqī* is a small infant's feeding bowl.

Vegetable Stews (*ṭabīkh* / *dabīkh*)

In the Yemen, in Ṣan'ā' itself, there are various kinds of vegetable stew (*ṭabīkh/dabīkh*), such as ladies' fingers (*bāmiyā*), beans (*fāṣūliyā*), rice, potatoes (*baṭāṭah*), spring onions (*burāṣah*) and pumpkin (*ḍubbah*).¹⁴⁵ They are cooked in the same way. The best known and characteristically Yemeni dish of these is fenugreek (*ḥilbah*).

1 Ṭabīkh, Stew

100 gms ladies' fingers, 250 gms of potatoes, 100 gms of tomatoes, 70 gms of spring onions, 50 gms of butter fat, garlic, salt, pepper.

The onions are fried in fat. The spices and the other vegetables are added with some water and boiled until soft for about 45 minutes. No water is discarded.

2/i Ḥilbah/ḥulbah, Fenugreek

a We take ground fenugreek flour (*dhirār*¹⁴⁶ *al-ḥilbah*), a quantity of a couple of spoonfuls (*qadr mal'aqatayn*), fetch two cupfuls (*barādiq*) of water, putting them in a bowl (*ṭāṣah*) for a short time—about three hours or more. After this we dry out the water (*ninazniz*¹⁴⁷ *al-mā'*) from it and whip it with our fingers (lit. hands)¹⁴⁸ until it rises (*tantaḥik*).¹⁴⁹ We taste it (*naṭ'am-hā*)—if a little bitterness (*qabābah*)¹⁵⁰ still remains in it, we whip it a second time until there no longer remains any bitter taste in it.

After this we crush (*nizahwiq*) leeks (*bay'ah*) and spices for it on the *maṣḥaqah* with water putting (*nuḥuṭṭ-ah*) them in the fenugreek and whipping it, just a little, once more.

After this we fetch meat broth and vegetable stew (*ṭabīkh*) in the stone bowl (*maqlā*), heated up, add a little fenugreek to it, mixing it with the broth, and eat it.

b 15 gms of ground fenugreek seeds, 60 gms of leeks, 3 gms of chillies, 3 gms of garlic.

The ground fenugreek seeds are soaked in water for about four hours. The water is discarded and the seeds are whipped by hand¹⁵¹ until white and frothy. The leeks and spices are ground together and added to the sauce. *Ḥilbah* is a popular and common food all over the country. It is eaten by dipping pieces of meat or fresh vegetables into it. The leeks and spices are sometimes replaced by vinegar and the sauce is then called *ḥamiḍah*. Horse radish dipped into *ḥamiḍah* is a typical Ramaḍān food.

2/ii Al-Ḥamiḍah/ḥilbah ḥamiḍah

a One pours vinegar on to some of the *ḥilbah* in another pot, this being eaten before the meal. Horse radish (*fijl*) is dipped in the fenugreek and eaten. The other part of the *ḥilbah* is eaten at the end of the meal with bread.¹⁵²

b *Al-Ḥamiḍah* is a little *ḥilbah*, salt, sugar and some vinegar (*khall*) which is made from raisins. We mix it all together, and

take horse-radish (*qushmī/fijl*)¹⁵³ and eat it.

c *Ḥilbah* figures in proverbial sayings quoted supra in connection with *Khubz* and *Malūj* (p. 545b infra). Goitein¹⁵⁴ quotes an expression, *Sinīn al-ḥilbah*, So long as (lit. the years of) *ḥilbah* last. This is in allusion to the fact that it does not go bad unless it is ground when it becomes bitter in three weeks. *Wannaw-ni/wannaw li wa-na' sha-khbish al-ḥilbah*,¹⁵⁵ Help me and I shall stir the fenugreek, is said of a man who undertakes a piece of work but does himself perform only the simple part, leaving the main or essential part to others.

Al-Wāsi'ī¹⁵⁶ says the ground spices and vegetables (*khuḍār*¹⁵⁷ *maṣḥuqah*) comprise mint (*warāq al-na'na'ah*), coriander (*kuzbarah*), leeks, salt, chillies (*bisbās*) and some cummin—if fresh ones (*al-khuḍār al-tariyyah*) are lacking then dry *khuḍār* can be used pounded, with water added. Goitein's¹⁵⁸ list comprises *bisbās*, *ḥawā'ij khaḍrā'*, lit., green spices, i.e. coriander, *ḥawā'ij sawdā'*, black spices, i.e. pepper (*fulful ḥabb*), cardamom (*hayl*), salt, cummin (not essential), garlic. The writer has many a time seen tinned Italian tomato puree, poured into *ḥilbah* and mixed with it, sometimes along with the remains of dishes that came earlier in the meal.¹⁵⁹ Al-Wāsi'ī attributes to fenugreek the properties of aiding digestion, bodily health, (sexual) power, clearing obstructions and driving away pain. He advises that two broad beans (*fūl*) and a sprig (*ūd*) of fenugreek be put in the above mixture before it is pounded up.

3 Al-Saltah¹⁶⁰

Saltah is *ḥilbah* with broth (*marāq*) and vegetable stew (*ṭabīkh*). This term was said to be *kalām al-Mashriq*, of the dialect of the Mashriq, but it is used in Ṣan'ā'. It is derived from *salat*, *yaslut*, to scoop up *ḥilbah* with pieces of bread.

4 Al-Qillah/fūl, Broad Beans

a 300 gms of broad beans, 100 gms of butter fat, 100 gms of tomatoes, 5 gms garlic, 3 gms of chillies, salt, water.

The beans are soaked in water overnight, then boiled for several hours in salted water and fat. The spices and tomatoes are boiled with the stew for the last half hour. *Fūl* is a common breakfast dish, eaten with pieces of bread. During Ramaḍān *fūl* is not usually eaten but replaced by *shurbah*.¹⁶¹

b Tinned Egyptian *fūl mudammas* is now widely sold in the sūqs. It is to be distinguished from *fūl Sūdānī*, ground-nuts, known in the Yemen as *al-ḥabb al-'azīz*.

Of proverbial dicta Qāḍī Ismā'īl¹⁶² cites, '*Law mā taḥwī qillāyah*, ' "If" isn't worth a bean.' One says, '*Mā 'ind-ah qillāyah*, or, *Mukhkh-uh mithl al-qillāyah*, He hasn't got a bean (of intelligence), or, His brain is like a bean.' Goitein¹⁶³ gives '*Qillah Yamānī*, *s'ad zamānī*, When I have Yemeni broad beans my time is happy.' A Jewish proverb says that *qillah*-beans are indispensable for the Sabbath.

145 The cow-pea, *vigna sinensis* (*dijrah/tijrah*) does not seem to be highly esteemed, according to *al-Amthal al-Yamāniyah* I, 33, no. 93. Cf. *Jemenica*, 152, no. 1148, 'When the food is flavourless, then welcome o cow-pea, *Ma'a 'l-kafa' yā ḥayya 'l-dijrah*.' In Ṣan'ā' the word *kafa'* does not seem known, but *dhirah* is described as *kāfiḥah*, tasteless without sour milk (*laban*). Goitein gives ghee as an alternative seasoning to it. It is served as a mush (*maṣṭ*), boiled with salt but without spices (*bahārāt*). At the season (*mūsim al-dijrah*) it is eaten for amusement (*li-'l-tasliyah*) especially by children and women. According to Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥaydarah, *Ṭawālī' al-Yaman al-zirā'ī*, Ta'izz, 1971, *dijrah* is gathered from Kānūn II, 20/February, 2.

146 Syn. *ḥāḥin al-ḥilbah*.

147 *Naznaz* means *ninashshif al-mā' min al-ḥilbah*, we dry the water out of the fenugreek. One says to a girl, *Ruḥi uḍrubī 'l-ḥilbah*, Go and (lit.) beat the fenugreek (to get the bitterness out of it).

148 See n. 151 infra.

149 Syn. *tishtabb*, expands, or *tishbi*, rises.

150 Syn. *ḥamiḍah*.

151 Al-Wāsi'ī, *Tārikh al-Yaman*, 299, says it is beaten with a spoon for ten minutes, till it becomes white. They pour off the water (*yishinnū*), and the more they stir it the more it expands till it fills the stone *maqlā*. Cf. Goitein, *Jemenica*, 171.

152 Ibid, loc. cit.

153 *Fijl* in Ṣan'ā' is not used of white radish, though it is used in other parts of the north, but it would be understood in Ṣan'ā'.

154 *Jemenica*, 86, no. 575 and 171, no. 1336.

155 Loc. cit.

156 Loc. cit.

157 Vegetables in Ṣan'ā' are called *khuḍrah* (plur. *khuḍar*), e.g., *nishtari khuḍrah*. For the tax on vegetables (*ḍaribah al-mukhaḍḍar*), see p. 158a.

158 Loc. cit.

159 Cf. Ameen Rihani, *Arabian peak and desert*, London, 1930, 157. He mentions particularly *bisbās*, pepper which is perhaps most important of all.

160 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 427, shows this term was known in the latter 11th/17th century.

161 Annika Bornstein's description.

162 Unpublished. A *qillāyah* is *ḥabbah wāḥidah min al-fūl al-maqliyyah*.

163 Op. cit., 123, no. 884. Cf. *ibid*, 130, 957, *al-qillah al-mathriyyah*, steeped beans, and a discussion of types of bean known to the Yemen. *Qillah* native to the Yemen is distinguished from the Turkish introduced *fāṣūliyā* by a dark strip. *Qillah* is the name for the dried bean which when fresh is called *qarānī* (sing., *gurna*). It is eaten cooked in the pod (*qirshah*) like *dijrah* at the season *mūsim al-qarānī*. Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥaydarah, *Ṭawālī' al-Yaman al-zirā'ī*, says green *fūl qarānī* is found from/about Tammūz 6/August 19.

5 Al-Zahāwīq/sahāwīq, Hot Sauce¹⁶⁴

a 100 gms of tomatoes, 3 gms garlic, 3 gms chillies.

The fresh tomatoes are ground on the *mashaqah*. The sauce is eaten with pieces of bread, boiled potatoes or other boiled vegetables.

b Arab informants say it is prepared from tomatoes, leeks (*bay'ah*) and *bahārāt*, spices—perhaps the latter term covers the red *bisbās* and green *filfil* peppers used.

c What is pounded (*suḥīqa*) is called *zahāwīq*.

A woman would say to her daughter, 'Yā bintī izḥaqī 'l-bay'ah, My daughter, pound the leeks.' To which the girl would reply, 'Nāhī, yummi, Yes, mother.'

6 Al-Sha'irīyyah, Sippets

Sha'irīyyah is used in *ḥilbah* or stew (*ḍabīkh*) and is prepared as follows.

We knead a little ground flour and twist¹⁶⁵ it with our hands into small pieces (*nibrīm-ah wa-niftīl-ah*) on to the basket (*li-awsaḥ al-ghuṭā'*), leaving them until they dry (*law mā tibas/dibas*).¹⁶⁶ Then we toast them on the tin tray (*wa-ba'dā niḥammir-hā fi 'l-tabsī*)¹⁶⁷ over the fire coals. We set to warming (*najurr niḥammī*) the stone *maqlā*, adding a little (*na'f'al ṣighayyarah min*) ghee, a little boiling (water) and salt. We boil it until the water dries off it (*yinizz*)¹⁶⁸ *minn-ah*) and it is cooked. Then we eat it.

Another version calls it a piece of wheat dough (*'aḥīnah*) formed into little shapes like rice. They make it round (*yibawrim-ah*).¹⁶⁹ It is described as like macaroni.

Al-Ṣalaṭah / Salatah, Salad

Salad seems to be a recent introduction to the Yemen, and in Ettore Rossi's glossary neither 'salad' nor 'tomatoes' figures among the entries. *Ṣalaṭah* may be derived from the Italian *insalata*.

It consists of small pieces of tomato (*ṭamāṭīm*), red onion (*buṣālah*) and some vinegar (*khall*)¹⁷⁰ along with salad leaves (*waraq al-ṣalaṭah*, lettuce). It is used with *shufūt* or so (*ḥākadḥāk*, by itself).

The *buṣālah* onion is not hot tasting (*fahḥah*). The leaves of the horse radish (*qushmī* = *fijl*) which is hot to taste, are also eaten.

Spices

A distinction was made between *bahārāt* spices which were said to be garlic (*thūmah*), chillies (*bisbās*) which are hot to taste (*fuhḥ*),¹⁷¹ thyme (*sa'tar*), coriander (*kabzarah*), and *ḥawāyij/ḥawāyig*. The latter are said to be of two sorts, those used in broth (*marag*) and those used with coffee.

Other spices are cardamom (*ḥayl*), cinnamon (*qirfah*), cloves (*zirr*), cummin (*kammūn*), ginger (*zinjabīl*), mint (*na'nā'*), parsley (*baqdanūs* = Class. *baqdūnis*), saffron (*za'farān*). Black cummin (*ḥabbah sawdā'*) is also known as *shūniz*.¹⁷²

The *madall* container for water to drink at *qāt* sessions is perfumed by heating a little piece of *ḥaraḍ* stone, a round piece called *fals* upon which are placed special spices and incense called

bakhūr mā', and as they roast the *madall* is censured with them and the water poured into it. *Bakhūr mā'* consists of 'ūdah, jāwī aloes-wood, cardamom (*ḥayl*), cloves (*zirr*) and a very little sugar. In Ḥaḍramawt glasses for water are censured in much the same way.

Ma'ribī¹⁷³ rock salt is known in Ṣan'ā' but at present they mostly use salt produced at Ṣalīf.

Cakes

1 Al-Ka'k (sing., ka'kah), Cake

We take a little ground flour (*ṭaḥīn*) along with eggs, yeast, salt, a little hot water (*min al-dāfi'*) and ghee. This we knead and cut into small pieces in a *tabsi*-tray and take it to cook (*li-yinḍaj*) in the oven (*fīrn*).

Goitein¹⁷⁴ says the ingredients are flour, eggs, oil or ghee and black cummin (*quḥṭah sawdā'*). The dough which is made sour is formed into rounds (*yiḡarruṣū-hun aqrāṣ*). It is baked on the side of the oven which is covered with the clay cover (*ksāwah*). A proverb runs, 'Mā yiddaw-sh ka'k wa-asnān, They don't bring cake and teeth together.' Cake is hard and needs good teeth.

2 Al-Sha'ūbiyyāt,¹⁷⁵ Sweet Bread

We knead flour (*daqīq*), cut it up into small pieces on the *tabsi*-tray and take them to the oven (*fīrn*). We let them cool (*nibarrid-hin*) and add sugar-water to them (*na'f'al-hin al-shurūb*). *Shurūb* also called *al-shirah* is sugar and water boiled together and poured over the *sha'ūbiyyāt*.

3 Al-Rawānī/rawwānī,¹⁷⁶ Cake

We mix eggs, flour (*ṭaḥīn*), ghee and a little of baking soda (*karbūnah*), knead it [into dough], place it on a *tabsi*-tray or a shallow bowl (*ṣaḥn*) and take it to the oven (*fīrn*). After it is cooked we add *shurūb* to it like (we do with) *sha'ūbiyyāt* and it is cut with a knife (*sikkīn*).

Aḥmad Qaryah said the ingredients also included yeast (*khamirah*) and salt of alum (*milḥ al-shabb*).¹⁷⁷ This is naturally a rather expensive dish.

4 Baqlāwāt and Qatā'if

These pastries although obviously introduced from the Ottoman Empire, are said to differ a little from their Turkish counterparts.

Meat

Introduction

Meat, commonly called *shirkah* as already explained,¹⁷⁸ is mutton (*ghanamī*) of sheep or goat, or beef (*baqarī*), the former being greatly preferred. If one is to take it literally, a proverb, 'Aṣab al-bil wa-lā shaḥm al-baqar',¹⁷⁹ Tendons of camel (meat) rather than beef fat, shows that tribesmen of Ṣirwāḥ prefer the worst camel meat to the juiciest beef. When in the Mashriq the writer found that the tribes there would not cook their meat till tender since they liked to tear at it with their teeth. A ram's head

164 *Sahāwīq* is Annika Bornstein's spelling, and it could be correct, from *saḥaq* = *zaḥaq*. *Zaḥaq*-ah = *fahast-ah*.

165 It is twisted between the thumb and fore-finger.

166 Sic, but the longer form *tibas* is also used.

167 A *tabsi* is a large tin (*tanak*) tray with edges, Turkish *tepsi*.

168 Syn. *yinshaf*. Cf. Gloss. *daṭ*, *suinter*.

169 To this strange form of verb may be compared the Ṣan'ānī adjective *muṣawṭal* = *ṭawīl*, long, *mudawramah*, rounded.

170 Made from local grapes and on sale in the markets.

171 Mashriq pronunciation. Hot = warm is simply *ḥarr*.

172 Cf. section 'Aromatic plants' in *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, B.R. 527 Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division, Oxford, June 1946, 597.

173 The Prophet is said to have made an *iqṭā'*, perhaps to be rendered 'grant' of

Ma'rib salt to a certain Abyaḍ b. Ḥammāl.

174 *Jemenica*, 142, no. 1062; Rossi, op. cit., 160, sweet of sugar, eggs, flour and butter.

175 It was suggested that the name of this sweet bread might be that of a family which made it. The Bayt Barakāt, a family originally Turkish, is renowned even today for making *al-rawwānī*.

176 Qaryah remarked that *rawwānī* had 'nearly a *tashdīd*' and could be pronounced *rawwānī*. My notes say it is like cake with powdered sugar.

177 Dozy, *Supplement* and other lexicons give *shabb* the meaning of a sort of alum. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Bulḍān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA, Leiden, 1906, 36, *shabb Yamānī*.

178 Cf. p. 234; Rossi, op. cit., 159.

179 'Aṣab = *aṭnāb al-mafāṣil*, Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished proverb.

is to be preferred to a (woollen) sackful of locusts (*Rās al-kabsh wa-lā ghirārat jarād*)!¹⁸⁰

There is a great lore in south west Arabia concerned with meat ranging from knowledge of the various sorts and qualities of meat,¹⁸¹ parts of the animal, division of meat to guests,¹⁸² to slaughtering on ritual occasions and such social usages as the offering of 'aqīrahs in a variety of circumstances. Something of this figures from time to time in earlier chapters of this volume. A strange tale,¹⁸³ not easy to interpret, makes the claimant to prophecy in Ṣan'ā', Abu 'l-Aswad al-'Ansī, slaughter a hundred cattle or camels untethered behind a line he had drawn on the ground; perhaps these were 'aqīrahs. At the *samsarah* of al-Ḥayfah of Arḥab in 1966 meat brought to the writer and his escort (*khubarā*) included the penis (*zubb*) of the animal which, in Islamic food law, would not be eaten. With the broad humour of country folk one of the escort took it to the women of the *samsarah*, causing great merriment all round, explaining that the women should have it because they are *ahl-ah*. When, in 1972, we were entertained by the Bukhaytī shaykhs of the Hadā raw liver was brought to us and they themselves ate part of the stomach raw.

Annika Bornstein merely notes that beef (meat) and chicken are usually boiled and sheep meat sometimes is fried. All parts of the animal are eaten and the brain, liver (*kabid*) and kidney (*kilwah*) considered special delicacies. Such meat dishes or ways of cooking meat as have come to notice are the following, but it is not claimed that the list is complete.

Preparation of Meat

1 Al-Daqqah, Chopped-up Beef Stew

We boil water and taking a little onion (*baṣal*), a few leeks (*bay'ah*) and spices (*bahārāt*), knead one into the other [mix them with the chopped-up beef]. We let the water boil in the *birmah*-pot and, squeezing them (the pieces of beef ?) together in our hands into small pieces (*nijammiz-hā*¹⁸⁴ 'alā qīṭa') [drop them] into the pot into the boiling water until they cook.

The small pieces of meat are called *kubaybāt/kubayyibāt*¹⁸⁵ and seem to be minced or chopped up into a *daqqah* and a little salt added. *Kubaybāt* were also described as minced/chopped/hashed meat and meat balls with onions (*al-laḥm al-mafrūm wa-'l-kubbah*) fried with oil and ghee.

2 Al-Qazāqiz, Fried Mutton-fat

This is rump and tail fat (*ilyah/tharbah*)¹⁸⁶ of sheep-or-goats (*ṭaliyy*) cut into small pieces and fried. The name is derived from the sound of ghee or oil frizzling over the fire (*al-qazqazah* 'ala 'l-nār), the verb being *taqazqaz*. When the *jazzār* sells lamb he throws in a small piece of fat (*ṣughayyarah min al-tharbah*). *Qazāqiz* are eaten especially at 'Id 'Arafah. Because they are soft with no bones people say, *Wa-'l-qazāqiz li-'l-'ajāyiz*, *Qazāqiz* are for old (toothless ?) women.

3 Al-Qaliyyah

Al-Wāsi'¹⁸⁷ avers that 'when meat is well cooked it can go about six months without turning bad (*yataghayyar*). In Ṣan'ā' this meat is called *al-qaliyyah*. This seems to reflect al-Hamdānī's¹⁸⁸ statement that in Ṣan'ā', and Ṣan'ā' alone, meat cooked with vinegar and left in a covered pot can remain as fresh as on the day

it was cooked for up to two months—one finds it solid (*jāmid-an*) and re-heats it. *Qaliyyah*¹⁸⁹ was explained as meat full of fat (*dasam*).

4 Al-Dawākhil, Offal

The *dawākhil* are the lungs and heart. If they do not eat them on their day (that on which the animal is slaughtered) they go bad and are unlawful, not fit for eating (*Idhā lam ya'kulū-hā fa-hiya 'arbit*¹⁹⁰ *wa-tiḥrum wa-lā tuṣluḥ li-'l-akl*). Lungs are usually fed to cats.

5 Ḥaḍīd, Soup

Ḥaḍīd is meat soup with a covering of pepper (*shaṭṭah*) and black *filfil* pepper.

6 Qūzī, ¹⁹¹ Young Lamb

The *qūzī* (a Turkish word for lamb) can be boiled in broth (*marāq*) with spices (*bahārāt*), or else be roasted in a *tannūr*-oven when the fire-coals have been removed and the *qūzī* put into it. In the latter case it is known as *jarshab*.

7 Ḥanīdh

Ḥanīdh, meat roasted in the *tannūr* with the top and bottom of it closed.

Sweets (ḥalāwā, pl., ḥalawiyāt) and Desserts

1 Al-Muḥallabiyyah,¹⁹² Jelly

a We boil water with sugar, mixing in a little milk (*ḥalīb*), starch (*nasha'*), cardamom (*hayl*), cloves (*zirr*) and a little rosewater (*māward*) until it boils. Then we remove it from over the fire and put it into shallow bowls (*ṣuḥūn*) in a cooling window (*bayt sharbah* = *al-shubbāk ḥaqq al-mā'*) for water.

b 50 gms of cornflour, 100 gms skimmed milk powder, 250 gms sugar, water, cinnamon, cloves.

The sugar and spices are boiled in water. The milk powder and starch flour are sieved into the water and boiled for a short time under continuous stirring. *Muḥallabiyyah* is served cooled, after meals, as a dessert.

c The sugar used is of the *Miraysī* (Rossi,¹⁹³ *Mrayyisī*) type, the name said to mean coming from Marseilles (but see n. 203). Fine powdered sugar is *bathth*, and *nabāt* is expensive sugar crystals in the form of *muka'abāt*, used with 'innāb spices in coffee.

2 Al-Bālūzah¹⁹⁴

This is said to be a kind of *muḥallabiyyah* without milk. It is probably the Perso-Turkish *pālūdah*, a kind of jelly or blancmange.

3 Mulawwazah

This is a sweet made of sugar and almonds (*lawz*).¹⁹⁵

4 Luqūm

This sweet is made of flour, almonds and sugar.¹⁹⁵

is also called *al-dihn ḥaqq al-qazāqiz*.

187 *Al-Badr al-muzīl li-'l-ḥazn...*, Cairo, 1345 H., 8.

188 *Ṣifāh*, 197.

189 In the Tihāmah *qaliyyah* is not meat, but fried/toasted grain (*al-ḥabb al-maqliyy al-muḥammaṣ*).

190 Sic, but equivalent to class. 'aribat.

191 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 427, etc.

192 Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 160.

193 Ibid.

194 Dozy, *Supplément*, *pālūzah*, *crème*, *colle de farine*.

195 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 For example our companions in 1978 were eager to stop in Bayt al-Faqīh because of the excellent mutton of the district.

182 Cf. *South Arabian hunt*, London, 1976, 30.

183 Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. de Goeje et alii, Leiden, 1879 ff., I, IV, 1864 & 1995.

184 *Jammaz*, to grasp in the hands, syn., *lamaz*, imper., *ilmiz*.

185 This dish figures in the poem cited above, p. 313b, n. 34.

186 *Al-Amḥāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 140, no. 384, indicates that the *tharbah* is the choice part, and the *bu'ṣūs*, the tail-bone joined to the spinal cord is the poorest part. *Wadak*, rendered fat (*samn*) of *shahm al-ghanam*, i.e., *al-tharbah*,

5 Burayk

This sweet is made of flour, sugar and eggs.¹⁹⁵

6 Kabid faras is ḥalwā of sugar and starch.

7 Mushabbak a solid sweet of sugar, flour (*daqīq*) and ghee, made in Hodeidah.

8 Ghasūs is dry toasted (chick-)peas ('atar) eaten by children at the doors of schools or houses and in the streets and sūqs. There is a street-cry to announce it—*al-maghsūs al-ghasūs al-dāfi*.

9 Jiljilān, a sweetmeat made of pressed sesame-seed and sugar, is eaten in Ṣan'ā'. In the south it is called *mugalgal*.

10 Tunfash, Popcorn

This is prepared from maize (*hubūb Rūmī*) imported from abroad. It is heated on the *sāj* metal plate until the white centre comes out of it. It is not special to the 'Id.

11 Masbali Rūmī, Corn in the Cob (toasted).

12 Lu'āṣ

The *lu'āṣ* (sing., *lu'āṣah*) *al-dhirih* is the sweet part sucked by tribes-people from the millet-cane (*qaṣab ḥaqq al-dhirih*) when it is still green, but *lu'āṣ al-qand* seems from descriptions to be a sort of barley-sugar.

13 Al-'Asal al-aswad, Black Honey

'Black honey' is made of sugar and alum (*al-sukkar wa-l-shabb*) though, of the latter only a pinch is used. A strong infusion is made of coffee-husk (*qishr*) which is heavily boiled to bring the colour of the *qishr* into the infusion, then the actual *qishr* husk itself is strained away. The sugar and alum are then boiled up with the coloured infusion extracted from the *qishr* husk.

This 'honey' is a substitute for natural bee honey (*al-'asal al-nūbī*) which is far too dear for most Yemenis to use. It would only be wealthy houses (*al-buyūt al-kibārāt*) which could afford it. Or else bee honey would be used as a prescription (*waṣf ṭibbī*) for illness. Honey as a valuable remedy in case of sickness is commended in Prophetic Tradition. In the north the best honey is said to be '*asal 'Allānī*, honey of the star 'Allān¹⁹⁶ (September), good red honey. *Al-'asal al-Ṣayfi* of the preceding season is said to be a little weak (*fātir*); it is white. The lore on honey and apiculture in the Yemen is extensive. Hamdānī¹⁹⁷ tells us that Ḥaḍūri honey was exported to Iraq in sections of *dhurah* cane (*qaṣab*) and cites a verse of Imra'u 'l-Qays on *al-shuhd al-Ḥaḍūri*. Under the Rasūlids it formed part of the revenue from certain districts.¹⁹⁸ A common proverb in various versions in south Arabia is, *Lā ṣāḥub-ak 'asal la tilḥus-uh kull-uh*, If your friend be honey do not lick him all up. That is—do not presume on your friend's kindness.¹⁹⁹

Drinks

1 Coffee

It need hardly be said that the lore on coffee, its cultivation, preparation and use is great indeed. The history of the coffee trade with eastern countries and Europe has been extensively explored by many writers. So no attempt is made here at a summary of what is known about Yemeni coffee, and only a few gleanings, collected at more or less random, are set down here.²⁰⁰

The infusion of the husk called *qishr* is widely drunk, even as far as Ḥaḍramawt where it is served with ginger and other spices. In the Yemen the spices used with *qishr* are called '*innāb*.²⁰¹ The coffee berry (*bunn*) is drunk also, rather after the style in which 'Turkish' coffee is prepared. When the berry brought such high prices from foreign merchants it was seemingly much less drunk than it is now. It is packed in coffee baskets of various sizes known as a '*ṭāḥ*²⁰² *ḥaqq al-bunn* made of palm-leaf. *Qihāw* is coffee of excellent quality, well prepared; the diminutive, *qihaywah*, in contrast, means poor coffee. A clay coffee pot is called *jamanah* and the biggest size of *jamanah*²⁰³ is known as *al-farkh*. The spout of the *jamanah* is stuffed with a *lifāh* fibre to retain the grounds (*khathl(ah)*, a term also used for tea-leaves) of *qishr* coffee. A *jazwah* is a metal pot of the type known in other Arab countries as a *kanakah* used for the coffee berry. The berry is separated from the *qishr* on a *maqsharah* and is known as (*bunn*) *ṣāfi*. Coffee provided at a *tafriḥah*, a women's afternoon gathering, or a funeral (*marwat*), has spices like ginger (*zinjabil*) bought in Sūq al-Mi'tarah.²⁰⁴

Rossi reports that the best *bunn*, coffee-berry, is Anisī, Maṭarī, Ṣayḥī from Kawkabān, and Ḥaymī.

The introduction of coffee into the Yemen is associated with the saint 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī (ob. 828/1424-5), but Landberg²⁰⁵ suggests that it must have been considerably before this time. Al-Shādhilī is buried at Mocha at the mosque associated with his name. In the Lower Yemen it is or was customary to pour a libation to him (*Fātiḥah lā-rūḥ al-Shādhilī*)²⁰⁶ when drinking it, and *qahwah Shādhiliyyah* is commonly said at least among the Shāfi'is. Although the ulema attacked the use of it at first it has long had a respectable character and is sometimes associated with religion or nearly so.²⁰⁷

In the Yemen the ahl al-Kibs, the people of Kibs the well known village in Khawlān, badly destroyed by Egyptian forces, are noted for their love of coffee and have many jokes (*nawādir*) and tales (*ṭarīfah*) about coffee. Kibs is celebrated as a centre of scholarship and *hijrah* of the Kibsi Sayyids who used to organize a special caravan of pilgrims to Mecca at the time of the *ḥajj*. One of the Kibs people was sitting in the court of his tower-house (*dār*) as is the custom there, drinking coffee, when a stone fell on his head, whereat he is reported to have exclaimed, '(Better it fall) on my head and not on the coffee-pot (*Fī rāsī wa-lā fi 'l-jamanah*)!'²⁰⁸ Another saying is, 'If a Kibsi loses his senses get him to sniff at the fibre (in the spout of the coffee-pot), (*Idhā sayyakh al-Kibsiyy shammamta-h al-lifāh*).'²⁰⁸

196 Cf. 'The Cultivation of cereals...', 30.

197 *Ṣifāh*, 198. For some notes on honey see Brian Doe and R. B. Serjeant, 'A fortified tower-house in Wādī Jirdān (Wāḥidī sultanate)', *BSOAS*, London, 1975, XXXVIII, II, 16.

198 According to the medieval Ms. *Mulakhkhaṣ al-ḥiṭān*, fol. 14 v., al-Yaman al-Akhḍar, mainly actually Wuṣāb, produced 45,500 *raṭls* of honey as part of the tax in kind worth 500,000 (dirhams).

199 *Jemenica*, 14, no. 70. Cf. 'Abdullāh Ya'qub Khān, *Qāmūs al-amthāl al-'Adaniyyah*, 9, no. 33, *Idhā ṣāḥib-ak 'asal khallī minn-ah waṣal*.

200 Apart from such sources used in this chapter, Rossi, op. cit., 163-4; Brauer, op. cit., 109 seq., see Peter Boxhall, 'The diary of a Mocha Coffee Agent', *Arabian Studies*, 1974, I, 102-18.

201 Like dates from abroad, not dry (*nāshif*), and sugar crystals (*nabāt*), or as F. M. Hunter, op. cit., 123, says, sugar candy.

202 Rossi, 164, mentions *fard*.

203 *Jamanah* = *ibriq*, also used in the Sudan. *Laqqam* means to put Muraysī/

Mauritius sugar and coffee in a kettle to cook. One says, *laqqimī al-binn/ qishr*. Cf. *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, I, 91, no. 253, *Sid-ak milaqqam nājiḥ*, means 'Your lord (*sīd* = sayyid may refer to the Kibsi sayyids) doesn't need anything from you.' In general *laqqam* means to put something in the mouth of a person or thing—so it can be used of feeding an infant or old man.

204 See *Qānīn Ṣan'ā'*, section 6.

205 *Etudes...*, *Daṭīnah*, II, II, 1072, and the entire section *Ṭabīkh em-qahwah*, 1055-78.

206 The *Fātiḥah*, opening *sūrah* of the Qur'ān, would be recited and a little coffee poured on the ground.

207 Cf. '*Kitāb al-Baṣṭ wa-l-salwah li-'l-muḥāwarah mā bayn al-shāhī wa-'l-qahwah*', *Prose and poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*, 38-53.

208 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, loc. cit. and I, 96, no. 271. *Lifāh* is described as *sa'af*.

They say to a woman, 'When you are in a bad state drink/gulp down some coffee to yourself, *Idhā ḍāq ḥāl-ish shiribtī/zaghafī lish qihāw/qahāw*'.²⁰⁹ This will relieve of cares and anxiety.

Qāḍī Ismā'īl²¹⁰ tells of a *qabīlī* from the country who came to stay with a friend in Ṣan'ā'. His friend woke him early to pray the dawn prayer (*ṣalāt al-fajr*). When the *qabīlī* did not comply his host said, 'God bless with rain the country (in which they rouse the guest to take coffee, saying), "Get up to (go out) and relieve yourself, then come back and take coffee", but in Ṣan'ā' it's "Get up and pray, get up and pray", *Saqa 'llāh am-bilād "qum shukh wa-'rja' tqahwī", ammā fi Ṣan'ā', "qum ṣalli, qum ṣalli!"*'

2 Tea

Tea is cheaper than coffee (1973) but is not much used. It is fairly new in Ṣan'ā' and came in perhaps about the forties or fifties of the present century. This is parallel to the earlier introduction of tea into Ḥaḍramawt from the Far East—in the Ḥaḍramī cities it was drunk by the wealthy but was less respectable than coffee.²¹¹ In Ṣan'ā' a certain 'Alī Ḍayfullāh used to sell it at the gate of the Secondary School near the present Wizārat al-Tarbiyah wa-'l-Ta'lim. People say of it, 'Tea dries up the mind, *Al-Shāhī yinashshif al-'aql*', and complain that it keeps them awake.

3 Sharāb al-qadīd²¹² Apricot syrup drink

We leave the apricot (*barqūq*) until it is dry, then wet it (*nibill-ah*) with water so as to rid it of dust, and put it in a bowl (*ṭāṣah*) with water and sugar, boiling it until it is cooked and setting it in a cooling window (*shubbāk*) to cool. The boiled apricot kernels (*qahḥāṭ*)²¹³ we eat with the syrup, removing the stone (*qawqa'*) from it.

The kernel of the apricot stone (*qawqa'*) is called *tawham*. Some kernels are bitter (*qubbī* = *ghayr ḥālī*, not sweet), but some are *lawzī* (lit., almond-like) and taste sweet (*ṭa'm-ah ḥālī*). Bitter kernels are mixed with raisins (*zabīb*) and heated which removes the bitter taste (*qabābah*).

4 Sharāb al-sha'īr Barley-water

We bring barley, boiling it with water and sugar till it boils, then take it off, pouring the water off (*nib'id-ah wa-ninazziz al-mā'*) the barley. We drink it when cold.

This is a rather expensive drink (1973) but is supposed to be good for one's health.

Seasonal and Festival Foods²¹⁴

The times of year when fruit in season is eaten are given in the almanacs, and the *Bughyat al-fallāḥīn*²¹⁵ for example notes when green wheat grain for parching, called *farīk*, and green *dhurah* grain, called *jahīsh* are eaten. There are however certain occasions upon which special foods are consumed. All the days of autumn (*kharīf*) people eat *al-sihīl* (vb. *yishīl*) which comprises lentils (*bilsin*), toasted apricot-stone kernels (*tawham*)²¹⁶ *min ḥabbāt al-barqūq*—*yihammir-ah*), pumpkin (*qar'*) seeds, chick-peas (*ḍakhīsh*/

jakhīsh) and almonds (*lawz*). All these seeds are of course parched or toasted.

During Ramaḍān diet varies a little from the ordinary. *Shufūt*, *ḥāmīḍah*, salad (*ṣalaṭah*), horse-radish (*qushmī*) and its leaves and jelly (*muḥallabiyyah*) are eaten, but *fūl* is avoided as already remarked. At the 'Id, *mulayyam* sweets are eaten and there is a saying, 'Chick-peas [parched] and raisins are the sweets of the Feast, *Ḍakhīsh/jakhīsh* (= 'atar) *wa-zabīb ja'ālāt*²¹⁷ *al-'Id*.'

The customs connected with the rich special diet provided for the woman who has given birth to a child hold a special interest that makes it appropriate to conclude this chapter with a description of them. In early pregnancy a woman, at this stage called *mu'ayyifah*, probably from *āfa*, to find repugnant, asks for food (*ukāl*) from her neighbours and/or relations, very likely on account of the morning sickness common at this stage.

After parturition, for up to forty days—when she goes to the *ḥammām*—a woman receives this special diet, and during this time she does no work at all. Daily for fifteen days, she is given a *shuqrī*, a small chicken about two weeks old, but possibly for a lesser period if the family be poor, and the chicken broth (*marāq al-shuqrī*) as well. If it is a male child and for some reason or other there is no *shuqrī*, they would at times give her fresh liver (*yikh bizū kabid tāzih*). In spring 1979 the *shuqrī*, which is greatly preferred to the imported dressed broiler fowl, and indeed is more expensive than it, was costing thirty to thirty-five *riyāl*s, for they think the Yemeni type is superior to the imported. She also is given *ma'sūbah* (Bread dishes, no. 9), a wheaten bread dish, but with extra honey and ghee beyond what is usual. Coffee with fresh dates, etc., is obligatory (*al-qahwah bi-'l-raḥiz ḍarūriyyah*)—in fact the brazier (*marwīd*) with coffee keeps going day and night. The two smallest children in the house eat with the mother who has just given birth—it is suggested that this is so that they may not be against the newly arrived child—or for some such reason.

At dawn (*fajr*) after the birth the new mother is given a drink of eggs (*shirb bayḍ*). Perhaps also at this time she is brought rue (*shadbāb*)²¹⁸ for good fortune, to avert the evil eye (*yuzīl al-'ayn*) and against the Jinn. In the morning of each day and at night she is censed with aromatics—they cense her to stop the Jinn (*Ṣabāḥ kull yawm wa-'l-layl tiṭjammar bi-'l-bukhūr yibakhhirū-hā li-man' al-Jinn*). In the morning about 7 a.m., and for seven days, her breakfast (*faṭūr*) is *ma'sūbah* along with coffee called *qahwah al-wālidah* consisting of spices and fresh dates,²¹⁹ all boiled up together in the coffee *jamanah*-pot—this is so that the blood will return (*ya'ūd al-dam*). She must also have bread freshly baked that morning (*khubz ṭariyy*).

After this she would have fruit or tinned (fruit) (*fawākih wa-mu'allabat*).

At noon, about 12 a.m., she will have *harīsh* wheat porridge or *sabāyā* wheat pastry with ghee and honey, or *ma'sūbah* and the chicken (*shuqrī*), with such vegetables as are the ordinary food of the house—and of course, coffee.

The evening meal (*'ashā*) will be mainly chicken or meat.

For the first seven days after parturition the husband's family provides the special diet for the mother, and for the next seven days after that the mother's own family does so. On the first

209 Ibid, loc. cit.; *Jemenica*, 14, no. 72, cf. 105, no. 730.

210 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished.

211 As appears in *Kitāb al-Baṣṭ* supra.

212 *Ṣifāḥ*, 198, speaks of *qadīd al-khawkh* (*khawkh* in Class. Arabic is a peach). They dry the apricot (*yabbisu 'l-barqūq*), i.e., *yiqaddidū-h fi 'l-jibā'*, dry it on the roof. You can also have *lahm qadīd*, dried meat.

213 Sing., *quḥṭah* = *ḥabbah*, here, kernel. *Quḥṭah* can also be used to mean a handful, or, in the phrase *quḥṭat-hā ṣaghīrah*, a small woman. Of a small man, they say, 'Umr-ah fi baṭn-ah, His life is in his belly'.

214 While one should not try to draw too close parallels between festival meals in Islam, including those of al-'Id al-Kabir and al-'Id al-Ṣaghīr and what existed in the pre-Islamic period, one should not ignore Jacques Ryckmans, 'Le repas rituel dans la religion sud-arabe', *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, ed. M. A. Beek et alii, Leiden, 1973; 'Ritual meals in the South Arabian Religion', *Proc. of the 6th Seminar for Arabian Studies*, London, 1973, 36-39.

215 Cf. 'The cultivation of cereals...', 42, 47, passim.

216 Sayings connected with this word are, 'Mā 'ind-ah min tawhamī, He has no kernel' i.e., 'Mā 'ind-ah mukhkh, He has no brain.' 'Al-tawhamī ḥaqq-ah ṣaghīr, He's got a small kernel/brain.'

217 *Ja'ālāh* is anything in the way of sweets, dessert, for a child. Money for sweets, *al-fulūs ḥaqq al-ja'ālāh*. *Ja'ālāh* would also be eaten on a wedding night. A saying about raisins used to end off a story told to children is, 'Law bayti qarīb la'ddī ghūṭā zabīb, If my house were near-by I'd give a basket-tray of raisins.'

218 *Shadhāb*, ruta chalepensis L. Schweinfurth, is also much used by the Yemeni Jews, cf. Brauer, op. cit., 137, under similar circumstances. Cf. al-Malik al-Muzaḥfar Yūsuf... b. Rasūl, *al-Mu'tamad fi 'l-adwiyah al-mufradah*, Cairo, 1370/1951, 219. At the birth the women ululate (*yihj lū* (sic)) and at various times during the ceremonies described here.

219 *Al-qahwah al-muḥawwajah bi-'l-raḥiz wa-'l-qirfah*. The *ḥawāyij* are *sukkar ziyādah*, *tamr*, *zabīb*, *qirfah*, *zinjabīl*.

morning her father and mother will come to make the congratulatory visit—*al-farḥah*, which is the term also applied to the gift of the ingredients of the new mother's coffee (*mawādd qahwat al-wālidah*), the spices (*al-ḥawāyij*)²²⁰ ectetera brought by her father. For these seven days in the morning the relations and friends make congratulatory visits bringing *shadhāb*-rue with them; nowadays the custom has grown up of bring presents also. This goes on till a little after mid-day (*ẓuhr*). On the third day after parturition the women of her family bring a *dallah* of coffee (*qahwah*) and rue to ward off the satans (*shadhāb yiqra' al-shayāṭīn, yirḍa'-hum*).

On the seventh day the new mother goes to the *ḥammām*-bath. They make her wear coral and cense her with *tathwīr* against the satans (*yilabbisū-ha 'l-mirjān wa-yibkharū la-hā 'l-tathwīr min al-shayāṭīn*).²²¹ They break an egg for her at the door of the bath and when she returns they break an egg for her (*yiksarū la-ha 'l-bayḍah fi bāb al-ḥammām, wa-'inda mā tirja' yiksarū la-hā bayḍah*). This egg is usually broken in front of the door of the house. They wave this egg in a circular motion around her and then dash it on to the ground. It is interesting to remark that, when staying with a Bohrah family in Bombay, festal domestic ceremonies include the same action with a coconut, but without throwing it down. Similar customs of breaking eggs at a birth are also found in Ḥaḍramawt and have attracted the censure of some of the ulema. When the new mother visits her family in Şan'ā' eggs are also broken then.

On the seventh day there is a party (*ḥaflah*), called appropriately *al-Sābi'*, in the birth-room (*makān al-wulād*) with a *mawlid*²²² or a singing woman (*mughanniyah*) and her family bring *qahwah* and *shadhāb*-rue to it. If the child should be a boy²²³ he is usually circumcised on the seventh day (*sābi' yawm al-khitān 'adat-an*). The father (*ab/wālid al-makhtūn*) gives a big breakfast (*ṣabūh*),

with *sabāyā*, wheat pastry with ghee and honey. The maternal uncle (*khāl*) holds the baby boy and the *muzayyin*²²⁴ circumcises him—the circumciser (*mukhattin*) is paid by his father, or, among the Qabā'il, by the child's maternal uncle. Visitors bring a white dress (*badlah*), described as *maqāmiṭ*, a *kirbāsah* which is a skirt (*fustān*) for the boy.

On the fifteenth day the mother's family pay her the visit, bringing her the gift called *ziyārah* (*yifbū, yiddaw la-ha 'l-ziyārah*) a gift of ground flour (*ṭaḥīn*), eggs with ghee and honey on top (*bayḍ fawq-ah saman wa-'asal*), chickens and, optionally *qahwah* or *qishr* coffee. Nowadays, but not formerly, they bring clothing, a *baṭṭāniyyah*, cover/blanket, for the infant.

After the first fifteen days there is a *ḥaflah* in the birth room, a *tafriḥah*, in the afternoon which goes on until the forty days are completed, with the *zaffah* and *raqs* dancing, and *mawlid*. If the child is a boy they praise her (*yimdaḥū-hā*), saying '*Ḥannah bi-mā jā lish*, Felicitations on what has come to you,' or '*wuṣūl ghāyib*, here meaning, 'something awaited', but if it be a girl the visitor will say, '*Ḥannah lish bi-'l-'āfiyah*, Congratulations on your health.' This means that the visitor is not overjoyed (*farḥān*) by the arrival of a girl!

On the fortieth²²⁵ day the new mother's family make an invitation (*'azūmah*)—they feast the parturient (*yishakkimu 'l-wālidah*),²²⁶ the feast being known as *al-shikmah*. It is a large entertainment (*ḍiyāfah*) with a *dhabīḥah* slaughter animal. After the *shikmah* come *yawmayn ḥaflah* two days of celebration.

It will be perceived that a birth involves the families in a great deal of expense and it is little wonder that this should be expressed in a proverbial saying, '*Irsayn wa-lā wilādah*, (Rather) two marriages [which cost plenty] than a single birth.'

220 The *farḥah ḥawāyij* would include raisins (*ẓabīb*) and the fresh dates (*rajīz ḥaqq al-qahwah*).

221 No informant has been able so far to say exactly what *tathwīr* is.

222 Account of the life of the Prophet in prose and sung verse.

223 In Şan'ā' girls are not circumcised, but they are in the Shāfi'ī Tihāmah, although it is said that this custom is falling into disuse. Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 179 for a brief note on circumcision.

224 One finds *muzayyins* in every Quarter of Şan'ā', but there is no restriction limiting a family to employing any *muzayyin* local to the Quarter.

225 Rossi, loc. cit., describes a ceremony called *Wafā'* which is basically the expulsion of an 'invisible' being called *al-Zinayhiyyah*, which they believe rests under the bed of the parturient woman.

He describes also the ornamentation (*shijjāf*) of the birth room with drawings containing pious phrases, verses of the Qur'ān, the name of the Prophet and that of 'Alī, and cloth called *simaydār*, which are taken down on the fortieth day.

226 *Tishkum ba'd al-arba'in al-shikmah*.

Chapter 27

Envoi

Şan'ā' As It Was

This volume concludes, as it began, with verses on Şan'ā'. These are composed by the contemporary poet of the colloquial, Muḥammad al-Dhahbānī, a Şan'ānī humorous versifier of the Banī Ḥushaysh—though unlike that tribe which supported the Ḥamīd al-Dīn, he opposed the Imamic régime. He is a pleasant-spoken rather quiet man of, now, 60, hailing from Dhahbān village, 15 kilometres from Şan'ā'. As a boy he attended elementary schools in the capital. Before the 1962 coup he composed lyric poetry (*ghazal* and *wasf*), but after this he started writing political verse in support of the Republic. During the short-lived Government drive against *qāt* in 1972 he followed the official line with a diatribe against '*Shajarat al-qāt*'.¹ His partisanship for his 'Ḥimyarī' ancestors probably implies a corresponding antagonism to the descendants of 'Adnān, i.e., the Sayyids!

Most of al-Dhahbānī's verses in *ḥumaynī* have been delivered over the radio for they have a swinging quality to them coupled with rich colloquial diction and expression that cannot but appeal to the Şan'ānī, but they sometimes also appear in the newspapers. Al-Dhahbānī nevertheless has not always a proper understanding of language, sometimes using words in totally incorrect senses. Now and then a line of verse can be quite lame, perhaps because, being an extempore poet, his muse fails him, but it is alleged that he is a *mutaḥashshish* which it is suggested may be the cause. In some quarters one hears regrets expressed that he should have turned his talents to propaganda, but this is a field where poets are rarely discriminating!

The verses that follow are taken from a poem, *Old and new*,² composed on 'Īd al-Naḥr, the Feast of the Sacrifices, on Mount Nuqum.

- 1 Lord of the Living and of the Dead,
Thou Sustainer of all created beings,
Forgive my trespass, erase what is past,
Make my end good and virtuous acts rewarded.
- 2 My head has turned grey, but I'm a failed pupil,
Sitting among humble folk, loaded with chains,
My pen and my tongue are a-fighting
Those wearing crowns and those of [social] ills.
- 3 My mind is distraught—what shall I do?
Shall I look at Şan'ā', rub the salt in my wounds,
[To see] how it was in former time?
It was blind, in ruins and ugly!
- 4 We used to chat of an evening by the light of lamps
Irrigating them with paraffin from dusk—

The poor man's lamp with a cotton wick.
By oil-(light) he would pass all his evening times.

- 5 Şan'ā' too was kept in the dark, unjustly treated,
With diseases it was enfevered,
With streets of dust, deep in dust,
Streets dark and full of insects.
- 6 The shops of the Market folk were (mere) holes.
You'd see a shop like a fodder store [for beasts].
Even the merchant was a boorish ignorant fellow,
Importing black cotton or striped (*Shāmi*) cloth.
- 7 The labourer, a poor fellow, to be pitied,
At times he'd work, at times rest idle,
Many the workman there was, depriving his family of food.
Whatever came his way the Qāt Market would take.
- 8 The barber—his shop was a hovel.
Anyone coming for a shave would give him a *buqshah*
Pity on him—what sort of life was that?
Should he rest to take breath, he'd perish, alas the pity of it.
- 9 The blacksmith sticking by his bellows,
With his own hands cuts and welds.
'His soup is his sweat', charcoal hard (to get).
The clamour he makes shakes everyone in the Quarters.
- 10 A fellow (working) in the Carpentry Market
Was in suffering night and day.
He turned grey-haired from hard work with the awl.
If he rose to saw giddiness overcame him or death.
- 11 With his water-skin the water-carrier passes by
From sparrow-fart till after dusk,
His breakfast (but) a bap stuck in his neck-opening,
Wearing a (sleeveless) jacket made from cow-hide.
- 12 The butcher calls/invites any one who comes to him.
If he sells his meat [on credit] his business declines.
He used go around like the *dallāls*.
The list of the debts (owed him) comes to four columns.
- 13 The cook cooks in a *birmah*-pot,
Half of the fenugreek (*ḥilbah*) is on his fleece-lined coat.
At the baker's door there are seventy cats.
He hates if the bakeresses come [and outsell him].
- 14 Woman—folks, how did she stand?
How she laboured! How she was despised!

1 *Al-Thawrah*, Şan'ā', 4.iv.72.

2 *Al-Anghām al-sha'biyyah*, n.d. (1971 ?), 23.

- They used to stop her, should she say
She would like to read the very Qur'ān itself.
- 15 In her worldly affairs she was frustrated, wearied,
Bound up with the *'uṣbah*-headband,
Dumb she was, become stupid.
The Imām left them in ignorance.
- 16 Woman—she was kept in purdah,
In the [living] world she was (already) in the grave.
If she could read/recite they said it's a shame—to be
kept hid.
Only chantresses recite.
- 17 In the house she'd unravel the woof then re-ply it,
Or in the *dihliz* make millet-stalks and lucerne into
fodder twists [for the animals],
Putting on her (good) clothes when she'd finished milking.
Women in days gone-by were merry.
- 18 Verses 18 to 22 describe the traditional costume of
Şan'ānī women and have been quoted in cap. p. 537a-b.
- * * *
- 23 As for the housework and cooking,
The husband too had the time of his life.
A room would be all arranged like a flower,
You'd want to sit in it—this would be your utmost desire.
- 24 She'd rise early to grind, from midnight,
Early in the morning she'd go off to the *ghayl*,
Swishing into the kitchen like a flash-flood.
In the evening she'd milk a couple of cows.
- 25 She'd sit drinking (*qishr*)-coffee and sorting through corn,
Get up to draw water, but the water was brackish.
If she had kneaded she'd start to cry,
(At) wet firewood and dung-cake fuel still damp.
- 26 She'd lunch, then go to women's gatherings a-visiting.
This verse and the four following verses deal mainly
with her costume (see p. 537b).
- * * *
- 31 Who left us ill-favoured and dishevelled?
Who made us live a life like cows?
(None other but) Mām Yaḥyā—he could hardly die—
He died only through four revolts!
- 32 Men in olden time would fight together,
They'd stab (each-other) with their daggers.
With oil of *tartar* (mustard) they would rub
Their hands and feet against cold weather.
- 33 Ignorance struck at them with its whips.
They were occupied only with daily needs and buying
grain.
Mām Yaḥyā spread out his (prayer) carpet,
Made them mindless and filled them with prayers.
- 34 He let them sing of his name,
Say—how fortunate his star is.
The man of honour would come running to present his
gift,
So that he would pray blessings on him.
- 35 Ignorant folk he misled into error. Made a tail [to
his turban].
Any stupid man would kiss his knee.

3 Ibid, 17.

4 Firewood being sold there.

5 At one time the tanneries were mainly in Ḥārat al-Ṭawāshī.

The 'Liberals' he dubbed hostile to the 'Alawīs,
And in prison murdered them by hundreds.

- 36 Sitting resplendent in his carriage,
Dressed in a cloak shining with silver broideries,
A turban green, couleur de rose,
And striped shawl tricked out with holy verses.
- 37 His dagger belt (reached up) to his chest,
Inscribed with gold, red-glowing like a coal,
Twenty rosettes set round the dagger,
Of pur *lāz*-silver, finely inscribed.
- 38 His (led) horse behind (the carriage) a-jingling
With bells and silver balls—sweet basil,
And the black slave with sword drawn—
Any who'd attack the Mām—he'd chop him into little
pieces!
- 39 Beside him we (looked like) flies,
With a couple of caps and only two long shirts.
Black as crows we were then—
We didn't dare wear silken cloth.
- 40 He was, they say, of the Ahl al-Khaṭwah,
Knowing beforehand what we shall be doing tomorrow
While we were still bemused with sleep.
How could we know how to revolt?
- 41 We used to recite in the Qur'ān-school,
The pupils would be exhausted by the over-crowding,
The stink of microbes would rise to a man's height,
Filth and disease—long lines of lice.
- 42 We'd read the A.B.C. on (our) boards.
If the stink spread around we'd flee to the (play)ground.
We used to drink from the dirt on the bottom of the jar—
In the water were numbers of insects.
- 43 We used to recite *Bism al-Bāsimī*,
And '*Alif* has nothing', in darkness,
With a dominie (*faqīh*) dry as a bone,
Who hung up above him a couple of bastinados.
- 44 Ugly (indeed) was the state of Şan'ā',
The Imām let it become mortified for very shame.
The Saba' Bath he called a soak-pit,
And the hero of Ghaymān, he said, had (his) defects.

The remainder of the poem extols the Russian arms acquired,
the employment and training of Yemeni women in the Şan'ā'
textile factory, but seems to know no other than these dubious
benefits to the country. Since it attacks King Faisal it would be
composed during the Nasserite intervention. Another poem,³
composed in September 1964 tells us,

Bāb al-Sabaḥ was a dump for firewood,⁴
And the *ghayl* (ran) beside the ablution-places.
If rain came the road was stopped up with mud—
Everyone walking past would hold his nose [because of
the evil smell].
Bāb al-Yaman—how was it, the Grape Market
And the Samsarah of Dār al-Ṭawāshī?⁵
It was impossible to walk without boots,⁶
Because of the profusion of garbage.

Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī remarked that in his days the streets of
Şan'ā' were clean (as indeed the photographs taken by Dr Hugh
Scott in 1937 clearly show), and if one did see a piece of paper in
the street, one was told to collect it and put it somewhere more

6 Turkish *qanfurah/qunṭarah* = *kundur, jazmah*. It seems that many people did
not wear footwear in Şan'ā' in those days.

fitting since it might have the name of God upon it. You were not even allowed to blow the mucus (*mukhāf*) from your nose onto the street. During the floods of August 1975 the writers found the state of Ṣan'ā' streets was perhaps much worse than formerly as garbage now includes a mass of plastics, tins, cardboard etc. However al-Dhahbānī tells us, no doubt with poetic licence,

But today—Ṣan'ā' has become like Aleppo,
Adorned like a carpet.
The shops are clothed in gold,
And its streets are clean.

Commentary

Verse 1

This is a conventional religious opening of a type common to all verse in southern Arabia, perhaps Arabia in general.

Verse 2

Rāsib, a failed pupil, *awḍā'*, pl. of *waḍī'* humble, *ḥānib* = *mushakkal*, fettered.
By 'crowns' he means the Imāms.

Verse 3

Mā bayn af'al, *bayn* said to mean *dhā*, but probably similar to Ḥaḍramī *bā* used with the imperfect to indicate the future. *Tafalfal*, explained as *yijlis qaliq*, *ithaymaj*, *itfahfah*, to be pained as if one had chillies (*bisbās*) in a wound.

Verse 4

Uṣbah, lit. a piece of cotton, wick.

Verse 5

'Ad = *'ād*, *mazlūmah* is translated in its double senses, *ghabrā* fem. of *aghbar*, meaning covered with *ghubār*, *ḡulmī* = *ḡalām*.

Verse 6

Khizqān, sing., *khuzq*, hole, *tibsir* = *tubšir*, *mitbān*, place for fodder, *dushmān* Turco-Persian, *al-mughaffil alladhī mā ya'rif shay*, *ghayr muta'allim*, *al-qabīlī 'aduww al-madānī*. The last explanation is interesting—the tribesman foe of the townsman. He is illiterate, not a *qārī*. *Dukmah* is women's cotton used for *al-tarjūlah haqq al-libās*, the lower part of the trousers below the knee. Incidentally the commentator in mentioning this latter used the respectful phrase '*Azzak Allāh*, God honour you (see p. 423a). *Başmah*, pl. *başamat*, is a sort of striped (*mukhaṭṭat*) cloth, not plain (*sādah*) with marks on it like finger prints (*başmah*, pl., *abšūm*).

Verse 7

Yinsum = *yistariḥ*, *zārat*, many, *miḥrim*, depriving. The workman would spend all his money on *qāt*. This is a common complaint not only in Ṣan'ā' but in Aden.

Verse 8

'Ishshah, often a brushwood hut, *yā ghabnī*, alas, *lā yihlak* = *la-yihlak*, *ḥasarāt* = *nadamāt*, sighs. *Wā ḥasratāh* means 'What a pity' and *Ghabnī 'alay-k*, 'How much you have suffered'.

Verse 9

Lāsī, sticking to, *yilāsī*, to weld, lit., stick together, *sawd*, charcoal, *qāsī* = *ṣulb*. Line 3 is a proverb, '*Araq-ah maraq-ah*'.

Verse 10

Minjārah, carpentry, *mikhḍarah*, awl, cf. *khadar*, *yakhḍir al-bāb*, make a hole in the door, *sayyakh*, *uṣba bi-dawkhah*.

Verse 11

Yilwī = *yimurr*, *fadhḍah*, see p. 33a, *gharbah*, see p. 33b, *kidmah*, see p. 549a, *jayb*, the opening, or opening of a garment above the chest which is used as a receptacle for small things including foodstuffs.

Verse 12

The *dallāl* or commission agent of course goes round the market to get business—it would seem that butchers once did the same. *Khānāt* means columns of figures. *Sā'*, like.

Verse 13

Jarmah, fleece-lined coat. *Khuṣm-ah*—one says, *khuṣmī minna-h*, I don't like him at all. '*Ammālāt* = *khabbāzāt*'.

Verse 14

In Ḥaḍramawt and Iraq I have found that there was a view popularly held that if women learned to read and write they would only use this to write to lovers—something of this notion was current in Ṣan'ā' also. Women of the ulema classes however did learn to read the Qur'ān, be they of the Hāshimī or Qāḍī classes. By the end of Imām Yaḥyā's reign at least some girls were going to schools.

Verse 15

Maklūdah = *maghbūnah*, *ghayr murbiḥah*, *ḥanqānah*, *mā bish laḥā rāḥah*. *Kaldah* means 'adam al-ribḥ', and there are verbs *lakada* and *iltakada*. '*Uṣbah* see p. 536, *mablūdah* = *balid*'.

Verse 16

Maḥjūrah, in purdah, secluded, '*awrah*, would be something that brings 'ār, shame etc., something to be kept covered. The *nashshādah*, Aḥmad al-Shāmī informs me, *tinshid bi-'l-āyāt wa-'l-ash'ar al-Yamaniyyah min dūn ālāt al-ṭarab wa-'l-adhkār ḥawl al-mayyit*, chants (Qur'ānic) verses, Yemeni poetry without a musical instrument, and collects (*dhikr*) around a dead person. Men *nashshādīn* do the same. The women perform at a wedding ('*urs*), death (*mawt*), circumcisions (*ḡuhūr*). The sort of Yemeni poetry that might be sung would be that of al-Bur'ī, whose *ḍirwān* is printed. The *nashshādah* is not a wailing woman, she is not drawn from any particular class. They are considered *faḍīlāt sayyidāt*, ladies, but do not of course belong to the Prophet's house. Often they are employed in teaching girls who call them respectfully, *Saydat-nā*. Al-Dhahbānī in a note to his poem calls them women who wash the dead, but al-Shāmī says this is another matter. He remembered Banāt Lawzah were women who wash the dead. These women are respected and given an honourable place in a room.

Verse 17

Tinsil = *tukharrij min al-qī'at al-qumāsh al-fitlah*, she unravels the woof (breadth-wise thread) from a piece of cloth. Basically *naslah* is the warp (length-wise thread), but *ghazlah* is the woof. *Nassal* = *fattal* to turn into *fitlah*, and the worker is *fattāl* (this last word in Aden is a term of abuse, meaning 'pimp'). *Haddab*, to make fringes, or to re-do thread, strengthening it by twisting new thread into it.

Bit'aṣṣab, to make twists of millet (sorghum) and lucerne for foddering sheep-and-goats or cattle ('*aṣīb*, pl. *al-'aṣā'ib li-'l-ghanam aw ḥaqq al-baqar*). This would be done in the entrance-hall (*dhilz*, see p. 441a) of the large Ṣan'ānī house.

Shariḥāt, merry, they like gay occasions (*yihibbayn al-zīnah*), they like the cup and the drum (*yihibbayn al-kās wa-'l-ṭās*), i.e., *al-ghunā*, singing. 'The cup' is not to be taken literally!

Verse 23

Bawtah = 'amal al-bayt, *sabrah* = ṭahy, *maḥfush* = munazzam, *naẓif*. The *mafrāj* with its flowered cushions on three sides is not inaptly compared with a flower. *Khawrah* = al-umniyyah; your desire of desires would be realised. *Khawrah* is also used of the cravings of pregnancy.

Verse 24

Tabta = jihat, towards, *ghayl*, see p. 19 seq., *daymah*, kitchen. The last line is typical of the humorous anti-climax characteristic of al-Dhahbānī's verse.

Verse 25

Tinaqqī al-ḥabb, see p. 546b, *tinza'*, *naza'*, draw water, 'uqīyy = māliḥ, *luṣwah*, see p. 33, *kibā*, see p. 395a, n. 29, *ladināt* = fi-hā ruṭūbah.

The *mukabbī/muṭayyib* was the name applied to the Jewish collector of dung or excrement. *Muṭayyib* in this sense is ancient as in A'shā Maymūn, *Dīwān*, ed. Geyer, GMS, London, 1928, 184.

Verse 26

Tafriḥah, women's afternoon gatherings, see p. 33a, n. 11, verb *tafarraḥ(at)*.

Verse 27

In connection with this verse may be quoted the women's song, *Ḥalaft lak yā Muḥammad, Mā zidt raja't lak bayt, Illā bi-maḡramah wa-sirwāl Ḥarāzī*, I swear to you Muḥammad I shall not come back to your house again, except for a headcloth and Ḥarāz trousers. These last usually called *libās* are expensively embroidered.

Verse 31

Shū'ah = bashi', but *shū'ah* is also said to mean *rimmah*, an evil smell, *shamāt*, explained as *rakik*, weak, *ghayr murattab*, disorganised. *Al-Mām* = al-Imām. *Kawdayn* = kāda. This attack on Imām Yaḥyā is of course completely unjustified. By 'four revolts' al-Dhahbānī must mean the Āl Wazīr revolution of 1948 and the lesser disturbance up to the *coup d'état* of 1962. Yaḥyā lived to a great age.

Verse 32

Yahtarimū = takhāṣamū (al-khiṣām wa-'l-tanāfus), *ḍaribāt* = al-bard, cold spells.

Verse 33

Şarfah = maṣrūf = ma'ishah, *shiyāṭah*, see p. 164b seq., *ghaffal*, made stupid, ignorant.

The allusion is to Imām Yaḥyā's promotion of religion and care for mosques. The verse has a Marxist colour.

Verse 34

Yihmil = yiharwil, trot, *qism*, lit., share, *min mayd* = min/li-ajl.

Verse 35

Dajjal, cf. Dajjāl, anti-Christ, = ḍallāl. For 'ushmān, read *ghishmān*, plur. of *ghashim*, ignorant, 'adhabah, hanging tail of a turban adopted by certain classes of notable, *ḥabbab*, to kiss, *naṣab(ah)* is a plur. of *nāṣibī*, opponent of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Verse 36

Biylawmas = yitṣarṣar, to jingle. The *jallāyah* is the heavily embroidered robe worn by the Imām, a picture of which can be seen in *Arabian Studies*, III, 128, as worn by Imām Aḥmad. A *jallāyah* of his is in the Şan'ā' Museum. *Maḥliyy*, ornamented with silver, applied also to a rifle so decorated. Fine silk *maṣānif* used to be made in Şan'ā'. *Ḥalālāt* was explained as Qur'ānic quotations.

The 'arabiyyah, the Imām's coach, is kept outside the Şan'ā' Museum.

Verse 37

Zahrah is a silver rosette on a dagger-belt, or elsewhere. *Lāz*, silver described as resembling Mandaean work.

Verse 38

Biṣarṣar, see above, *junjulah/jinjilah*, pl., *janājil* = jawzah min al-fidḍah *mujawwafah*, hollow nut-shaped silver ornament, *duqaq*, sing. *duqqah*, hollow silver ball-bead, see p. 184a, n. 65 passim. *Mashāqir* are sprigs of sweet basil (*rayḥān*). One puts this on the horse's head to avert the evil eye—*yishaqqir al-khayl*, *rās al-ḥuṣān*—*yisrif al-'ayn*. *Waṣlah*, pl., *waṣalāt*, piece, bit.

Verse 39

The *qub'*, indigo-dyed turban of the *qabīlī*. The *qamiṣ*, the long gown of tribesfolk belted at the waist, is also dyed indigo. The silk *ṣāyāt* (see p. 425a) were only worn by the ulema.

Verse 40

The Ahl al-Khaṭwah are the same as the Ahl al-Daḥqah of the Shāfi'ī Sūfis of the south, lit., the People of the Step who, through supernatural means, can be, for instance, in Mecca one moment and back with you the next.

Verse 41

Mi'lāmah, a Qur'ān-school, *mizḥāmah* = zaḥmah, crowd. *Makrūb*, microbe, simply means *awsākḥ*, dirt, probably he is referring to the school latrines. It is doubtful if a man like al-Dhahbānī would fully understand what microbes are. *Sirāt*, sing., *sirah/sirih*, a well-rope.

Verse 42

Lawḥ, the wooden board used in elementary schools, corresponding to the slate used (formerly ?) in Britain, for copying and learning the Qur‘ān. *Ḥaḥr*, the earth etc. in the well-water that sinks to the bottom of the jar (*dawḥ*).

Verse 43

Bism al-Bāsimī is the name of a sort of recitation, used only in the Yemen, which children at the elementary stage learn in order to get to know the letters of the alphabet and the vowels. The title is derived from *bismillāh*. It has such definitions as ‘*al-bā’ nuḡṭah min asfal, wa-’l-tā’*. . . the b has a dot below and the t . . .’. The verse’s ‘*Alif has nothing*’ means that it has no dots.

The village *faqīh* used to teach (and doubtless still does) in the elementary school (*yudarris fi ’l-mi’lāmāh*). He was also mostly the *sinaydār* of the mosque. He acted as a sort of local adviser (*mustashār*). For the local villagers or tribes he used to write their *makātīb*, e.g. *al-baṣā’ir* (house-deeds), ‘*uqūd al-dayn* (debt contracts), *al-’uhūd* (pacts), *al-zawāj wa-’l-ṭalāq* (marriage and

divorce). In the proverbial literature he is often satirised or a figure of fun.

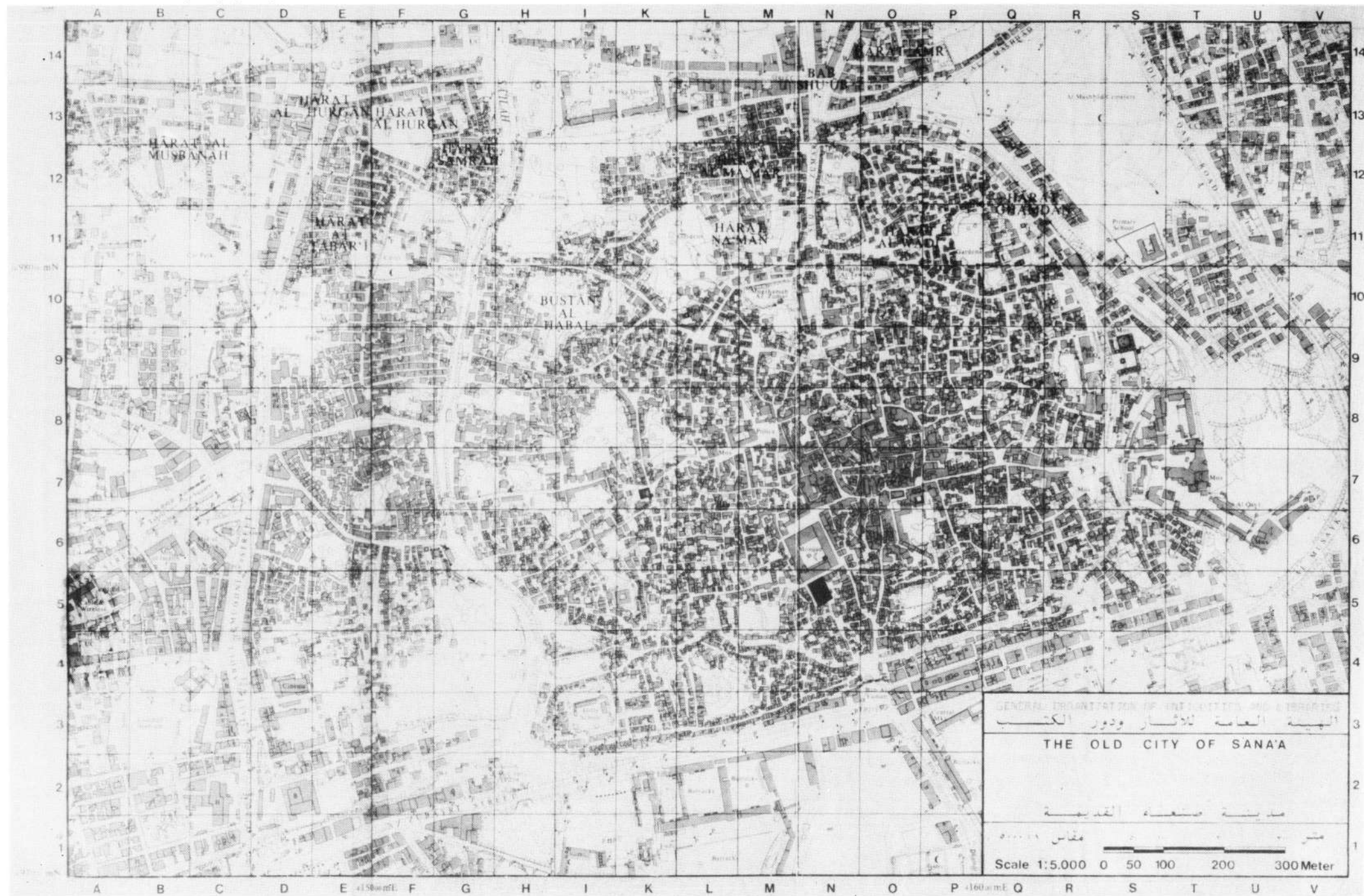
The bastinado, *falakah* (Dozy, *Supplément, falaqah*, fully described there) is said to be a sort of pole with two holes at the ends, a rope being attached from one hole to the other. When a child has to be punished his legs are inserted between the rope and the pole and the apparatus wound tight—the soles of his feet are then held up to be beaten. In the villages where children mostly go bare-foot this punishment on their horny soles is probably not so severe as it sounds.

Verse 44

Qū‘ah, see p. 516a. It seems that this bath was commonly known as Ḥammām Qū‘ah, but, the title being distasteful, it was called Ḥammām Saba’. Its ugly title was not given it by Imām Yaḥyā of course. *Makhmū‘ah* = *maḡhūrah*, put to shame, mortified, snubbed.

The hero of Ghaymān is probably Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, still a popular hero of the remote past to Şan‘ānīs.

Ṣan'ā' today. A map of Ṣan'ā' (courtesy the General Organization of Antiquities and Libraries) of the old city and modern adjacent areas. An indication of the present-day growth of the city is gained from von Wissmann's map (p. 118) and also from the aerial photograph on p. 21.



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List of maps

The list of maps relevant to Ṣan'ā' and its environs is provided by Dr R.T.O. Wilson and drawn from his thesis, *The investigation, collection and evaluation of geographical material in Yemeni texts for the mapping of historical north-west Yemen* (Cambridge, 1980) presently in preparation for publication. This study correlates the data of the classical Arabic geographical texts with Dr Wilson's fieldwork in the area. The list includes maps appearing in books and articles.

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Glossary of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew and Himyarite words and expressions

The order of the initial letter of words follows the Roman alphabet but with minor adjustments to accommodate Arabic letters, i.e., *a' a ... d dh d ... h h ... i' i ... k kh ... s sh s ... t th t ... u' u ... z z*. This applies to the initial letter only, the rest of the word following the ordinary Roman order, disregarding the distinctions made above and the letter 'ayn. Entries are made by individual words, but by root also to some extent, with liberal cross-referencing even when there is no connection in sense. IPN = Index of Proper Names. The senses given words mainly follow what appears in the various chapters where, of course, they are rendered according to their contexts.

A'āra, see 'ārah
Ab, father, 250b; see *akh*
Ab'ad (yib'id), to remove, 543b, 545b, 548b, 557a
Abāha (ubīhat), to violate, 40a; see *mubāh*
Abīlagh, more efficacious, 73a; soundest, 226b
Ābnūs, ebony, 46a
Abšara, to see, 314b (n)
Absha', ugliest, 43a; see *bashī'*
Abyaḍ (f. *bayḍā*), white, silver, 167a, 239b; *a. fatīḥ*, clear white, 475b, *a.*, name of *qamarī* alabaster stone, 475a (n); see *šabb*; cf. *bayḍ*; *mubayyid*; *qaṣḍir*
Adab (*ādāb*), fine, 148b, 399a; = *gharāmāh*, 184b (n), 190a (n), 238a & b, 399a; penalty, 426a; fee, 148b; punishment, 231a; *Dār al-Adab*, House of Correction, 236a; *uddība*, to be fined, 184b (n), 234a; to be punished, 184b; *ta' dīb*, fine, punishment, 183b (n), 185b, 238b
Ad'āf (s. *āf*), interspaces, 43b; double, 346a; see *qā'if*
A' dam, to kill, 484a
Ādamiyy(ūn), Man, men, 164a, 433b
Addājidā, (*yiddā*, *iddā* (imper.)), to give, bring, make, do, 159a, 166b (n), 235b (n), 425b, 475b, 544b, 552a; *yiddaw*, bring together, 554b; *yiddaw ziyarah*, give a gift, 558b; *yiddā thāniyah*, do another, 549a
Adhā, to molest, 418b
Adhā; see 'Id
Adhān, call to prayer, 62a, 63a, 310a & b, 311b, 312b, 322a; *mu'adhḥin*, muezzin, 33b (n)
Adhī, = *alladhī*, 235a (n)
Adhkār, hymns, 310b
Adnā, cheaper, 229b
Adqāl, masts, 320b (n)
Adrah; see *nasā'*
Af'ā'i, snakes, 487a (n)
Afkar, the best, 235a; see *fakhrirah*
A f m (unknown), type of solder, 238b
Afrāḥ wa-amwāt, marriages and funerals, 316a
Afsada; see *fasād*
Afṣā, sweetmeat, 168a (n); see *faṣṣ*
Afūr, evening meal, 312b; see *fuṭūr*
Āghā (*āghawāt*), 70b, 71a, 73b, 75b, 78b
Aghāra; see *ghār*
Aghatha; see *ghatth*
Aghbar (f. *ghabrā*); see *ghubār*
Aghir top gūllesi (Tur.), heavy firing stones, 71b
Ahad, Sunday, 528b
Ahaqq, *ahaqqīyyah*; see *haqq*
Ahāzīj; see *hāzījah*
Ahḍar, to bring, 189a (n), 314b (n); see *haḍrah*
Ahdatha ahdāth, to commit offences, 397b; *iḥdāth*; see *gharāmāh*; see *ḥadath* and *ḥadūth*
Ahjarat, to make the *zaghrūyah* (q.v.), 319a (n)
Ahjiyah (*ahājī*), riddle(s), 527a
Ahl, A. *al-Bayt*, Prophet's House, 77b, 86a-b, 163b; *ahli*, 'my family', 251a
Ahmala (in pass. *uhmīla*), to neglect, 254a
Ahmar, red stone for making *quṣṣ* (q.v.), 475a (n)
Ajāba, to respond to call, 43a; *ijābah*, counterplea, 429a; see *mujāb*
A'jam, stranger, 528a
Ajjar, to hire, 147b; *ta'jir*, giving a wage, 184b (n); *ujrah* (*ujūr*), wage(s), fee, 148a, 149a, 156a, 181b, 187b (n), 189a, 227a & b, 238b, 315a (n); *ujrat/ujūr naql*, cost(s) of transport, 162a (n), 188b (n); *ujrah* (*ajā'ir*), leasing, rent, 429a & b (n); see *Miswaddah*; *ajir*, hired man, 231b (n); = *sharik*, share-cropper, 551b; *musta'jir*, hirer, 231b (n)
Ajl, *li-a.*; see *mayd*
Ajlā' (plur.), bags, 168b (n)
Ajnabiyyah, favourable regard (?), 320a (n)
Ajrā (pass. *yujrā*), to be assigned to, 19b; see *jarā*, *mujrānun*
Ājūr(r), baked brick, 91b, 126b, 227b, 411a, 475b (n), 493a; see *yājūr*
Akala, *ya'kulu*, *akl* (v.n.), to eat, 545b, 552b, 555b; *akkāl*, eater, 144a (n); *ukāl*, food, 545a, 557b; see *aklah*; *mākūl*
Akamah, hillock, 190b (n)
Akçeh, Turkish coin, 71b
Akh, brother, *kabir/saghir*, elder/younger b., *a. min al-ab/umm*, brother by same father/mother, 250a & b; *akhwah*, brethren, 167a; see *tawākhhā'* (?)
Akhadha (*ya'khudhu*, *khudh* (imper.)), to take, 183a (n), 254b, 549b; to deprive (?), 186a; *a. riḍā' min*, to conciliate, 41b; *akhadh*, taking, 254a; *a. alā*, taking an assurance, 233b (n); *a. al-thar*, taking vengeance,

84a; see *ittakhadha*
Akhal, kohl coloured, 320b (n); see *takahhal*
Akhbiyah; see *Sa'd*
Akhmaṣ, sole of shoe, sandal, 227a (n)
Akhwaḍ, decisions, 91a
Aklah, testing (animal) to see how it feeds, 190b; see *akala*
Ālam, pain, & *muta'allim*; see *ghathi*
Ālāt al-qabb, medical appliances, 88a (n); *ā. al-tarab*, musical instruments, 561b
Alif, 560b, 563a
Alqā, *a. al-muṣṣibah* 'alā', to throw blame on, 236b
Altūn, Turkish coin, 74b
Am, definite article, 184a (n), 551a, 557a, passim
Amād mā, while, 549a
Amah, serving girl, slave girl, 87b (n); used in female names; *Sitti amat* = *isūmat*, 33b (n); see IPN
Amin; see next following
Amina (*yāman*), to be safe, 430a (n); *amān*, amnesty, safeguard, security, 62a, 69a, 71b, 80b (n), 430a, 432a; *amānah*, honesty, good faith, 158a, 187b, 188a, 189b, 190b, 192b, 226b; *bi-l-amānah*, by local assessment (of tax), 101a, 155a; *amin* (*umana'*), honest, trustworthy man, 28b, 146a, 180a (n), 183a, 189a, 230b, 526b (n); head of corporation of artisans, 187b (n); *amin al-sundūq*, treasurer, 179a (n), 268b; *a. al-ra'iyyah*, peasants' representative, 94a; *āmin*, inviolate, 42a; *amn*, security, 161a (n); see 'adīl; *īmān*
Amlaj(*yamlij*), to apply *milājah* (q.v.), 479a
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Al-Buṭayn, star name, 32b

Buyū‘, selling, 163b; see *bay‘*

Bə‘w’rim (Him.), seed, grain (?), 165b (n)

Chök/chok (Tur.), a lot of, 312b (n)

Chūkhā; see *javvkh*

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Da‘ā (*yad‘ū*), summon 43a, 418b; to pray, 312a; *dā‘i*, call, summons, 43a; see *ḥajah*; *dā‘i* (*du‘āh*), missionary, office in Fāṭimi *da‘wah*, 50a, 56b, 57a, 59a, 348a; *Dā‘i Muṭlaq*, 58a (n); *da‘wah*, mission, etc. 50a, 56b, 57a, 58a, 72a, 77a, 83b, 84a & b, 88b, 91b, 94b, 101b; *da‘wā*, accusation, 236b; *bi-da‘wā*, on the grounds, 237a; *iddā‘ā*, to make *da‘wah* (of Imām), 77a; see *da‘wah*; *du‘ā‘*; *du‘āt al-iṣlāh* (*ṣalaha*); *istad‘ū*; *mudda‘i*

Da‘aka, to rub, 520b

Dabaj (*yidbij*), to bake, 548b

Al-Dabarān, star name, 32b

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Dābbah (*dawābb*), beast, 225b (n), 226a, 231a; *samsarah li-‘l-dawābb*, animal hostelry, 243a, 247a, 275a

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Dafā (*yidfā*), to heat, 273a; *dafā*, warmth, 314a (n); see *dāfi*

Dafa‘a (*yidfā‘*), to pay, 234b (n); *daf‘*, bride price, 146a (n); *daf‘ah*, lot, issue, 75b; see *midfa‘*

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Dāfi, warm, 550b, 556a; *dāfi‘*, hot water, 554b; *dāfi dāfi*, very hot, 545b; *dāf*, warmth, 33a (n); see *dafā*; *saman*

Dafrah mā‘, a fill of water, 544b

Daftar (*dafatir*), register, 72b, 75a, 92a, 156a, 321b (n); quire = *karrāsah*, 429a & (n); *d. jāmi‘*, comprehensive roll, 153a; *Daftar al-Ṣūq*, Market Register, 190a; *defter* (Tur.), 71a (n); see *Ruūs Defterler*

Daftardār, financial secretary, 98b, 153b; *defterdar* (Tur.), 74b

Daghmar, = *ittajaha*, to set out, 314b (n)

Dakhhan (*yidihhin*), to grease, 549a; see *dihn*; *duḥān*

Dāhiyah, man of cunning, 149a (n)

Dahjah, battling, 161a

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Dā‘ili, manager of water, 25b; see *dawāfi*; *dalū*

Dā‘ir, circle, 422b (n); *dā‘irah mustadīrah*, round circle, 185b (n); *muṣṣ d.*, half circle decoration, 481b; *dāgiri*, decoration of row of circles, 479a; *dā‘ir/dāir*, wall, 70b, 429a, 431b; *dāyir* (*dawū‘ir/dawāyir*), key(s),

181b, 226a & (n) & b; *dāyir*, = *dawwār*, balcony of minaret, *a‘lā wa-asfal*, upper and lower, 90b; see *dawwar*; *madwar*; *milajah*

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Dakam, to beat, 236b & (n); *dakhmah*, a blow, 236b & (n); *dukmah*, woman’s caftan, 561a

Dakākin, shops, 315b (n)

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Dakkah, seat, 512a, 520b; see *dukkān*

Dāl (*yadūl*), to become old, 186b (n), 399a (n); see *dāyil*

Dalaka, to rub, 520b; *dallāk*, masseur, 523b (n); see *madlakah*

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Daliyyah, = *sahlah*, easy, 318b (n)

Dalla (*yidill*), to deal as broker, 183a; = *yiṣlah*, 184a (n)

Dallah, coffee jug, 558a; *dilāl*, metal pots, 313a

Dallāl, commission agent, broker, 146a, 159a, 162b-163b, 165a, 183a & (n), 184a & (n) & b (n), 185a (n), 186a (n), 238b (n), 268a, 425a, 487b (n), 559b, 561b; *al-d. al-gharib*, 184a (n) & b (n); *d. al-kutub*, book broker, 90a; *dilālāh*, commission fees, 181b, 184a; see *kutuf*

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Dāmā, tric-trac, = *dumamah*, 525a

Damghah, stamp, 184a (n)

Dāmūr, type cloth, 192a (n)

Al-Dāni, after evening, lit., the near, 33b

Dann (*dinan*), wine jars, 69a

Dannaq, = *ittajaha*, 320b (n)

Daḡiq, flour, 229a, 230b (n), 545b, 550a, 554b, 556a; Him., *daq*, 542a; *d. al-birr*, = *razūm*, 550a (n); *d. fars*, bread of a single flour, 545a; *d. Miṣrī*, lit. Egyptian flour, 545b, 550b; *d. bābiri*, imported flour, 545b (n); *d. Rumi*, corn flour, 550b

Daqq (*yudacqu*), to beat (drum), 146b (n); *duqqī* (fem. imper.), = *ikhbiṣi*, put on the side of the *tannūr*, 545b; see *duqqah*; *madagqah*; *midqāqah*; *shughl al-diqq*

Daqqah, chopped up beef stew, 555a

Daqqaq/yudagqiq *fi ‘l-taḥin*, to make ground flour soft, 225a & (n) & b; to take minute care, 188b (n); *daqiq*, scrupulous, 232b

Dār (*yidūr*), circulate (of money), 167a; see *dawwar*

Dār (*dūr*), house(s), 125a (n), 132b, 135b, 154a, 430b, 526b; tower-house, 556b; *dūr al-muṣūl*, inns (?), 135b; *Dār al-Adab*, House of Correction, 236a; *dār*, territory, 43b; see *hijrah*; *Dār al-Qarab* (*darab*)

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Daraf (*diraffduruf*), half-door, shutter(s), 427b, 442a

Daraj, steps, 46a; *d. rukhām*, marble stairs, 45b; *taḥt al-daraj*, under the stairs, 441b (n); *darāj(i)*, stairway, staircase, 427b, 441a; *dirāj*, stairs, 481a; see *mudarraj*

Daraja, to make tours, 239a (n); *darrāj*, travelling workman, journeyman, 239a & (n)

Darak (*adrāk*), responsibility/ies, 91a, 238b; see *idrāk*

Daras, *biyidris*, to purr (cat), 312b (n)

Darb, wall, city quarter or fort (discussed), 61a (n), 129b, 487b (n), 507b (n); = *sūr*, wall, 61a (n), 130b; *naṣb al-durūb*, raising of walls, 148a, 156a; *darb mudawwar*, round (fort?); 130b; uncertain sense, 130a (n) & b; *darb*, quarter, 45a

Darbzan yuvalaḡi (Tur.), cannon balls, 71b

Dardah (*yidardih*), v.n. *dirdāh*, parading as a public example, 150b

Darf (*durūf*), window shutters, 457a

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Darrah, to swing on a *madraḥah* (q.v.), 312b

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Darras, to teach, 563a; to ‘teach’ the *tannūr*, i.e. train, break it in, hansel it, 543b, 554a & b; v.n. *idarrīs*, 544a; *darrs*, reading of Qur‘ān, 312b; *dirāsāt bayn al-‘Idayn*, study period, 316b; see *dawāris*

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Dathara, to be covered over, 24a

Da‘wā, *d. Kādhibah*, mischievous plea, 317b

Dawādīrah, attendants, 423a

Da‘wah (*da‘awāt*), invitation(s), 225a (n); see *da‘ā*; *mustajāb al-da‘awāt*, (mosque) in which prayers are answered, 311b, 330a (n); see *istajaba*

Dawākhil, offal, 555b; see *dakhilī*, etc.

Dawāfi, bucket-watered land, 27a; see *dā‘ilī*

Dawāris, coins, 74b; see *darras*

Dawāt, pentcase, 240b

Dawbali, large clay or gourd vessel, 544b

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Dawlah (*dawal*), rule, ruler, government, state, dynasty, 27a, 30b, 80a (n), 149a, 158a, 236a, 324b; sultan or governor, 237b & (n); *dālat dawlat-kum*, expl., 399a (n); *jimāl al-d.*, camels of the *d.*, 527a & b; see ‘*abid*; *milḥ*; *riṣq*; *sa‘ādah*; *sikkat al-dawal*

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Dawm-palm, = *fird*, 135b

Dawr, storey, floor, 441b, 455b, 486b; pron. *dūr*, 441b; *dawrah*, a walk, 312b; see *dār*; *dā‘ir*; *dawwar*

Dawshān (*dawāshin*), 41b, 91a, 150a, 170a (n), 225a, 240b

Dawwal, to make go round, distribute, 239b (n); cf. *dāl*; *dawlah*

Dawwāmāh, spinning top, 527b

Dawwar, to make go round, 239b (n); *dawwār*, circulating, 167a (n); *dawwār* = *dāyir*, balcony of minaret, 390b; *d. asfal/al‘alā*, upper/lower balcony, 311b; *dawwa‘ir al-murwah*, watch-towers, 150a; *mudawwar*, round, 468b; see *darb*; *dā‘ir*; *dār*; *dawr*

Dawwas (*yidawwis*), to smooth dagger-blade, 263a

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Dihn, fresh butter, 522a; *d. ḥaqq al-qazāqis*, rendered fat, 555a (n); *dihānāt*, oils, 186b; see *dahan*; *duhn*; *madāhin*

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Dirham (*darāhim*), silver coin, 41b (n), 228b (n), 229a (n), passim; *d. asdās*, 129a (n); *darāhim maḍrubah*, coined dirhams, 151a (n); see ‘*adadiyyah*; *buqshah*; *qaflah*; *ṣarf*; *sudaysi*

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Durr, pearls, 504b (n)
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Dhabah, to slaughter, 84b; *dhabīḥah* (*dhabā'ih*), slaughter animal (Him. *dbyhm*), 419a, 426a, 542a, 558b; *dhabā'ih al-a'yād*, animals slaughtered at feasts, 427a; *dh. al-sal'ir*, animals slaughtered on ordinary occasions, 427a; see *madhbah*
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Dhakar, male, 77a; *dhakar wa-unthā*, tenon & mortice, 483a; cf. *dhikr*
Dhakkā'ir (sing. *dhakkirah*), ammunition, 95a
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Dharah, name of tree, 44a (n)
Dharr (*yidharr*), to scatter, sprinkle, 554b & (n); *dharīr*, appliqué (silver work), 238b; = *naqashāt*, 238b (n); *dharīr milḥ*, pinch of salt, 544b; *dharīr*; see *ḥilbah*; see *madhar*
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Ḍabbah, *ḡabbat al-shufrāh*, ferrule of knife, 240b
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Ḍabr, corner, 44b; *ḡubr*, corner stone, 227a (n), 227b
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Ḍāḡ, *ḡ. al-ḡāl*, to be in bad state, 557a
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Ḍarāwah, *bi-dūm ḡ.*, without consistency, 42b
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Ḍarr (*yidurr*), to harm; *ḡarar*, *ḡarrār*, detriment, 157a, 164b; *ḡarīrah*, detriment, injury, 237a; *ḡarīriyyah*, obligatory; see *maḡdarrah*, *ṭaḡdarra*
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Ḍighn (*adghān*), hatreds, malevolence, 40b (n)
Ḍirm/ḡurm (*ḡurūm*), name of odiferous tree, 44a & (n)
Ḍiyāfah, entertainment, 558b; see *ḡifāh*
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Faḡḡah, bringing shame, 19a; see *faḡḡah*
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Jāsir, = *ghaliṣ*, coarse, 230b (n)

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Jawāriṣh, sweetmeat, 168a (n)

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Kāriz (Pers.), subterranean water-channel, 17b, 19b (n)

Karras (*al-makān*), make a room into a *kirs* for animals, 452a *kirs*, room for animal, 452a

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Karīyyah (*karānī*), sheepskin coat(s), 168a; cf. *karak*

Karuma, to be fertile, 125a; see *karam*

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Kasara (*yiksar*), to break, 558a; to stop, 80a (n), 171a; to change money, 86a, 185a (n); *kassar*, to break,

239b (n); *kasr*, retail; *kassār* (*īm*), retailer(s), 185a (n), 186a, 187b, 228b, 229a & b (n); *miksārah*, retail, 185a

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Kāzīrīm, type tobacco, 177b & (n)

Kazza, *k. bi-l-nūr*, mettre feu au, 319b(n); *kīzzah*, = *jamrah*, hot coal, 319b(n)

Kedkhuda/kekhuda (Tur.), steward, 70b, 73b

Kībā/kībī (*kībāyah*), cow (or donkey ?) dung made into fuel cakes, 168a & (n), 230a (n), 395a (n) & b (n),

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Kīdamah (*kīdam*), bap of bread, 168b, 225a (n), 545a & (n), 561b; see *mikaddīm*

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Kīr, bellows, 266b

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Kīrah, amber dust, 536b & (n), 537a, 538a

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Kīrs, room in house for animal, stall, 314b(n), 452a; see *karras*

Kīs, bag, 186a (n); *kis al-naṭum*, sleeping bag, 225a (n); *k. or k. ḥammām*, bath bag, rough bag for massage,

520a & (n) & b, 521a, 522b; *kis wa-takbis*, bag & massage, 228a; *taṣbīn bi-l-kis*, soaping with bag, 228a (n);

takyīs, rubbing with bag, 520a & b; see *kayyīs*; *mukayyīs*

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Khallās, silver/gold-smith working with pure silver (*mukhlās*), 167b seq. 170b; see *mukhlās*

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Khardal, mustard, = *tartar* (q.v.), 243a; see *saḥīṭ*

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Khāriṣ (*khurās*), assessor(s), valuer(s), 94b, 156b; see *khariṣ*

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Khaṭā, pron. *khudā*, wrongful, accidental act, 42a & (n) & b (n)

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Khatam (*yikhṭim*), to seal up sthg. (*'alā*), 550b; *khatam*, sealing, 240b; *kh. mathmūn*, eight sided seal decoration, 479a; *al-khatm al-sharīf*, royal seal, 431a; *khawānim*, seal-rings, 421b; *khatm*, stamp, = *damghah*, 184a (n); see *madwar*

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Khaṭyah, walking, 425b & (n)

Khawājah, title of address to Jews (Iraq), 423a

Khawḍ; see *rafa'*

Khawkh, = *firsik*, peach, 128b, 186b (n), 543b (n); see *qadīd*

Khatolānī, breed of sheep, 170b; type of *qāṭ*, 271a

Khawrah, desire, wish, cravings of pregnancy, 562a

Khayl, horse(s), 562b; *kh. kīrām*, noble horses, 231b (n); see *na'l*

Khayr, good, weal, etc., 478a; *Kaththar Allāh khayr-ak*, God give you abundance, i.e. thank you, 543a & b; *khayr Allāh ma 'ā-kum*, God's benevolence be with you, 543b; *ahl al-khayr*, benefactors, 88b; *khayrāt*, harvest, 22b (n), 29a

Khayshah, action of working plaster, 477a

Khayṭ (*khuyūt*), cord for aligning walls, 231b, 479a

Khayyāt (*yikhayyīt*), to sew, 265a; *khayyūt*; see *mikhayyīt*

Khayyirah, fortunate, 33a (n); see *khayr*

Khazaf, pottery, 186b (n)

Khazaj, sort of bush, 163a; *khasajah*, ground covered with useless bush, brushwood, 163a (n)

Khazaq (*yikhazūq*), to bore a hole, perforate, 263b, 264a; see *khuzq*

Khazzan (*yikhazzin*), *al-qāt*, to chew q., 189a, 316a

Khazzān, storeman, 157a (n); treasurer, 192b (n); see *khizānah*

Khidā'; see *khada'*

Khidāb, dyeing, of one's person, 230a (n); cf. *khaḍab*; *makhḍabah*; *mukhaḍḍab*

Khidmah; see *khadam*

Khiriqah, rag. cloth, 272b, 549a, 552b (n)

Khirṭ, = *khariṣ*, assessment (q.v.); *khiriṣ/khurs* (*akhrās*), ear-rings, 239b & (n)

Khisā', mud, 226b (n)

Khitān, circumcision, *sābi' yatūm al-khitān*, circumcision on the seventh day, 558a; *mukhatin*, circumciser, 558b; see *makhṭim*

Khiṭṭah; see *khaṭṭ*

Khiyam, awnings, 185b (n)

Khiyānah, deception, 184a, 232a; *kh. al-qarār*, ignoring decision, 252b

Khiyāṭ (*ah*), tailoring, 98b, 99a, 192b (n); see *khayyūt*

Khiṣānah (*khaṣā'in*), treasure, treasury, stores, 68a, 70b, 74a, 103a (n), 130b, 458b; *al-khiṣānat al-'Amīrah*, the Imperial Treasury, 75b; Turkish *Hazine-i umire*, 74b; *khiṣānah*, revenues, 146b (n); *khiṣānat kutub* & *khaṣā'in*, librari(es), 84b, 417b (n); *khiṣānah*, cupboard, 453a, 455b; hot room in bath, 520b; *khaṣā'in al-maṣāḥif*, cupboards for Qur'āns, 321b; see *khaṣā'in*

Khubr, testing, = *makhbar* (*makhbār*) 190b (n); see *khābir*

Khudr (*ah*), mixture of lucerne and dung cake ash, = *ranj*, applied to skirting, 481a; waterproof plaster finish or mortar, 479a (n) & b

Khudrah (*khudar*), vegetables, 553b (n); *khudar mashūqah*, ground vegetables, 553b; *khudar tariyyah*, fresh vegetables, 553b; *khudrat al-qalb*, gaiety of heart, 425a (n); see *mukhaddar*

Khudraji (Tur.), greengrocer, 167b

Khubal, puddled clay, 227a (n); (building) clay, 231b; see *khallab*; *mikhlabah zaqq*

Khulūq, frame (of body), 191a (n); see *makhliq*

Khums, tax, 155b; *akhmās*, 156b; *Bani 'l-Khums*, 254b; see IPN; *khāmis*

Khumsīyah (*khamāsi*), komasis, name of coin, 392a (n)

Khurdawāt, drysaltery, small wares, 161b (n), 185b (n); cf. *kharaṣ*

Khurj (*akhrāj*), saddle-bags, 168a (n)

Khurās; see *khāriṣ*

Khurj; see *khariṣ*

Khiṣ, palm leaf, 230b (n)

Khuṣār, relish, 551a

Khushūnah; see *khashshan*

Khuṣm/khaṣm, foe, opponent, 425b (n); *faṣl bayn al-khaṣmayn*, arbitration between the parties, 144a;

khūṣmi minna-h, I don't like him, 561b; *khūṣmāt*, hostilities, 41a; lawsuits, 87a; *khiṣām wa-tanāfus*, quarrelling & rivalry, 262a; *takhāṣamū*, they fought together, 262a

Khuṣūṣ, bi-kh; see *khāṣṣ*

Khuṭbah; see *khaṭīb*

Khuṭṭ; see *khaṭṭ*

Khuṭṭāf (*khaṭāṭif*), hook and ring, 484a

Khuṭṭah, sheepskin blanket, 168a

Khuṣṣ (*khiṣṣān*), hole, 561a; *khuṣṣi* (*khiṣṣān*), glazed holes in domes, barrel vaults, 515a; loophole, 465a; see *khaṣaq*; *makhaṣaq*; *mukhaṣaq*

Lā- = *la-*, certainly (prefix), 561a

Labab, collar of horse, 240b; see *labbah*

Labakh, name of tree, *Mimusops Schimper*, 44a, 46a

Laban (*yilban/yilbin*), to make clay bricks/bats, 400b & (n); *libn*, clay, clay bats, unbaked brick, 427b; *binā'* *al-libn*, building in unfired brick, 472b, 479a; *libnah*, measure of land, 429a & (n), 429b

Laban, milk, butter milk, skimmed milk, sour milk, 240b, 312b, 544b, 549b, 550a & (n), 551b (n), 552a, 553a (n); *l. al-makhḍ*, butter milk, 552a

Labana (*albin*, 1st pers.), to measure, survey a house, 487b (n); *labbān*, surveyor, 487b (n); *libnah*, land measure, , 487b (n)

Labas (?) (*yalbis*), to break up clay with a stick (*malbis*), 272a; see *labbas*

Labba (*yulabbī*), to respond to his call (*ṣawā-hu*), 41b

Labbah (*āt*), necklace(s), 184a (n), 239b & (n); *l. mukhlās*, silver necklace, 536b (n); cf. *labab*; *lubb*

Labbas (*yilabbis*), to clothe, 231a (n), 558a; to give a plaster coating to, 477a; *libās aswad*, black clothing, 192a; *libās*, women's trousers, 561a, 562a; *l. mazrū' bi-shughl Haraz*, women's *Harazī* trousers worked with silver thread, 537b; *mulabbas mukhlās* name of silver ornament of women, 536b (n); see *labas*; *libās*; *milabbis/mulabbis*; *tariyūlah*

Lac, 156a; see *lakk*

Ladināt, damp, 562a

Laffa, to wrap up, 189a (n); *laffi*, name of kind of cloth, 75b, 76a; *lafa'if*, wrappings, 189a (n)

Lafṣ, pronunciation, 312a; *lafṣu-hu*, verbatim, 429a

Lahajāt, dialects, 40b

Laham (*yilham*), to solder, 263b; see *lahm*

Lahas (*yilhus*), to lick, 556a

Lakhah qawwīyah, strong flame, 548b

Lahḥ (*yilihḥ*), to make *lahiṣ* (q.v.), fem. imper. *lihḥi*, 549a & (n)

Lahiḥ (*yilhaḥ*) bi-, to reach, attain, 542a (n)

Lahm, meat, 157b (n), 235b (n), 520b (n); *l. al-baqar*, beef, 129b, 235a (n); *l. mafṭūm*, hashed meat, 555a; *l. qadīd*, dried meat, 557a (n); *lahmi/na*, my/our flesh, expl., 251a; see *lihām*

Lahūḥ (sing. *lahūḥah*), pancakes, bread, 168a, 544a, 548b & (n), 549a & b & (n), 550a; *luḥūḥ*, Aden pronunciation, 549a & (n); *lihḥ*, variant pron., 549a (n); *milahḥah*, stone platter for making *luḥūḥ*, 549a

Lā'ib, shaped latch, 484a; see *lā'bah*

Lā'ihān, al-*l. al-tamwīniyyah*, order of Supply (Ministry), 253b, 254a; see *lawḥ*; *band*; *matamwīniyyah*

Lā'inah

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Laymūn, lemon, 543b (n)
Laywī, type of pottery, 230a, 425a
Lāz, silver, silver worked with black metal decoration, 538a & (n), 560b, 562b; green and kohl (*akḥal*) coloured *l.*, 320b(n)
Lāzim (*latwāzim*), obligatory, obligations, 420a; see *ḍamānāt*; *iltāzama*; *ṣaghār* (*ṣaghīr*)
Lāzim, necklace, 239b; *l. lu’lu’*, pearl necklace, 536b (n)
Li’ bah/lu’ bah, game, as *li’ bat al-azār*, button game, 526a; *l. ḥaṣṣ*, game of chance, 527a; *l. al-qawqa’* (= *barūq*), apricot-stone game, 526b, 527b; *l. al-waraq*, cards, 525a; *l. al-zanb*, date-stone house game, 526b, 527b; *li’ bah*, dance; see *ahāzī*; see *mutalā’ibah*
Libās; see *labbas*
Li’f, cellular bath glove, 518b; *lifah*, bunch, tuft of palm-fibre, 228a (n); 520a & (n) & b, 521a, 556b; = *sa’af*, 556b (n)
Lihām, solder, 238b (n); *tayyūb al-l.*, cleaning solder from 239a; see *lahm*; *mulḥam*
Lihfah; see *luhfah*
Lihūh; see *lahūh*
Lij’ah, = *luqmah*, mouthful, 545a (n)
Lilā, lest, 237b
Līm ḥālī, orange, 543b (n); see *mulayyām*
Liḡi (*yilḡa*), to meet, 170b; *liḡyū*, they found, 237a; *tuḡā*, is displayed, 186a, & is met, 186a (n); *talaḡḡi* ‘*l-rukḥān*, going out to meet travellers, 186a (n); *t. al-jalab*, intercepting merchandise, 186a (n); *mutalaḡḡin*, interceptors, = *mutalaḡḡīn*, 186a (n); *kharaj al-malḡā* to go out to receive (*istiḡbāl*), 186a (n); see *multaḡā*; *talaḡḡi*
Lisān, strap attached to dagger, 240b
Lithmah, rectangular face-veil, 534a, 535b (n), 539a, 540a
Liṭwā/liṭwā, district, 103a (n), 150a, 256a; see *latwā*
Liṭwān, 498a
Liṭwāt, sodomy, 93b
Lizāb, name of unidentified plant, 522a
Lök, holding stick, 273a
Lu’ās, sweet part of millet cane (*al-dhirih*), 556a; *l. al-qand*, barley sugar (?) sweetmeat, 556a
Lubāb al-burr, heart of wheat, 550a; see *luhb*
Lubān, frankincense, 185a
Lubb, (Him. *lbb*), heart of wheat (*burr*), 230b (n), 542b (n); 548b (n); see *luḇāb*
Lughah (*āt*), dialect(s), 40b; see ‘*ammārīn*; *asādiyyah*; *l. iṣṭilāḡiyyah*, secret language, 268b; cf *ṣalah*
Lughluḡi (*lagḥāliḡhah*), nickname for Lower Yemenis, 12b
Luhfah/lihfah, 183a (n), *luhfat Nu’mān*, Nu’mān (Oman), striped cotton cloth, 185a (n); shoulder-cloth (men), 529b, 533b; *lihfāf*, striped waist-wrappers, 168b; *luḡuf*, quilts, 228a
Luhūh; see *lahūh*
Lu’lu’, pearls; see *lāzim*
Luḡf; see *laḡf*
Luḡmah, mouthful, 545a (n); bread, 545a, 552a (n) & b; barley, 552a; *l. bū’itah*, old (stale) bread, 551b; *l. al-qawṭwah*, crisp bread eaten with coffee, 552a (n); *luḡum*, sweetmeat with almonds, 166a (n), 555b; *taraf al-l.*, edge of the piece of bread, 545a (n); see *laḡqam*
Luṭwah; see *laṣṣā*

Mā bish, there is not, 94a, 528b, 551a, 561b; *mā fish*, 549a
Mā’, water, 544b, 545b, 548a & b; *mā ḥilū*, sweet water, 192a (n); see *bukḥūr*; *miyāḥ*
Ma’ākil, corn, 146a (n); comestibles, 169a
Ma’ārah, carrying net, 191b
Ma’ārī (Heb.), cemetery, (from *mi’rā*, pl. *ma’ārī*, cave), 430a (n)
Ma’arīf, friends, 237a & b (n); *ma’arīf mu’tadah*, customary payments, 157b; see *ma’arīf*; ‘*urf*
Ma’arīj, terraces, 130b; see ‘*irj*
Ma’āsh(āt), income, pay, stipend, 95b, 97a, 98b, 149a, 159a, 190a; see ‘*aysh*; *muta’ayyish*
Ma’āthir, notable acts, 26a
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Mabākhīr, a sweetmeat, 168a (n); see *bakhīr*
Ma’bar (*ma’ābir*), cartridge case, 169a
Mabḥath, disquisition, 418a & (n); see *baḥth*
Mabī’, sale, object sold, 430b; *mabī’āt*, transactions of sale, 164a; *m. bi’-l-jumlah*, wholesaler, 191b; see *mutbā’*
Mabkharah, incense burner, 458b; see *bakhīr*
Mablagh, sum of money, 147b, 186a (n), 254a & b
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Mabrad, frigidarium, cold room in bath, = *isḡah*, 511b, 514b, 516b (n); *m./mabrid* (*mabārid*), file(s), 260a, 261a, 263b, 266b; *m. mathlūth*, three-sided file, 261a; see *barad*
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Mabsam (*mabāsīm*), silver band between dagger-blade & handle, haft joint, 240a & b, 263b, 264a
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Madall(ah), pot, water jar, 228a (n), 544b, 554a & b; see *dallah*
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Ma’dan, aluminium, 544a; metal, 237a; see *quṣṣ*
Mada-n yasir, short season, 542b
Madani, townsman, 316a (n), 501a; see ‘*āmil*
Madaqa, a mortar, 481a; *madaqqahi*, door knocker, 481a
Madar, clay, clay pottery, 181b, 182a, 228b, 229a, 230a, 544a; *m. al-Sirri*, 228b; *ahl al-madar*, potters, 229a; *maddar(in)*, potter(s), 159a, 167b; seller of pots, 228b
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Madḡḡhūl al-fulūs, money income, 237b & (n); see *fulūs*; *dāḡḡhīlī*

Madlakah (*madālik*), rubbing stone, 520b (n); see *dalak*
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Ma’dūdah, counted out, 183b (n); see ‘*adda*
Ma’dūm, dipped (of bread, in some dish), 545a; see *idām*
Maḡwā, large piece of firewood, 549a (n); see *ḡawwā*
Maḡwar (*maḡawwīr*), ring(s), 184a (n); ring(s) without stones, = *kḡawārim*, 239b; see *dā’ir*
Maḡṣīl, *aṭnāb al-m.*, tendons, 554b & (n); see *taḡṣīl*
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Maḡfid (*maḡāfid*), castle, fort, 40a, 122b, 123b
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Maḡjar, the place of a *hajar* (q.v.), 39a (n); *al-masājīd al-maḡjūrah*, abandoned mosques, 151a (n)
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Ma’iz, she-goat, 170a; cf. *ma’z*, goat, 235a
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Majmū’, collection; see ‘*addah*; *majmū’ah*, collection, group, merger, 256a (n); see *ḡā’idah*; *jama’a*
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Maṣlūb, hanged, hung, 399a; see *ṣaluba*
Masnā(*masāni*), irrigation, water-lifting well, 22b, 27a, 526b; see *sanā*
Masnad, = *sāʿid*, arm, branch, 477a
Maṣnaʿ (*maṣāniʿ*), waist wrapper, 432a (n); striped cloth worked with silver thread, 529a, 533b; see *ṣinʿ*
Maṣqā, irrigation channel, 429b; see *saḡā*
Maṣqalah (*maṣāqil*), polishing iron, 266a; see *ṣaqal*
Maṣqat, lavatory, 442a; *maṣāqit*, flood water courses, = *majrā sayl*, 81a & (n), 152a; see *misqāṭah*; *suqqāt*
Maṣqūf, roofed, 19b (n), 507a (n); *m. ʿalā*, with a ceiling, 427b; see *saḡf*; *ḥaram*
Masraʿ, = *mā asraʿ*, how quickly, 314b (n)
Masraʿ, slaughter place, 234a
Maṣraf, usufruct, income, disposal of income, 151b, 152a; *m. (maṣārif)*, expl. *makan li-l-ṣarf*, 318b (n); see *maṣriʿ*
Masrah, morning departure of cattle (*qurāsh*), 33a; see *sarrāḥ*
Maṣrūf, maintenance, 94b; *jarr al-m.*, get provisions, 163a (n); *m. al-shahr*, monthly supplies, 315b; see *maṣraf*; *ṣarf*; *ṭasraʿaf*
Maṣrūr, hoarded (in purse), 167a
Massā (*yimasā*), to beat drums at evening (*masāʿ*(q.v.)), 33b; *tamsīyah*, drum beating (time), 33b
Māssah, law desk, 458b
Maṣṭaqah, hammer, 236a (n)
Maṣṭarah, a line, 479a; see *saṭṭar*
Maʿṣūb(*ah*), wheat bread and ghee, 551a, 557b; see ʿaṣab
Maʿūl bi-, responsible for, 164a
Masūq, what is charged, 155a; see *sāḡ*; *sūq*, etc.
Maṣwan (*maṣāwin*), rectangular headwrap(s), scarves, 183a (n), 192a; = *ridāʿ ka-l-niqāb*, 192a; *m. fajirī*, cotton cloak, 535b (n); *m. kubāni* (see *kubānah*), 535b(n); *m. al-wādī*, cotton cloak, 535b (n)
Māt (*yamūt*), to 'die', of plaster, expl., 477a
Matāʿ, goods, 186a (n)
Matāʿib, hardships, 425b
Maʿtam (*maʿātim*), mourning assemblies, 145b
Maʿam/*maʿam*, spurtle, 544a; = ʿaṣā *zaghirah*, small stick, 551a (n); see *ṭāʿim*
Matan (*yimtin*), to thicken, 551b; see *mattana*; *matin*, strong, 481b
Maṭar (*amāṭir*), rain, 314b; *m. ghaḏab*, rain of wrath, = excessive rain, 16a; see *matmūr*; *maradd*
Maṭari, name of coffee berry, (from Bani Maṭar), 556b
Maṭāt, rubber, 526b
Maṭbaʿah (*maṭābīʿ*), swaging hammer, 266a; swaging anvil, 266b; see *ṭabʿ*
Maṭbakh, kitchen, 442b; see *ṭabikh*
Maṭbūʿah, stamped; see *ḥawāfiṣ*; *ṭabʿ*
Matfal/*madfal*, spittoon, 458b; see *tuff*
Mathalah; see *madhalah*
Maṭhan(*ah*)/(*maṭāḥin*), grinding mill(s), quern(s), 135b, 168b (n), 176a & b, 425a (n) & b, 441a, 548b, 551b & (n), 552b; *maṭhanat al-yad*, quern, 550b (n); see *ṭahan*; cf. *raḥā*
Mathbū; see *shayʿ*
Mathlūḥ; see *maḥrad*
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Mathnā, inner face, inside stone facing, 468b
Mathniyah; see *kharashah*
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Maṭīl/*maḏīd*, barley gruel, 150a, 551a, 552a, 553a (n)
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Maṭlab (*maṭālib*), demand(s), claims, 73b, 80b, 157b; levies, 82a; *m. al-rabāḥ*, levy on profit(s), 82a; *m. al-ṣalāḥ*, levy on prayer, person praying, 82a; *m. suḡrat al-wādī*, levy for governor's table, 82a; *maṭālib shahriyyah*, monthly demands, 156a; *maṭlūb*, what is desired, 232a (n); see *ṭalab*
Matmūr, concealed, 22b (n); see *maṭar*
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Matraqah (*maṭāriq*), hammer(s), forge hammer(s), 236a & (n), 261a, 266a, & b, 267a; trip hammer, 273a; adze, 260a; see *ṭaraq*
Maṭrat (*maṭrad*?), flues, 514b
Matrūḡ, hammered (silver), 184a; see *matraqah*
Matṭāl, a slow payer, 183a (n)
Mattana, to make properly, to thicken, 551a; see *matan*
Matyabah, bowl, 544a; see *ṭāb*
Maʿūnah (*āt* or *maʿāwin*), assistance or 'aid' as a tax, 149a, 155b, 156a & b, 157a, 158a, 319b (n); *maʿūnāt*, supplies, 145b & (n); see ʿaww
Mawādd, ingredients, 558a; see *māddah*
Mawāʿid Allāh, God's tables, = markets (*aswāḡ*), 233b (n)
Mawajīb, see *mevācib* (Tur.); *mujīb*
Māward, rosewater, 555b
Mawāshī, cattle, 94b (n), 227b (n); see *mamshā*
Mawḥiz, pestle, 544a; mortar, 477a; *yiddī m.*, he pounds in mortar, 477a
Mawḥib, procession, 91a
Mawla (*h.*, fem.) (*mawālī*), client(s) class, 22a, 311b, 352a, 361a, 375b; = *khalīf*, 154a (n); see *wāḏī*

Mawlaʿi, addict, 177a; *matolaʿīyyah*, addiction, 314b (n); see *ṭawliʿah*
Mawlid, recital of Prophet's life, 310b, 558a & b; see ʿ*Id*; *walad*
Mawnah, (raw) material, = *māddah*, 226a & (n); see *maṭwan*
Mawqīd (*mawāqīd*), charcoal brazier, 176b, 242a, 314b (n), 458b, 543b, 557b; see *waqada*
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Mawrid; see *mashraʿ*; *mawārid*, revenues, 91a; see *warrad*
Mawsim/*mūsim* (*mawāsīm*), season, 319b (n), 434b & (n), 553a (n); *mawāsīm al-aʿyād*, festival seasons, 520a
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Mawwan, to supply, 16a; see *maṭwanah*; *tamwīn*
Maww, bananas, 543a (n), 545b (n); *maṭwāḥ*, type plaster ornament, 479a
Mayd, ʿalā m., = ʿalā *shān*, 148a (n); *min m.*, = *min*/*li-ajl*, so that, for the sake of, 562b
Maydān, battle-field, 106a (n); open space, square, 137a
Mayl, inclination, 232a (n)
Maymanah, coal stove (unconfirmed), 266b
Mayn, lying, 542b
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Maʿz, goat, 235a; see *maʿiz*; *miʿzā*
Maẓālim, court fines, 154b; see *ḡalama*; *maẓlūmah*
Maẓallah, *m. al-imāmah*, the umbrella of the imāmate, 91a; see *ḡalla* (*Maḡar*) *taṃzar*, = *ṭibḡi ḡamirah*, to shrink, 544b
Mazbūr, recorded, 431b (n); see *zabr*
Maẓhar/*muẓahhar*, *m. ḥādīdī*, semi-circular file, 267a; *masharah*, candlestick, 458b
Maẓlūm; see *ḡalama*
Mazqam (*mazāqim*), coffee-pot handle, 186b (n), 225a (n), 545b (n), 554b
Mazraʿ (*mazāriʿ*), field(s), 127a; see *zarʿ*
Mazrūʿ, *ras m.*, handle with silver pins hammered into it, 240b; inlaid with small (aluminium) nails, 176a & b; see *zarʿ*
Mazyūr, visited, 431b
Mbashmiḡ; see *mibashmiḡ*
Mevācib (Tur.), = *matwājib*, soldiers' pay, 74b; see *mujīb*
Mgarwī, peddler, 167b (n); see *midgarwī*
Miʿarriḡ, seller of ʿaraḡ(i) (q.v.) and wine, 168a
Miʿattiḡ, maker of wine or ʿaraḡi of grapes and raisins, 167b; see ʿatiḡ
Mibaddil; see *badlah*
Mibardiḡ, maker of snuff (*birduḡān* (q.v.)), 167b
Mibashmiḡ/*mbashmiḡ*, maker of boots (*bashmaḡ*), 167b, 169b
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Mibṣāṭah, being spread out (?), 191b (n); see *basāṭa*
Miḏār (*mayāḏir*), ablution place, 390b
Miḏbāḡhah, tannery, 99b; see *madbāḡhah*; *dabbāḡh*
Miḏfaʿ, cannon, 75a; see *dafaʿa*
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Miḏḡāḡah, place for breaking stones, 227b (n); see *daqḡ*
Midgarwī, peddler, 167b; see *mgarwī*; *qarawī*; *ṭgarwā*
Miḏrābah, room for beating silver flat, 236b & (n); see *ḡarab*
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Mifras, adze, hammer, 468a; see *faras*
Miḡḥālāḥ; see *mughālāḥ*
Miḡhrifah, rake, 515b; cf. *ghurfah*
Miḡhakk, touch-stone, 23b; *muḡhakkik*, assayer, 239a; see *ḡakk*
Miḡalliḡ, barber, 166a; see *ḡallāḡ*
Miḡalwī, sweet maker, 168a; see *ḡalwaḡī*
Miḡannā, dyed with henna, 230a (n); see *ḡinnā*
Miḡarwil, = *biyihdhil*, to walk quickly, 319a (n)
Miḡhashshah, turban cloth, 532b; see *ḡashāsh*
Miḡbas (*maḡābis*), leather thread strip, 240b; see *ḡabas*, etc.
Miḡḏādah, forge, blacksmith's market, 181b, 225b (n), 226b (n); see *ḡadda*
Miḡhim, preoccupation, 163a (n); see *ḡamm*; *muhimmāt*
Miḡnah, craft, 234b (n), 316a; *m. shariḡah*, honourable craft, 479b (n)
Miḡrāb (*maḡārib*), prayer niche, 24b, 48b, 122b (n), 128a, 316b, 317a, 321b & (n), 323b & (n) & b, 325a, 326b, 327a & b, 333a, 334b, 335b, 343a & b, 345a & b (n), 346b, 348a, 350a & b, 351a, 352b, 353b, 356b, 358b, 361b & (n), 369a & b, 370a & b, 375b, 379a & b, 382b, 383a, 384b, 390a (n), 399b (n), 417b, 510b, 512b (n), 518b; *Imām al-m.*, leader of prayer, 98b, 233b & (n), 316a, 320b (n)
Miḡrah (*mihar*), craft, trade, 169b, 238b; *ahl al-mihar*, craftsmen, 185a; *ṣāḡib miḡrah*, craftsman, 239a; *miḡrah khaḡfiḡah*, despised occupation, 169b; *mihrat al-ṡāhor* (Heb.), silversmithery, 168b; see *muhr*
Miḡram (Heb.), deceased, 423a; *bint miḡram*, girl orphan, 423a; *miḡrām* (Heb.), great man of religion, 150a (n); cf. *mirūḡam*; *miḡrim*; *raḡim*
Miḡrāḡ (*maḡāriḡ*), furnace, 227b (n), 514b; *miḡraq* (*maḡāriḡ*), kiln, 272b; see *ḡaraq*
Miḡras (*maḡāris*), cabin(s) for guard or watch, 93b, 148a (n) & b; see *ḡaras*
Miḡrim, depriving, 561a; see *ḡarām*; *miḡram*; *mirūḡam*
Miḡabbir, bone-setter, 169a; cf. *jabar*
Miḡahḡif, cleaner of lavatories/prives, 168a; cf. *muḡahḡith*
Miḡarmim, maker of sheepskin blankets, 168a; cf. *miḡayṣur*
Miḡarr, door draw rope, 484a
Miḡlā; see *maḡlā*
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Miḡabbi, maker of fuel-dung cakes (*ḡibā* (q.v.)), 168a
Miḡaddim, maker of baps (*ḡidmah* (q.v.)), 168a
Miḡhaddah, cushion, 442a; see *khadd*
Miḡhatt(*āt*), metal ring, 272b; see *khatt*
Miḡhayyit, (Heb. *mikhayyut*) (f. *ah*) (*makhāyīṭah*), tailor, 168a, 169b & (n), 192b & (n), 226b (n); *khayyāt*(in), 192b; see *khīyāṭah*
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Miḡhdārāḡ, awl, 561a; see *khadar*
Miḡklaʿ; see *makhklaʿ*
Miḡhlabah, leather or wool used to apply coating to wall, 479a; see *khulab*
Miḡhlaf (*makhālīf*), district(s), 128b (n)
Miḡhlāṣ/*mukhlāṣ*, silver, 162a, 168b; see *khallāṣ*; *mukhlāṣ*
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Miḡhussut (Heb.), bookbinder, 168a
Miḡḡzān (*makhāzin*), store(s), 153b (n), 157a (n), 161a, 184b (n), 399b & (n); *makhāzin*, granaries, 149b (n); *Miḡḡzān al-Ḥukūmah*, Government Store, 94a; *ahl al-Makhāzin*, those in charge of Govt. Stores; see *khiḡzānah*
Miḡōl wa-kōl (Heb.), absolutely, 427b
Miḡsārāḡ, retail; see *kasara*; *miksūr* (sic) retailer, 166a
Miḡyāl (*makāyil*), measure, 72b, 157a (n), 165a (n), 185b (n), 229a (n); see *kayl*; *makāyil*
Milabbis, sweetmeat, 168a (n); see *labbas*; *mulabbas*
Milāḡḡah, stone platter for making *luḡūḡ* (q.v.), 549a (n)
Milāḡah, = *miḡlāt*, coating of clay, straw & dung, called *siyāʿ*, for waterproofing, 468a (n) & b (n), 479a, 481b; *māliṭ*, iron to apply plaster (*miḡlāḡah*) = *ḡadīdah ʿala wuṭṭah* (q.v.), 479a & b; *mashāḡ bi-l-m.*, expl. 477a
Milājjim/*mulājjim*, riveter of broken pots, 168a & (n), 425b (n); see *lajjam*
Miʿlāmāḡ, Qurʾān school, 562b, 563a; see *miʿallim*, etc.

*Milammī*², maker of copper dress ornaments (*lammā*² (q.v.)), 168a
Milaqqam, lit., filled, with coffee and sugar (expl.), 556a (n); see *laqqam*
Milāt; see *milājāh*
Milḥ, salt, *dhirriḥ m.*, pinch of salt, 544b; see *iksir*; *Ma'ribi*; *mallaḥ*; *tamālāḥ*; *shabb*
Milk (*amlak*), possession, properties, 23a, 39b (n), 80a, 92b, 152a, 154b, 170a (n), 430a & b; *milk/amlāk*
al-dawlah, state property, 153a, 231a & (n); *m. mustarak*, joint ownership, 251a; *milk al-twaqf*, w. property, 231a (n), 315b; see *amlaka*; *mālik*; *tamallaku*
Millah, flue under floor, 514b
Milqāt, tweezers, charcoal tongs, 176b, 240a & b (n); see *laqaṭ*
Mī'mār, architect, 424b; se 'amara
Minahḥis/munahḥis, copper/brass (?) smith, 168a, 392a; see *nahḥs*
Minākhil, sieve maker, 168a; see *mankhul*
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Minbar, 24a, 46a, 52a, 69a, 317b, 325a, 334b, 381a & (n), 382b, 383a & b, 455b
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Minḥakk (*manāfikh*), leather forge bellows, 266b
Minjārah, carpentry, 226a, 561a; see *najjar*
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Minshafah (*manāshif*), towel, 520a & b
Minshār (*manāshir*), saw, 263b; frame saw, 261a; see *munashshar*; cf. *al-Nushir*
Minṭaqah (*manāṭiq*), urban district(s), 256a
Minṭiq, eloquent man, 417b (n)
Miqād (*maṭwāqīd*), (unconfirmed), copper claspknife handle, 267b
Miqaddīd; see *muqaddad*
Miqaḥwif, cobbler, maker of type of shoe, 168a; se *qihfah*; *quḥūf*
Miqaṣṣu, plasterer, worker in *quṣṣ* (q.v.), 168a
Miqaṭrun, pitch maker, 168a; see *quṭran*
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Miqbār, funeral, 314b
Miqdam, courageous, 77a; see *muqaddam*; *taqdimah*, etc.
Miqdār; see *mu'ayyan*; *qadr*
Miqhā/miqhāyah, (*maqāhi*), coffee-inn(s), 225a & (n), 231a, 320a; see *muqahwi*; *qahtwah*
Miqshāmah, mosque vegetable garden, 315b; see *qashām*
Miqyās (*maqāyis*), measure(s), 188b (n); see *mizān*; *qās*
Mī'rā, cave; see *ma'āri*
Mir'ā'i, awaiting, 312a (n)
Mirabbūt, bound, 166b (n); see *ribṭah*
Mirandī, Malindi wood, 482b (n)
*Miraqqī*²; see *muraqqī*²
Miraṣṣu, worker in lead (*raṣāṣ*, (q.v.)), 168a
Mirayṣi/Mrayyisi, sugar of Marseilles/Mauritius (?), 555b, 556a (n)
Mirḥād (*marāḥīd*), privy, lavatory, 395a (n), 520b
Miri (Tur.), Turkish government tax, 95b, 287b
Mirjān, coral, 536b (n), 558a
*Mirna*², well ramp, 315b & (n), 382a; *siḥāl al-m.*, foot of well ramp, 507b (n) = Ḥadrami *maqūd*, 315b (n)
Al-Mirriḥ, Planet Mars, 149b (n)
Mirūham (Heb.); see *miḥram*
Mirsaf, breakwater, 188b (n)
Miṣabbun, maker of soap, 168a; *muṣabbīn*, washerman, 169b; see *ṣābūn*
Miṣbanah, washplace, 25a, 236b (n)
Mishādī, = *maqdamī*, animal hirer, etc., 168a
*Mishammī*², candlemaker, 168a; see *mushamma'*
Mishk, red paint (of earth), 230a (n)
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Mishraq, entrance of eastern door, 390a; see *sharqī*
Mishtari(yin), buyer(s), customers, 189b (n); see *mushtarā*
Misk, musk, 185a (n)
Miskin (*masākin*), poor, etc., 44b, 93a, 135a (n) & b, 153b, 156a; *masākin*, humble folk, 151a; *masākin*
ḥaḍar, unarmed settled artisan class, 255b; *m. dū'af* (q.v. (*dā'if*)), 253b; see *maskan*
Mismār (*masāmīr*), nail(s), 45b, 263b, 317a; *m. al-faṣṣ*, bezel stone, 240a; *m. li-'l-zahrah*, die stamp, 261b, 266b; *masāmīr muṣabbarah*, ornamented nails, 484a; see *sammār*
Misqāṭah, second-hand goods, 161b; see *masqat*
Miṣr, *ahl al-m.*, townfolk, 164a
Misrājah (*masārij*), oil lamp(s), 247a; see *sarraj*
Misrī, without belt and dagger, semi-dressed, 319b (n)
Miṣrī, Aleppo silk or cotton cloth, 532a (n), 533b, 537a; type of wheat and flour, 550a; see *daqīq*
Miswaddah(āt), record book register, document, etc., 153a; *m. shāmīlah 'ammah*, comprehensive document, 315a (n), 428b; *m. ajā'ir al-'araṣāt*, register of leasings of sites, 429a; *M. of the twaqf*, 429a & (n); see *aswad*; *sawd*
Mistwāk, tooth stick, 526b
Miṭ' allim, learner, 169b; see *mi'lāmah*; *mu' allim*
Miṭalwī, gold-washer, plater of silver with gold, 168a & b; see *ṭilā'*
Mitannik, tinsmith, 168a; see *tanakḥī* (*tanak*)
Mitanwir, maker of pottery ovens and bowls (*tannūr* (q.v.)), 168a
Mi'tārāh, spicery, etc., 185a & (n), 315b & (n); see *'aṭṭār*; *'ir*
Miṭarraḥāt; see *qurt*; *ṭarāḥ*
Miṭbān, place for animal fodder, 561a; see *tīb*
Miṭḥaddī, one who has lunched, 546b; see *ghadā'*
Mithāl; see *marṣūm*
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Mithannā (*mathānī*), type bread, 545a (n)
Mithāq, pact, 43b; see *wathīqah*
Miṭhār (*maṭāḥir/maṭāḥir*), ablution room(s), 72b, 90a, 321a & b (n), 324b, 348a, 390b, 417a, 511a; also *muṭhār*, 321a & b (n); see *tahhar*
Mithl; see *mahr al-m.*
Miṭwaqqir; see *mutwaqqir*
Miṭwaqqus/mutwaqqis (*maṭwāqīṣah*), stone cutter or trimmer, mason, 12b, 168a & b (n); see *waqq*
Miṭwassid, upholsterer, maker of *wasidāh* (q.v.) cushions, 168a
Mī'waz, headcloth, 520a (n)
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Mī'yān, underground channel from source, 19b; see *'ayn*
Mī'yār, standard measure, 190b (n)
Mī'zā, goat, 190a; see *ma'z*
Mizāb (*mayāzib*), wooden spout, gutter, 324a (n), 443a
Mizah, distinction, 42a; see *imtiyās*; *tamāyuz*
Mizān (*maṭwāzin*), scales, 158a, 186b (n), 190a, 191b; plumbline, 231b & (n); *m. khayṭ*, ditto, 479a;
maṭwāzin, weights and measures, 179b (n); *mikyal wa-mizan* (*maṭwāzin wa-makāyil*), measures and weights, 72b, 185b (n); *Mizān al-Dawlah*, Government Scales, 186b; *m. al-marbat*, standard weight of bundle, 234a; see *wazan*
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Mizār (*mayāzīr*), small sharp stones, 228a & (n)
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Mushabriq, = *masriur*, overjoyed, 319b(n)
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Qadmōnim (Heb.), headmen, ancestors, 427a

Qadr, amount, 553a; *fi qadr*, the value of, 229a (n); *bi-qadr-ih*, according to his capacity, 239a; *bi-q. al-talab*, according to the demand, 254a; *qaddar*, to evaluate, esteem, value, 189b (n), 419b; *qadr*, competent, 424b; see *muqdar*, *taqdir*; cf. *qīdr*

Qafā, *min q.*, behind, 483a

Qafashah, conical metal cover of pipe-bowl, 176a

Qaffā, excavator, 525b (n)

Qaffar (*yaqaffir*), to sell, 190a (n); cf. *qafr*

Qafilah, tenth of a *waḡyiyah* weight, 83b, 183b & (n), 184a & (n), 237a (n), 239a & (n), 420a (n);

dirham-qafilah expl., 420a & (n); see *qufl*

Qafir, deserted country, 522b; cf. *qaffar*

Qaftān (*qafātīn*), caftan, 76b & (n)

Qafū (sing. *qafū’ah*), type *dhurah* bread, 545a (n), 548a & (n) & b & (n), 549b; see *qurmah*; *maqfa’ah*

Qahabāh (*qīhāb*), whore(s), 169b, 235b (n); *taqahḡah*, to whore, 149b

Qahā’it, silver ornaments (triangles) worked into ends of the hair, 536b (n), 537b & (n); see *quḡṭah*

Qahāt, apricot kernels, 557a; cf. *tawḡam*

Qahāw; see *qahwah*

Qahish, game like hockey, 525b

Qahr-an; see ‘*awṭah*

Qahwah, coffee, 178a, 552b, 557b, 558a & (n) & b; *q. al-bunn*, coffee made from berry, 82b; *q. al-sālīhin*, coffee of the pious, 171a; *q. Shādhīyah*, 556b & see *Shādhīf*; *q. al-wālidah*, coffee of the new parturient, expl., 557b, 558a; see *luḡmat al-q.*; *qahāw/qīhāw*, coffee of excellent quality, 556b, 557a; *qīhāyah*, poor coffee, 556b; for names of coffee berry, see 556b; *iqahwi*, to drink coffee, 557a; see *ghada*; *miḡhā*; *muḡahwi*; *muḡawṭawjah*

Qā’id, sitter, 527b; *qawā’id*, old women, 145a (n); see *taqa’ada*

Qā’idah (*qawā’id*), regulation(s), 146a & (n), 170b, 179a & b, 183b, 186a & (n) & b, 187b, 192a, 225b, 226a, 231a; *qā’idat al-majmū’ah*, resolutions of group members, 252b; *qawā’id al-awṭawāl*, management of properties (?), 180a (n); see *qabīlah*; *mutaqā’idin*, = *bayna-hum mu’āhadah*, mutually agreed, = with a treaty between them, 186a (n); *qā’idah*, base, 479a; see *muqarrir*; *muq’ad*; *taqa’ad*

Qā’im, rising (to prayer), 400a; person in charge of a mosque, 154b, 310a(n), 311b, 315a(n); *q. wa-nā’im*, upright (perpendicular) & horizontal (?), 47a & (n); *qā’im*, administrator, 153b; *qā’im-maqām*, title of official (Tur.), 92b (n), 93b; see *maqām*; *iqāmah*; *qayyim*

Qā’im (*qawā’im*), sword-hilts, 128b (n)

Qālā (*aqlī* (I)), to fry, roast, toast, 552a; *qālī*, roaster of peas, beans, etc., 168b; *qālīyah*, meat cooked with

vinegar, 313b(n), 555a; see *maqlā*; *maqlīyy*

Qalab (*qalīb*), to turn over, 551a; = *yikhmar*, to work (of yeast, etc.), 548b; see *maqlab*; *maqlūb*;

muqawlabah; *qalīb*; *qalūb*; *qallābah*

Qal’ah (*qilā’*), fortress, castle, 70b, 89b, 99b, 122b, 128a, 129b

Qalam (*qālam*), pen(s), 240a; *q.*, = *al-bandal-al-sīn’al-wāhid*, a single article, 149a (n); *qālam*, goods, 149a; *qalam*, chisel, 260b

Qalāyid, necklaces, 239b (n); see *qallad*

Qalīb (*qulīb*), heart(s), 167a (n); *q. al-Sūq*, centre of the market, 161a; see *khudrah*; *qulb*

Al-Qalb, star name, 32b

Qalfadah (*qalāfid*), = *awāni*, vessels, 314b(n)

Qalīb (*qawalīb*), mould, pattern, 227b (n), 263b; see *qalab*

Qalīf, ‘*ala qalīf qalīf*, little by little, 550a; *q. al-asl*, of inferior lineage, 254b; see *istiglāl*, etc.

Qaliq, unsettled, disturbed, 561a

Qaliyyah; see *qalā*

Qallābah (*āt*), hinge in reverse (expl.), 484a

Qallada, to adjure, 426a & (n); see *qalāyid*

Qallīf; see *qalā*

Qalīb, kind of bread, 545a (n); see *qalab*

Qamar (*aqmār*), moon(s), glazed circles in building (?) for light, 504a (n); *qamari*, alabaster sheeting, 442a; *qamariyyah* (*āt*) (*qamāri*), alabaster window(s), 425a, 427b, 484a; honey-coloured plaster, 446a; see *abyad*

Qamḡ, wheat, 548a (n)

Qamīs (*qumīs*), shirt, wide bodied and sleeved gown worn by men, 192b, 434b, 529a, 530a, 532a, 533a, 538b, 562b; women’s gown, 536a & b, 537b, 538a; *q. al-salat*, women’s prayer robe, 192b (n); *al-q. al-shuqqah al-sawḍā*, long black shirt, 192a (n); indigo-dyed *q.*, = *muṣabbaghah*, 192a (n)

Qamīz, = *muḡhammar*, toasted, 545a

Qammāt, cattle dealer, 169a; see *maqāmīṭ*

Qanat, underground aqueduct, 17b, 19b (n), 30a, 52b, 123b, 129a (n)

Qanbar, to sit, 319a(n)

Qand; see *lu’as*

Qandal (*yaqandil*), v.n. *qandalah*, to flick, 526b; see *qindīl*

Qaniyy, *q. al-ghanam*, sheep & goats acquired (for milking), 165a (n); *qaniyyah saminah*, a fat animal, 165a (n); cf. *qnym* (Him.), sheep & goats, 165a

Qanturah/quntarah (*qanātir*), shoe(s), 515b, 560b (n)

Qanūn (*qawānīn*), statute(s), regulation(s), rule(s), 9, 42b, 93b, 94a, 98b, 145b, 153b, 179a & b, 180a seq., 226b & (n), 229a, 230a & b, 238b, 419a; *q. = majbā* (q.v.), 179a (n); *qanūn marṣūm* (= *mithāl marṣūm*), statute inscribed, 179a, 180a, 226b & (n); *q.*, enactment, 226b & (n); *q. ma’rif*, customary regulation, 228b; *q. al-hay’ wa-l-shirā’*, statute of buying and selling, commercial statute, 180b, 433b; *qawānīn Dawlīyyah*, Government taxes, 157a; *sanna q.*, to appoint a statute, 190b (n); Ottoman Qanūn, 96a, 97a; *qanūn* = *shurīf*, policeman, 149b; see *taqannat*; *niḡan*

Qar’(ah), pumpkin, 129a, 557a

Qar’r, bottom, depth, 28a

Qarār (*yaqra’*), to strike, *yaqra’ al-shayāṭīn*, to ward off the satans, 558a; *yuqra’*, it is weighed, 232b & (n)

Qarār; see *qarrara*

Qarawḡahay, copper pot, 150b

Qarawi; see *qaryah*; *qarrar*

Qarawīyyah, *al-shu’un al-q.*, village affairs, 256a

Qarḡah, loan, 76a

Qarḡah, ulcer, 176a

Qārī; see *jārī*

Qārī, reader, literate, 561a; *qurrā’*, Qur’ān readers, 311b; *shaykh al-qurrā’/Qur’ān*, readers, 316b; see *muqri*; *qird’ah*

Qarīb, near, 557b (n); *al-aqrab*, the nearest thing, 164a; *aqarīb*, relatives, 251a; *qarābah*, relationship, 152a; see *taqrīb*

Qarīshah (*qurāsh* (*qorash* 158b)), (domestic) beast(s), 158a; 190b (n), 231b (n); = *qrsm* (Him.) (?), 542a & (n); see *qirshah*; *masrah*

Qarn (*qurūn*), horn(s), 240a; bundle(s), 271a

Qarqish, girl’s cap, 239b, 533a, 535a

Qarrar (*yaqarrir*), to confirm, 231b (n), 254b; *taqir*, *t. li-l-yad*, acknowledgement of the alliance, 155a & (n); *taqir’at*, stipend assigned, 92b, 94b, 144a, 156a; *qarār’at*, resolution(s), decision(s), 252b, 253a, 254a; *qarār*, to fix, 233b; *qarār*, pl. of *qarawi*, gens de métier, ouvriers, 42a & (n); *qarār*, place where water rests, 30b; see *muqarrar*

Qarras; see *qurs*

Qaryah (*qurā*), ship’s yard, 75a (n)

Qaryah (*qurā*), village(s), 39a, 40b, 41a & b, 123a, 131b (n), 145b, 146a (n), 161a, 183b, 417a, 527a; *qasabat al-q.*, the middle of the village, 123a; see ‘*adl* (*udīl*); *maḡfuzah*; *Qaryah*, name of type of *qāt*, 271a; *qarawi* (*qarār*), villager(s), craftsmen, workmen, 42a (n), 167b (n), 551b; see *midgarwi*; *taqarwā*

Qās (*yaqīs*), *yuqās*, to be judged, compared, 187b (n); see *miyās*

Qasab, cane, stalk (*haqq al-dhirik/dhirah*) of millet/sorghum, 128b (n), 150a, 550a, 556a; see *sabūl*; *qaṣṣāb Qasabah*, water-pipe tube, 169a (n), 176a & b; pl. *qaṣīb*, 259b; flute, pipes, 128b (n); capital (city), fortress, 40a & (n), 128b, 129a; possible senses discussed, 123a; *qaṣabah maḡfuzah*, preserved capital, fortress, 40a & b, 42b; see *qaryah*

Qasabiyyah, *khuyū’ q.*, gold thread, 537a

Qasam (*aqsim* (I)), to swear, 82a (n), 317a; *qasam*, oath, 317a

Qasamah, a fine = *gharāmah*, 190a & (n); see *qīm*; *muqasamah*

Qasaṭa, to distribute, 155b (n); *qist*, share, 147a (n)

Qasḡir, *q. abyad* (= *raṣās*, lead), ‘tin’, 484a

Qashar (*yaqshar*), to rasp out, 264a; (*yaqshir*), remove binding (in dyeing process), 265b; see *maqsharah* *Qashīṭah* (*qasha’it*), woman’s brow ornament, 184a (n), 537a & b; but see more precisely under *mutartar*, 536b (n); see *maqshaṭ*

Qashsham (in)/*qushsham*, growers of leeks, onions, radishes, 95b, 146a (n), 235a, 255a, 315a & b, 316a & (n), 317b, 460b, 530b; *qushmi*, horse radish, white radish, = *fiṭl*, 315b, 316a, 530b, 533a & b & (n), 554a; see *mishamah*

Qeḏuṣhat (Heb.), *q. ha-waḡf*, sanctity of the *waḡf*, 428a
Qiblah, 127a, 132b, 311b, 317a & (n), 323b, 327b, 333a, 335b, 337a, 340a & b, 334a & (n), 345b (n), 346b, 347b, 349b, 350a, 351a & b, 352b, 353b, 356b, 361b, 367a, 368a, 423b; = north, 429a; *biḡl al-q.*, 94b;
qibḡl, north, 30b, 441a; see *mustaqbil*
Qibqāb (*qabāqib/qabāqib*), wooden shoes, 520b
Qidam; see *qadīm*
Qidhā, dust, 127a
Qidr (*quḍūr*), cooking pot, 544a
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Qihf, embroidered top of *qawwāq* (q.v.), 532b; see *quḡḡf*
Qihfah, bowl, 128b (n); cf. *miqahṡiwh*
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Qillah, = *ḡil* (q.v.), broad beans, 553b & (n); *q. mathriyyah*, steeped beans, 553b (n); *q. Yamāni*, 553b;
qillayah, a bean, 553b
Qillah/qullah (*qulaf*), water jar, 167b (n), 186b (n), 544b, 551b (n)
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Qilyāṡah, galliot, 76a
Qinā', rectangular headcloth (descr.), 536b (n), 537b
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Qirbah, waterskin, 192a, 227b, 231b
Qirda'; see *qurḡa'i*
Qirfah, cinnamon, 178a, 554a, 557b (n)
Qirriḡah, tail of *kūḡfiyyah*, 423a
Qirsh, dollar, usually Maria Theresa, 72b, 182b, 420b, passim; *al-q. al-abyad*, silver dollar, 167a; *qirsh* (*ayn*), *Frānsi*, French dollar, two dollars, 230b, 238b; *q. ḡajar*, 'sound' dollar (expl.), 183b & (n), 227b, 228b, 230b; *qirshayn ḡajar*, two ditto, 426a
Qirshah, husk, pod, 552a (n), 553b (n); coating of plaster, 477a; see *qārishah*
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Qism, share, 562b; see *qasāmah*; *muḡasamah*
Qist, share, 147a (n)
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Qishr (*al-bunn*), husk (of coffee-berry), 149a (n), 162a, 181b, 186a, 243a, 247a, 257a, 270a, 274a, 310a, 313a, 453b, 537b, 543a, 548b, 552b, 556a & b (n), 558b, 560a; see *khalās*; *zinbil*; *qishr*, husk (not of coffee), 230b (n), 312b, 548b (n); see *maqsharah*; *rasafah*
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Qitān (*qayātīn*), embroider (ies), 192b (n)
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Qrdah, locust collecting, 165a (n)
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Qub' (*aqbā'*), indigo-dyed turban 255b, 529a, 530a, 532a, 533a, 562b
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Qubbah (*qubab*), dome(s), 45b, 70b, 153a, 327b, 337a, 343a, 345a & b & (n), 375b, 381b, 383a, 504b, 505a, 507b; see *muqagqab*; *ṡabīl*
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Qublah (*qubal*), silver plates sown on *qarḡish* (q.v.), 239b
Qudamah, advance fee, 231b & (n); see *taqḡimah*; *muḡaddam*
Qudbān, branches (sing. *qadīb*), 504b (n)
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Qufayyif, name of game, 525b & (n)
Qufl (*aqfal*), lock(s), 80b & (n), 148b; *rās al-aqfal*, head of locks, 226a (n); see *fashsh*; *qafḡah*; *Ghuthaymī*
Quḡṡah, = *ḡabbah* (kernel), handful, 557a (n); *quḡṡat-ḡā ṡaghīrah*, a small woman, 557a (n); *quḡṡah* (*ṡawḡḡā*), black cummin, 177b, 544b, 548a (n), 550a (n), 554b; see *muḡaḡṡah*; *qahat*; *qahā'it*
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Qulāz (*ḡarṡūn*), spiral, 314a (n)
Qulb, soft heart of palm-tree, 542b (n); see *qalb*
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Qum' (*qimā'*), funnel for decanting, 232b (n)
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Qumāsh, cloth, 561b
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Qūmsiyyūn (Tur.), lit. commission, Turkish government department concerned with supplies etc., 98b (n)
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Qurna'ī (*qurānī*), dried bean(s), 553b (n); *ḡul qarānī*?, 553b (n)
Qurs (*aqrās*), round of bread, 189a (n), 192a, 543a, 545a, 546a, 550a; *qarṡas aqrās*, to form into rounds, 554b
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Qutr, side, 122b (n)
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Qūzī (*qawāzī*) (Tur.), small, young lamb, roast lamb, 190a & (n), 314b (n), 543a, 555b; = *kabsh* (q.v.), 190a (n); a large stone, 190a (n)
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Rabb (*yarubb*), to perfume, 71b (n)
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Rabbā (*yirabbī*), to rear, 170b; to share in rearing, 314a (n); *tarbiyah*, bringing up, rearing, 424a; cf. *murābī*; *rubā'ah*; *rabiḡ*
Rabi', spring, 32b; *rabi'ī*, spring-like, 126b; *Rabi' Awwal*, *Ākḡir*, month names, 32b; *Rabi' Kamāh*, star name, 32b; *al-Rawābī*, name of stars, 170b (n); *Rawābī Awwalāh*, *Ākḡirah*, 32b
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Radd (*yiridd*), imper. *ridd*, bring back, give back, hand over, 235a, 549b; *radd*, giving back, returning, 231b (n); & see *'ayb*; *radd*, to repeat, 322a; *radd*, refutation, 418a; *radad* (sic) returns (?), 191a & (n); *rudiud* returns (?), 188b & (n), 191a (n); *raddad*, to sing, 313a; see *mutaraddid*; *taraddud*
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Sayyakh, = *uṣba bi-dawkkah*, to lose one's senses, 556b, 561a
Sayyāni, type of pottery, 229b, 425a
Sayyar(ah); see *sayr*
Sayyid (*sādah*), name of social class (see IPN), 254b, 255a & b; *siḍ*, paternal/maternal grandfather, 250b; *siḍ*, lord, 556b (n); *yā siḍi*, form of address, 167a, 189a (n), 541a; *saydat-nā*, form of address, 561b; *faḍīlat sayyidāt*, ladies, 561b; *sitti amat*, pron. *istimat*, expl., 33b (n)
S‘dl (Him.), fine flour, 542a
Serasker (Tur.), commander-in-chief, 71b
Sī‘āyah, share in income (?) / capital of, say, (eldest) son whose father builds a house, employing him and he works (*biṣ‘a*, v. n. *sa‘y*). *Shar‘* law confirms this; cf. Qur‘ān LIII, 39, *Laysa li-‘l-insān illā ma‘a ṣā‘* (addit. to

text), 252a; see *mas'ā*
Sibāh, butcher's tripod, = *sih pā* (q.v.), 189b (n); cf. *shar'ah*
Sib(ah), daughter's son, d.'s daughter, 250b
Sidd; see *sadd*
Sidi; see *sayyid*
Siḍr, lote tree, 44a
Sifl; see *sāfil*
Sih pā (Pers.); see *sibah*
Siḥil, type of mixed dessert, 557a; *yishil* (imperf.), to eat *s*; see *sāhil*
Sihr (*ashār*), magic, 418b; see *sāhir*
Sijdah, prostration in prayer, 82b (n); see *maṣjid*
Sijill(āt), record, register, 153b, 154a, 234a, 316a; see *sajjal*
Sikh, cross-piece over *tannūr* (q.v.), 543b; knife, 255a & b
Sikkah, coin, coinage, 71a, 72b; *s. ḥasanah*, good coin, 75a; (*Dār al-*) *Sikkah*, the Mint, 236b & (n); *sikkat al-duwal*, currency of the rulers, 236a; see *sakkak*
Sikkah (*sikah*), street(s), 145a, 148a
Sikkīn (*sakākin*), knife, 189b (n), 240a, 544a, 554b; *nuṣub sakākin*, knife handles, 128b (n); see *sakkāh*
Silāh, *bayt al-s.*, armoury, 70b, 169b; *s. al-layl*, night weapons, 230b (n); see *safaqah/t*
Sif'ah, article of merchandise, 166a (n)
Silf; see *salaf*
Sils, coat hook, 458b
Al-Simāk, star-name, = *al-Far'*, 32b
Simāt, mat, cover, table for food, *s. al-Sultān*, 549b
Simsera; see *samsarah*
Sinaydār (*sanādirah*), mosque intendant, 169a, 315a & b 7 (n), 317a, 319b (n), 563a; name of type of cloth, 558b (n)
Sinn (*asnān*), teeth, 554b
Sinnārah, skewer, 544b, 551a & (n)
Siqā' and *siqayah*; see *saqā*
Si'r (*as'ār*), price(s), 182b (n), 254a; *mughālāh fi 'l-s.*, overcharging, 182b (n), 189b (n); *mu'tadil al-as'ār*, balance of prices, 268b; *qaddar* (v.n. *taqdīr*) *al-s.*, to evaluate, estimate the price, 164a, 189b (n); *taḍdir al-s.*, issue of price, 188b (n); *s. lā'iq*, suitable price, 254a; see *sa'ar*
Sir', course of stones, 468b
Sirah/sirih (*sirāt*), well rope, 187b & (n), 562b
Sirāj, lamp, 315b; see *saraj*
Sirm, type of pottery (*madār* (q.v.)), 228b, 272a; type of *qāt*, 271a
Sirwal (*sarāwīl*), trousers, *s. Harāzī*, H. trousers, 536a, 537b, 562a; *s. al-jawkh* (q.v.), broadcloth trousers, 98b; *s. kawkab*, trousers of star-patterned cloth, 536a
Siṭarah, women's outer cloak, wrap, 314a, 534b (n), 535a & (n), 537b; *s. bayram*, white cloak with red design, 535a (n); *s. ghanami*, blue Indian cotton print, 535a (n); see *tasattar*
Sitti amat; see *sayyid*
Siṭā'; see *milājah*
Siyaq, collection charge (= *ujrat al-naql*), 156a (n), 155a (n), 192a (n); var. *siyāqah*, 183b (n); *s.*, = *majrā mā'*, drainage channel, 427b & (n); see *saq*
Siyaḥ, administration, management, 23a, 102a (n); cunning, 149b; *'arīf bi-umūr al-s.*, criminalist, 149b (n); *siyasat*, perquisites (?), 85b; *siyāsī*, political, 150b; *siyāsī*, diplomatic, 85a
Siyyah, chimney, chimney-well, 455b; *siyyat al-daymah*, kitchen chimney, 455b
S'ay (Him.), see *saqā*
Sū', evil, 39b
Subḥān Allāh, 33b (n), 165b (n); see *sabīḥah*
Sublah, fat tail of sheep, 537b
Sūdāni; see *ful*
Sūdāysi, 'sixth' *dirhams*, 129a; *asḍās*; see *dirham*; *sādis*
Sudfah, first part of night (expl.), 33b
Sufalah; see *ulu'*
Suflah; see *sāfil*; *s. (sīfal)*, anvil, 266b, 267b
Sufrah, traveller's provision, 542b; animal skin used by potters, 230a (n); *sufrat al-wā'il*, 'the governor's table', a tax levy, 82a; see *safar*
Suhayl, star name, 32b
Suht, bribes, 142a (n)
Sukhr, corvée, 147a (n); *sukhriyyah*, corvée, 102a (n); *sukhrah*, commandeering, 85b; *sukharat al-jimāl*, commandeering of camels, 151a; see *maskharah*
Sukhtiyān; see *sakhtiyān*
Sukkahī, chicken breast, 423b
Sukkar, sugar, 556a; *s. al-ra'*, sugar-loaf, 96b; *s. ziyādah*, with extra sugar, 557b (n); see *sanaybir*
Sultāh, *ṣāhib al-s.*, authority, 190a (n); silver guard to dagger, 240b & (n)
Sultān, 122b, 227a (n), passim
Sumnāq, sumach, 189a (n)
Sunnah, custom, practice, law (of the Prophet), etc., 42a, 93a, 129b (n), 237a, 434b; *s. ḥasanah*, a goodly practice, 232a; see *sanna*
Sūq (*aswāq*), market(s), passim = *marwā'id Allāh*, 233b (n); *al-Sūq*, in children's game, 526a; *siqah*, people of the market, 125b (n)
Suqqat (pl. of *saqīt*), low people, 125b (n); see *masqat*
Sūr, wall, 39a (n), 45b, 46b, 61a & (n), 123b, 127a & b, 130a & b, 131b (n); = *darb*, 61a (n)
Sūrah, verse of Qur'an, 39b, 93a, 556b (n), passim
Sūsī, wheat bread with eggs, 543a, 550a & b & (n)
Su'ūd; see *Sa'd al-S*
Suwaydī, used to mean 'pretty girl', 12b

Shafūf/shufūf, dish made of *lahūh* (q.v.) and vegetables, 235b, 543a, 549a & b, 550a, 554a, 557b
Shagharah(āt), branch channel, 20b
Shāh (*shiyāt*), ewe, sheep, 165a (n), 170b, 314a (n) & b (n)
Shahādah, testifying, 426a (n); see *marshad*; *shahid*
Shāhi, tea, 557a
Shāhid (*shuhūd*), witness(es), 144a (n); see *shahādah*
Shahm, fat, 554b; *sh. al-ghanam*, mutton fat, 555a (n)
Shahr (*shuhūr*), month(s), 542b; see *Rūmiyyah*; *matlab*
Sha'ir, barley, 545a; Him. *š'r*, 542a; see *malīj*; *sharāb sh.*, barley water, 557a; *sha'irīyyah*, sippets, 312b, 554a; *sha'irīyyāt*, type chaplets, dangles (*qurt* (q.v.)), like *sha'ir*, 239a; see *musha'ar*; *ṭahīn* (*ṭaḥān*)
Shajar (*ashjār*), tree(s), bush(es), 170a (n); see *ḥawā'iq*; *qār*; *shajari*; see *saman*; see *mushajjar*; *tashjūr*; *zujaḥ*
Shakā (*yashkū*), to complain, 157a (n)
Shakam (*tishkum*), to have a party after childbirth or certain other occasions, (of women), 558b (n); *shikmah*, feast, party at bride's first visit home after marriage, 537b, 558b; *yishakkim al-walīdah*, to feast the parturient, 558b
Shakh (*ashkhāṣ*), *sh. al-naḥās*, an individual piece, vessel, of brass, 226b & (n); *shakh* and *marshkhāṣ*, a gold coin, 22b (n); *shakhīyyah*, personality, technical sense expl., 152b; *qa'if al-sh.*, weak personality, 235a
Shakl, *haqā'iq al-sh.*, correct pointing, 312a
Shakwah, complaint, 319a (n)
Shāl (*shilān*), (woollen) shawl, 521a & (n), 533b
Shalf/shilf, untrimmed stone, rubble, 468b, 469b
Shall (*yishill*), to take, 550b
Al-Sham, north, 131b (n); *Shāmi*, striped cloth, 559b
Sham', wax, 181b, 185a; candles, 315b; see *mushammā'*; *mishammī'*; *shammā'*
Shamār, fennel, 178a
Shamāt; see *shammāt*
Shamāt, a wrap, 535b (n), 537b
Shāmilah, comprehensive; see *miswaddah*
Shamis (*shamas*), shirt, 263a
Shamlah, woollen rug, 520a & (n); *shamā'il*, bags of camel-hair, 168b; *shimālāh*, bag for goat's teats, 170b (n); see *shimāl*
Shamm (*yishumm*), imper. *shumm*, to sniff, 185a (n); *shammam*, to make sniff, 556b; *shammah*, = *burtuqān*, snuff, 274a
Shammā' (in), smelter, 185b; wax-worker, 169a; see *sham'*
Shammāt, to revile, 150a; *shamāt*, weak, = *rakik*, 562a
Shams, sun, 272a, 550b (n); *fadhdat sh.*, sunrise, 33a; *hanyat sh.*, warmth of sun (time of day), 33a & (n); *sharqat sh.*, = *shuriq*, sunrise, 33a; *tarḥat sh.*, time when sun's rays shine straight down, 33a & (n); see *rakzak*; *gharbat*
Shamsiyyah, courtyard, 390b, 455b
Shānīsha'n, 'ala shān, so as to, 148a (n); *shu'ūn*, affairs, 98b (n); *min sh.*, 270a; see *Baladiyyah*
Shanaj (*yishnīj*), imper. *f. ishniji*, to work between edge of hand & palm, clap between the hands, of dough, 544a (n), 545b, 550a & (n); v.n. *shaniyū*, 550a (n); see *mashnajah*
Shanjāl/shanjil, belt buckle, 240b
Shann (*yishinn*), to pour off water, 553a (n); *shānin*, milk, cf. Him. *shnnm*, 542b (n); see *marsham*
Shaqa (*yishqī*), to work, labour, 168b; *shaqā*, work, labour and the wage thereof, 187b & (n), 191b, 468a; *shaqa*, wage, 425b; *shaqī* (*shuqāh*), labourer(s), workmen, 187b (n), 188a, 226a, 227a & b; *shaqī 'l-bānd*, bathman looking after cold water, 523a; *sh. 'l-hammām*, excrement buyer, for bath, 523a; *shuqāt al-imārāh*, building labourers, 231b; *shaqīyy*, rogue, 93b (n); *shaqīyyah*, wages, 319b (n); *mushāqāh*, work engagement by the day, 468a
Shaqaq (*yishqāq*), *sh. fi shawābah*, polishing on a red limestone, 273a; *shaqaf*, earthenware, 544a (n); *shuqf* (*ah*) *shuqfi*, sherd, potsherd, 169b, 225a (n); *shaqfah*, spoon, pumpkin rind spoon, 544b, 552b
Shaqiqah, uterine sister, 250a
Shaqīyy; see *shaqā*
Shaqq (*yashuqq*), to split, 127b (n); *yishuqq*, to saw into pieces, 263a; *shiqq*, side, 125b; *shuqūq*, cracks, 122b (n); *shuqqah*, woman's *qamis* (q.v.), woman's dress, 192a (n), 537b; *sh. sawdā'*, long black shirt, 192a
Shaqqar (*yishaqqir*), to deck out with sweet basil, 562b; *marshqar* (*mashāqir*), sprigs of sweet basil (*rayḥān* (q.v.)), 536b, 562b
Shāqus (*shawāqīs*), shutter, 442a, 457a; small window in door, etc., 483a
Shar', law, 23a, 30b, 77a, 80a, 82b, 96b, 430b, 431a; *shar'ī*, legal, 158b, 316a, 429a, 430b, 433b; *'ayb shar'ī*, statutory defect, 191a; *shay' mathbūt shar'ī*, something confirmed by law, 429a (n); *wayḥ shar'ī*, legal principle, 426b; *mahkamah shar'īyyah*, *shar'ī* ah law-court, 145a (n); *wājibāt shar'īyyah*, legal dues, 157a; *shar'ī* ah, 79b, 83b, 86b, 91a, 93b, 95a & b, 96a & b, 97a & b, 145a & b, 151b, 152b, 156a, 158a & b, 159a, 176a, 180b, 182b, 191a & (n), 320a (n), 392a, 418a, 424a, 430a, 434a, 530a, 543b; *sharia*, 116b; *ahkām al-shar'ī* ah, principles of *sh.*, 231a; see *shar'ī* ah
Shara'a, to go to law with, 144a (n)
Sharaf, honour, 191b (n), 317b; *jama'a 'l-sharaf wa-'l-tharā'*, to unite honour with wealth, 191b (n); see *'alamah*; *amr*; *khatm*; *naṣar*; *mishrif*
Shar'ah, = *sibah* (q.v.), tripod, 189b (n); *shir'ah*, making square trellises for vines, = *tak'ibāt* (q.v.), 227a (n) & b
Sharābah, voraciousness, 551b; see *shāriḥāt*
Al-Sharatayn, star name, 32b
Shārī (*shatwārī*), street(s), 127a, 150b; see *fārī*; hypocaut, 514b; see *marshra'*
Sharī'ah, law; see *shar'*; *sharī'ah*, way to water, 131b
Sharī'ah, tire-woman, marriage-dresser, 231a & (n) & b (n), 536a; *shatwra'a*, to dress, = *labbas*, 231a (n)
Sharīb (*shirīb*), to drink, 235b, 567a; *shurb*, drinking, 123a; *ṣāliḥ li-'l-sh.*, fit for drinking, 192a (n); see *maḥsinah*; *shurbah*, savoury porridge, 552a, 553b; *shurīb*; see *shirah*; *shurb*, smoking, 176b (n); *shirb al-bayd*, egg drink, 557b; *sharāb al-qadīd*, apricot-syrup drink, 557a; *bayt sharbah*, cooling window, = *shubbāk* (q.v.), 442b, 555b, 557a; see *khamr*; *sha'ir*
Shārīnah, merry (f. pl.), pleased, happy, 537b, 561b; see *sharāḥah*
Sharik (*yishrak*), to take a share of, buy, buy meat, imper. *ishrak*, 235a & (n); *bi-shārikū*, they buy meat, 235a; *shārikī*, customer, 235a; *shirkah*, share, 182b (n); *shirkah*, expl. as sharing in buying meat, therefore, meat, 234b, 235a & b & (n), 554b; *sh. faqīh*, *faqīh*'s portion of meat, 235b; = *al-laḥm haqq al-yawm*, enough to do one day, 235b (n); also *shirk*, meat, 235a; *mushārah*, sharing, 234b; *sharik* (*shurakā'*), = *khalīf* (q.v.), 154a (n); = *ajir*, share-cropper, rentee farmer, 460b, 551b; *sharikah*, partnership, 251a; see *ishrāk*; *mushrik*; *shirāk*
Sharim, fretted knife, sickle, 259a, 548a
Sharit; see *shart*
Sharīq, east, 390b; first light, 314b; *sharqat al-shams*, sunrise, 33a; *shuriq*, sunrise, 33a, 170a, 311a (n); *sharqīyyah*, entertaining room, 457a; *ashraqat*, to rise, of sun, 33a (n); see *Mashraqi*; *mishraq*; *musharraq*
Shar, war, 145a; evil, 487a; *ashrār wa-arḥār*, evil and pious, 312a
Sharshaf, women's garment of three pieces, (expl.), 539a (n) & b, 540a
Sharshutah (*sharāshū*), flap in window shutter, 483a
Shart (*shurūt*/*ashritah*), condition, *shurūt al-imām*/*al-ashritah al-arba'at* 'ashr, the conditions of the imamate/the fourteen conditions, 77a, 88b, 90a; *shart*, 'bride-price', 146a, 537a (n); *sharī* (*shurūt*), strip(s) of cloth, 168b, 192b & (n); *shurṭah* (*shurāt*), police, 148b, 149a & b & (n), 183a; *shurṭī*, policeman, called *Qānūn*, 149b; *Ṣāḥib al-shurṭah*, 149b; *Shaykh al-sh.*, 231a; see *mashtirāt*
Shash, white muslin, 532b
Shāt (*yishīt*) (Him. *yshīt*), to sell cereals, 165a & (n); *shiṭah*, Him. *shyt*, 164b, 165b, 180a (n), grain buying, 165a (n); *shiyāṭah*, grain buying, 165a, 562a; *ishāt*, to buy, sell grain, 165a & (n), 425b; = Him. *byshyt*, 165a; *shyitym*, grain sale fee, 165b & (n); *mshty*/*msht* (Him.), grain vendor or purchaser, 165a; *msht*, grain market, 165b; *bmshytm*, with grain for sale, 165a
Shataṭ, = *nihāyah*, 182b (n); see *waks*
Shāṭī, bank (of channel), 22b
Shatṭah, pepper, 555b; *sh. madqūq*, powdered chillies, 177b; see *mushatṭat*
Sha'ūbiyyāt, sweet bread, 554b; see *sha'b*
Shawābah (*shatwāb*), red limestone, 273a
Sha'wadḥah (*sh'badḥah*), ledgerdomain, magic, 83a, 149b & (n)
Shawāsh (*shawwash*), policeman/men, 237a & b (n); *shawish*, serjeant, 528b
Shāwir, speaking, 240a (n)
Al-Shawlah, star name, 32b
Shawra'a; see *shār'ah*
Shawtari, muleteer, 169a

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Shawwāl, 316b

Shawwa’ah, escort, 424b; see *shū’ah*

Shay’ishay, *sh. ma’lūm*, known sum, 82a, 231a (n); *anhā shay’*, top quality; *shī*, any? (*shī Ḥabīb* (q.v.)), 176a; see *shī*

Shaybah, old man, 106b; see *khass*

Shaydar (Indo-Pers.), women’s mantle, cover, 539a (n)

Shaykh (*shuyikh*), *sh. al-damān*; see *damān*; *Shaykh al-Islām*, 149a (n); *sh. al-layl*, chief of night watchmen, 147b, 148b, 158a; *Shaykh al-Mashāyikh*, 147a, 149a, passim; = *nasī’/nagid* (Heb.), 426b; for all see IPN; see *marshayikh*

Shaytān (*Shayṭān*), devil(s), satan(s), 558a; see IPN; *şaraf*

Shi, *yā shi li-’llāh*, = *yā ma’ūnat Allāh*, God’s help, charity, 319b (n)

Shi’ār, religious rites, 421a; see *shī’r*

Shi’b, pass, 39b; see *sha’b*

Shibr, span of hand, 468b

Shibrizah, porcupine, name of game, 527b

Shijāf, ornamentation, 558a (n)

Shimāl, left hand, 189a (n); see *shamlah*

Shimālāh; see *shamlah*

Shiqārah, cigarettes, 314b (n)

Shī’r (*ash’ār*), verse, 561b; see *shī’ār*; *sha’ir*

Shirā’, purchase, 165a, 166a (n) & b (n), 233b (n), 254a & b; see *bay’*; *qānīm*; *ishtarā*; *mushtarā*; *shurāt*

Shirah, = *shurūb*, sugar and water boiled together, 554b

Shirāk, sandal strap, 227a (n); see *sharik*

Shirib; see *sharib*

Shirk; see *sharik*

Shishah, waterpipe, 114a

Shitā’, winter, 32b, 33a (n), 170a (n) & b (n)

Shiyātah; see *shāt*

Shnm (Him.); see *shanin* (*shann*)

Shū’ah, = *bashi’*, foul, = *rimmah*, evil smell, 562a; see *shawwa’ah*

Shubūt, month, 170b (n)

Shubbāk, *sh. haqq al-mā’*, cooling window, window box, = *bayt sharbah*, 442b, 555b; grille, 317b; *shabbābik mukharramah*, slats, at right angles, 483a; see *shabak*

Shubshub (*shabbāshib*), flipflop shoes, 515a

Shufrah, knife; see *qabbah*

Shufut; see *shafut*

Shughl (*ashghāl*), business(es), 225b; *shughl*, alloy of silver and copper, 237a; *sh. al-qaribah*, work of striking coin, 236b; *shughlah*, last action of stamping (*ṭab’*) coin, 236b & (n); *al-shughl al-jānī*, ordinary silver workmanship, 238b & (n); *al-shughl al-diqq*, fine workmanship, 238b; *‘abrat al-ashghāl*, testing silver pieces, 237b & (n); *ashghāl al-fiddah*, worked silver, 237b, 238b; *shughghāl*, workers in silver, silversmiths, 237a; *fiddah shughghāl*, legal allowance for silversmiths, 237a (n); see *istighāl*; *maghlaqah*

Shukh, *sh. Ḥaḍiri*, H. honey, 556a

Shukrah, what is well known, 429b; see *tashhīr*

Shukh, imper. of *shākh*, to relieve oneself, 557a

Shumār, fennel (? *shamār*), 522a

Shumaylah(āt), silver bracelet(s), 239b; cf. *shamlah*

Shuniz, black cummin, 554a; see *ḥabbah sawdā*

Shuqā’; see *shaqā*

Shuqduf (*shaqāḍif*), litter, 231b (n)

Shuqfah; see *shaqaf*

Shuqqah; see *shaqq*

Shuqri, small chicken, 557b

Shurabā, soup, 312b

Shurāt ghāliyah, fanatical Shī‘ah, 129b (n); see *shirā’*

Shurbah; see *sharib*

Shurni, chisel, 468a

Shurtah; see *shart*

Shurūb; see *sharib*; *shirah*

Shuriq, sunrise, 311a (n); see *sharqī*

Shurūṭ; see *sharṭ*

Shu’ūbi; see *turāb*

Shutwāl/jutwāl, sack, sacking, hessian, 186a (n), 265a

Shyt (Him.); see *shūt*

Şā’, measure of capacity, 158b

Şabagh (*yişbagh*), to dye, 265b; *şabbagh*(in), dyer(s), 168b, 169b, 192a, 265b; *şbgh* (*ashbāgh*), dye(s), colour(s), 45b (n), condiment, 551b; *şibaghāt*, decorations, 90b; *muşabbaghah*; see *qamış*; *şabighah*, indigo dyed cotton cloth, 530a, 533a & b

Şabāh, morning, 33b, 557b; *muşabbih*, going out in morning, 315a; *şabūh*, breakfast, 1, 68a, 558a;

şubh(ah), morning, 33b

Şabb, smelting, casting, 168b, 226a; *al-ş. al-abyad*, silver smelting, 184a, 226a (n); *ş. asfar*, brass, lit. yellow smelting, 226a; *şabbāt al-sham’*, melting of wax, 181b, 185a; *maşūbah şabb fi l-bawtaqah*, smelted in the crucible, 226b (n); see *maşabb*; *quş*

Şabbān, to soap down, wash, v.n. *taşbīm*, 228a (n), 520b; *şabbān*, washerman, 28b; *şābūn*, soap, 166b (n); *ş. ‘Arabī*, 168a; *ş. Turkī*, 168a; *ş. al-qulūb*, soap of the hearts, 163a

Şabir, aloes, 186b (n)

Şabiyy, boy, 188b (n); *şubyan*, children, 420a

Şabl (*şubūl*), stable, 317b

Şabūh; see *şabāh*

Şābīm; see *sabbān*

Şa’dah, small *tannūr* (q.v.), 543b

Şadaqah, alms, charity, etc., 22a, 81b, 244a, 312b, 435a; economic assistance, 252b; *ṭawat ha-şadaqah* (Heb.), fund for charity, 427a; *taşaddaqa*, to bestow, 153b, 154a (n); *şidq*, truth, 542b; *şadiq*, friend, 147a; see *ḥanūt*

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Wakasa and awkasa, to fail (in trading), (v.n. *waks*), 182a (n); *bi-lā waks wa-lā shaṭaṭ*, neither more nor less, 182b (n); cf. *wakhasa*
Wakhasa wa-bakhasa, to do out of a fair price, 182a & (n); cf. *wakhasa*
Wakil (wakala’), deputy, agent(s), trustee, 94a (n), 233a & (n), 424b, 426b; wholesale commission agent(s), 268a, 271a; *wakālah*, power to act as agent, 428b; see *oql*
Wakirat al-bayt, house-warming, 460b
Wakkafa, = *aḥdara*, to bring, 314b(n)
Wa-lā, even if, 33a (n)
Walad, son (in various combinations), 250b; *wālid*, father, 250b, 558a; *wālidah*, mother, 184a (n), 250b, 557b, 558a & b; *wilād/tulād/walidah*, m. *al-w*., birth room, 536b, 558a; *wiladah*, birth, 33a (n); see *maulid*; ‘*irs*
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Walimah (walā’im), marriage feast(s), 225b (n)
Al-Walish, children’s game, 526a
Wannaw fi, help me, 553b; see *i’ānah*
Waqada, *uqadi* (f. imper.), to light (*tannūr*), 545b; *waqqād*, stoker, 523a (n); *waqdaqh/waqīd*, see *waqt*; *mauqīd*; *muqīd*
Waqafa (pass. *yuqaf*), to stop, 148a (n); to create a *waqf*, 154a (n); *waqf (awqāf)*, property held in trust, endowment, pious foundation(s), etc., 22a, 26a, 30a, 30b (n), 47a, 70b, 73a, 82a, 85b, 86a, 94b, 95b, 102a (n), 135b, 151a (n) & b, 152a & b, 153a & b, 154a & b, 156b, 157a, 180b, 190b (n), 191b (n), 231a (n), 243b, 244a & b, 247b, 315a & (n) & b & (n), 316a & b, 318a, 319b, 320a & (n) & b, 321a & b(n), 349a, 350b, 351a, 397a, 417a (n), 427b-431b, 441a, 460b, 480b, 481b(n), 504b, 507b (n); *waqūfāt*, endowments, 70b; *al-W. al-Dakhlī*, *al-Awqāf al-Dakhlīyyah*, 151b, 153a & b (n), 428b; *al-W. al-Kharīj (al-Awqāf al-Kharījīyyah)*, External & Internal W., 98b, 151b, 153a & b & (n); *Dā’irat al-Awqāf*, Office of the W., 154a; *kitabat al-Awqāf*, secretaryship of the W., 153b (n); *ahaghiyyat al-w*., entitlement to the w., 152b; *a’māl al-w*., workings of the w., 153a; *mīk al-w*., property of the w., 153a; *Miswaddat al-w*., Register of the w., 429a & (n); *ṣāḥib al-w*., interest of the w., 431a (n); *w. al-arḥāq*, w. of site only, 243b, 244a; *w. al-ayn al-mawqūfah*, w. where usufruct enjoyed & property remains intact, 152a; *w. al-dhurriyyah*, family *w*., 151b; *w. al-kamil*, w. of site & premises, 243b, 244a; *w. muḥabbas*, inalienable w. (cf. *ḥabas*), 30b & (n); *w. al-muḥallath*, the three tenths *w*. (expl.), 151b; *w. al-sawāfi*, expl. (cf. *ṣāfiyyah*), 151b & (n); *w. al-turab*, cemetery *ws*., (see *turbah*), 152b; *w. al-waṣiyy*, the trustee’s *w*., 151b; *zakāt al-w*., 315a; *waqfiyyah(āt)*, endowment, *w*. donation, 152a; *wāqif*, donor of *w*., 152a, 429b; see *naḡar*; *qeduṣhat*
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Waqfah, *Yawm al-w*., last day of Ramaḍān, 530a
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Warak, tail-bone, 235a, 555a (n); cf. *bū’ṣiṣ*
Waraq, leaves, 520b, 553b; *w. qumār*, cards, 526b; *lu’bat al-w*., card-playing, 525a; *awraq*, papers, 429b
Wardah, *Abū W*., Rose (cigarette brand), 526b; *ward janiyy*, cut roses, 319a(n)
Wārd, what arrives, coming from, import, 161a (n), 162a; flow, 27a (n)
Warrad (yuwarrid), to import, 254a; *muwarrid*, importer, 254a & b; see *maturid*; *taturid*
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Index of names of persons, families, tribes, races, nationalities, titles and supernatural beings

In classifying entries no account is taken of the Arabic words *al-*, *Āl*, *ahl*, *ibn*, *bin*, *b.*, *bt.* (*bint*), *Banu*/*Bani*, *Abū*, *Bā*, *Umm*, *Bayt*, *Dhū*/*Dhī*, and for the most part of such titles as *al-Hajj*, *Imām*, *Bāshā*/*Pasha*, *Qādī*, *Sayyid*, *Sharif*, *Shaykh*, *Sultan*, whether preceding the entry or in the series of names of an individual: nevertheless there is a small number of entries under *Abū* and *Ahl*. Similarly Hebrew *Mōri*, *Rabbi*, are disregarded, as are European names commencing with *de*/*di*, *von*, etc. Some unvoiced names, e.g. *Sh m r*, are entered in their consonantal order. Rulers are generally entered under both their personal name and title, e.g. *Ismā'il* and *al-Mutawakkil*, *Ṭughtakin* and *al-Malik al-'Aziz*. When a name figures in the text in both a full and shortened form, the fuller form usually, but perhaps not

invariably, is given in the Index: sometimes both are entered. The titles and names of the Imāms are particularly confusing but it is hoped that a correct identification has been made in each case in the Index, for example, in the case of *al-Mutawakkil*. Proper names of persons given to *samsaraks* and wells are not included in this Index but in that of Place names (see below). Such general names of frequent occurrence as those of groups like *Shāfi'i*, *Sunni*, *Zaydi* are only included in a few significant instances.

The following abbreviations are used: *Ah.* (*Aḥmad*), *b.* (*ibn*), *bt.* (*bint*), *Muḥ.* (*Muḥammad*), *Q.* (*Qādī*), *S.* (*Sayyid*), *Sh.* (*Shaykh*). In page references (n) stands for footnote, but this is frequently omitted where, e.g., the note only confirms a reading in the text.

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